

‘You Shall surely not Die’

# Library of the Written Word

VOLUME 4

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## The Manuscript World

VOLUME 2

# ‘You Shall surely not Die’

*The Concepts of Sin and Death as Expressed  
in the Manuscript Art of Northwestern Europe,  
c. 800–1200*

*By*

Jill Bradley



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## ABBREVIATIONS

BL	British Library
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
PL	Patrologia cursus completus series Latina
MGH	Monumenta Germania Historica
MLN	Modern Language Notes



## INTRODUCTION

“You shall surely not die”, the serpent assured Eve. Mankind has always sought ways to avoid death: in almost every society there has been a belief that man was made for a happy, pain-free and eternal existence, and that something occurred to prevent man fulfilling this destiny. In the Judeo-Christian tradition that has shaped so much of western thought and culture, man sinned against God and thereby proved himself unworthy of this perfect existence. The Bible merely states that God commanded Adam not to eat of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, but tempted by the serpent, Eve, who apparently was aware of this prohibition, not only ate the fruit herself, but persuaded Adam to eat as well. The serpent promised Eve that they would be as gods, knowing good from evil, but there is no other hint of the first pair’s motivation. This has not prevented centuries of speculation about which sin lay at the root of the death sentence pronounced on mankind. Pride was most commonly named, but other sins often seemed more pressing, and certainly care for worldly matters, the gratification of the senses, and more particularly sexuality, have all been brought into connection with this first and most deadly of sins. This study examines how ideas of sin, and its corollary, death, were viewed in the period 800 to 1200, a time when many ideas changed and took on forms that are still discernable today, and remnants can still be found in attitudes and assumptions that western society takes for granted. It aims to discover how attitudes changed, and the context of these changes.

In most studies of this sort, theological and didactic works, sometimes supplemented by law codes and legal decisions, form the most important primary sources. While making use of these, I draw chiefly on manuscript illumination. The obvious objection to miniatures as sources is the fact that interpretation of any visual source is tainted by subjectivity. However, it can be claimed that any research, even in the ‘hardest’ of exact sciences, is based on interpretation, starting with the choice of subject, the methods used and how results are read. Nevertheless, interpretation is usually given freer reign in research based on visual material. Most art historians working in iconography and its extension, iconology, would now admit that they cannot hope to gain

a completely accurate picture of the mental attitudes of the past.<sup>1</sup> If honest, while doing his or her utmost to give a valid interpretation that does justice to another time and society, the researcher will acknowledge that one ‘cannot escape the grip of the cultural forces that have shaped her or his social and political attitudes.’<sup>2</sup> In just this way various preoccupations of present day society have influenced the questions I have put to the miniatures, and sometimes caused surprise at what I found in them.

Despite the drawbacks, visual sources can be an extremely valuable addition to the repertoire of anyone endeavouring to look at and understand medieval mentalities. I use the plural deliberately, since in the period of four hundred years covered by this research many changes took place. It must also be stated that the miniatures reflect the ideas, attitudes and opinions of a relatively small group of people in each period. The scarcity, incompleteness, and fragmentary character of sources for the earlier Middle Ages causes considerable problems for anyone endeavouring to investigate the attitudes, beliefs, and general mentality of the period. The primacy of written sources can lead to a possibly idiosyncratic viewpoint, especially since many of the works preserved are those of an intellectual elite, not just the literate and reasonably educated. For the researcher concerned with the question of the spread and acceptance of attitudes and ideas there are various strategies possible. The number of times a work is cited or appears in library catalogues of the period gives some indication of the knowledge the ideas contained therein. Visual sources—and miniatures in particular—can provide a useful complement and possible corrective to written sources. Visual literacy demands knowledge, if not acceptance, of an idea or concept since there must be a point of recognition, and an unfamiliar idea cannot be explained in familiar verbal terms. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that, generally speaking, the first known visual expression is considerably later than first written sources dealing with a subject. Indeed, some ideas remain outside the visual vocabulary altogether, and were possibly less wide-spread than seems apparent from written sources. Miniatures are a particularly rich visual resource since they circulated among a fairly homogeneous public, they

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<sup>1</sup> Keith Moxey, “The politics of iconology” (paper presented at the conference Iconography at the crossroads, Princeton, 1990).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

are relatively free from corruption and less liable to decay than wall paintings or sculpture. Miniatures can, in some cases, provide a visual exegesis of the text. Visual symbols change with the demands of the society that uses them, and miniatures can provide an indication of how an idea or concept was viewed in the admittedly limited society that made and used the manuscripts in which they appear. They are in a different category to later works in which an individual was striving to express his own ideas: medieval 'art' can be said to express the ideas of at least a section of society.<sup>3</sup> Visual sources, too, have the advantage of bringing out aspects that are not found in theological or didactical works. Camille has pointed out that 'by limiting itself to written models of interpretation, iconography does not take enough account of the unscribed codes and cultural practices that are generated orally or performatively.'<sup>4</sup> Many things may have simply been taken for granted or become absorbed into the culture and society of the time. The gradual usurpation of the fig by the apple as the forbidden fruit is a case in point. Adam striving to till the ground with an iron-shod spade gives a clearer idea of obtaining food by 'the sweat of his brow' than long discourses on the nature of the land outside paradise. We only need to compare body and pose of the Eve of the Grandval Bible with those of the Eve of the Manerius Bible to see that there is a different attitude to female sexuality.

It must be remembered that any visual representation, to a certain extent, is propaganda. There were many reasons for illustrating a work, prestige, to honour God or the recipient, to give an exegesis of the text or to stimulate meditation and the memory. More subtly, perhaps largely unconscious, was the fact that by giving physical shape to something, to an idea or opinion, it became real and actual. By creating a visual entity, that entity acquired an existence. By being made concrete an idea was given a measure of validity. This is very basic to human thought, from primitive magic to present-day news-footage. Depicting death as a demon made it immediately more terrifying, and giving the serpent Eve's face put her firmly on the side of devil. In the period dealt with here, the authority of books and the written word added their weight

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<sup>3</sup> Ernst H. Gombrich, *Meditations on a hobby-horse and other essays on the theory of art* (London and New York, 1963) p. 71.

<sup>4</sup> Michael Camille, "Mouths and meanings: towards an anti-iconography of medieval art" (paper presented at the conference Iconography at the crossroads, Princeton, 1990).

to the images that accompanied them, while the images gave form and substance to the ideas expressed in words. However, visual language has its own legitimacy and its own independence. It can confirm, complement or contradict a written text, giving a picture based on the 'reader's' knowledge of the ideas thus expressed. In this sense illustrations must be regarded less as a subtext and more as a parallel text, giving insight into the mentality of the makers.

A period of four hundred years covers a great many miniatures; nevertheless, for the changes to be evident a long period is essential: attitudes do not change over night. The starting date was not difficult to determine as the first visual sources since Early Christian art, which in the case of death, relied heavily on late antique models, appeared around the first half of the ninth century. The end date was less easy to fix, but around the end of the twelfth century the personification of the eschatological death made way for the development of that of the physical death. Around the same time the depictions of the fall of man took on many of the conventions that are easily recognisable today and, more importantly, the relationship between death and sin took a new turn. Since the Carolingian miniatures from northern France form the basis of this study of further iconographic developments it was decided to restrict the geographical area to the present day France, Germany, the Low Countries and England, as it was there that this basis had its greatest influence. There are very considerable stylistic differences between, say Ottonian and Anglo-Saxon works, and the iconography was greatly influenced by the various contexts, but both have their roots in their Carolingian predecessors. While in no way denying their importance and influence, Italian, Spanish, Celtic and Byzantine works have not been included, partly because they represent their own very specific traditions both stylistically and iconographically. It would be extremely interesting if further research covering these areas showed divergent trends, but within the limits of this study such an extension of the geographical area would mean less detailed research and also one that had less cohesion and homogeneity.

The problem of researcher subjectivity has been partially met by various means. Firstly, by considering the works within a context and comparing their message to that of written sources. Secondly, the importance of the fall as a subject within a particular period was checked against the popularity of other subjects. Based on information from the Index of

Christian Art in Utrecht the frequency of the fall was compared with the frequency of five other subjects, the crucifixion, last judgement, Noah's ark, the Lamb of God and Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac, in each of the centuries and in the same geographical areas. This was then expressed in percentages to compensate for the generally higher figures of later manuscripts.<sup>5</sup> While all subjects showed fluctuations in popularity, it was noticeable that the fall had a considerable dip in popularity in the tenth and eleventh centuries. This was even more discernable when looking at the more precise dating of the works. It was clear that there were clusters round the mid-ninth century and 1000—times in which we find more works with a personification of death. From the very late eleventh century onwards the fall increased in popularity, and while Adam and Eve's temptation appeared in more and more manuscripts, figures that could unambiguously be described as personifications of death decreased. Both the clusters and the decrease in the number of depictions of death gave rise to particular approaches in the research. The grouping of the incidences of the fall led to treating each cluster as an entity. By this I mean that each miniature that could be found from that period was analysed to see which iconographic features were most common in that particular period. By doing this, it was possible to construct a basic type that could serve as an example of what was generally recognised as expressing the period's attitude to the fall and, to a certain extent, to sin in general.<sup>6</sup> This was related to the general context, and together this context and the basic type provided an instrument of measurement against which specific manuscripts could be compared and their more exact context examined. The advantages of this basic type in each period were that it was possible to see what was 'typical' and what was specific to individual manuscripts. In this way justice was done to both the larger picture and the particular manuscripts in iconography and context. The specific manuscripts, in the case of the twelfth century a selection of these, were then further analysed, and set in their context, as far as it is known. In this way extraordinary features became apparent, but also features that were part of the general visual vocabulary of the fall at the time.

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<sup>5</sup> See appendix A.

<sup>6</sup> In only one case did an actual manuscript fulfil the conditions of the basic type. This was the Vivian Bible discussed in chapter one.

The miniatures that dealt with personifications of death had to be treated slightly differently since they were used in a much more varied context. While the fall was used to illustrate not only Genesis 1–3, but other works such as the Psalms and moral or didactic texts, all based their miniatures on the Genesis narrative. The personifications of death lacked the narrative basis. Analyses of the two ninth century psalters now in Utrecht and Stuttgart related certain figures to references to death in the psalm texts: these were extremely diverse but could be divided into two main categories, the anthropomorphic and serpentine, found in both works. By seeing how each category changed and developed, the relative popularity of each type and the way they were used, it was possible to look at these changes in the same way as the fall images. Again individual manuscripts were analysed and the influence of their specific context was considered. Since death was regarded as the sentence on mankind for his sin, death in fact being the result of sin, the messages broadcast by both fall and death images were compared to see if there was a connection between ideas of sin and ideas of death in each period, and how these related to each other.

The aim of this method was two-fold. Firstly, it was used to provide a general picture, or rather a series of general pictures, which could show iconographic trends. Metaphors, visual and otherwise, change to meet the demands of the society that uses them: a metaphor must express adequately the idea the maker wishes to convey, and that idea must be recognised by the public for which it was intended. Sinding-Larsen has said, rightly, that art in churches must be seen in relation to the liturgy of the society in which it was made.<sup>7</sup> Dutton warned that changes in metaphor indicate that ideas and perceptions have changed.<sup>8</sup> The changes in the visual metaphors for sin and death can be regarded as indicating changes in attitude. The use of the basic type provides a broad basis for this since it evens out the idiosyncrasies of individual manuscripts and miniatures. The subsequent examination of individual works shows how these changes were implemented in practice, and how each work responded, not only to the general pressures of the age in which it was made, but also to the individual circumstances of its making. In essence, each cluster or period is first regarded with a

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<sup>7</sup> S. Sinding-Larsen, *Iconography and ritual. A study of analytical perspectives* (Oslo, Bergen, Stavanger, Tromsø, 1984).

<sup>8</sup> P.E. Dutton, *The politics of dreaming in the Carolingian Empire* (Lincoln and London, 1994) p. 258.



broad lens and thereafter the focus is narrowed for a close and detailed study that reveals similarities and discrepancies.

The method, in many ways, has dictated the form of this book. The first four chapters have the same basic structure. Each opens with a discussion of the general conditions of the times: this is not a condensed history of the period but a consideration of those aspects that can be thought to have had influence on how men regarded sin and death, and on the production of manuscripts. Here too theological and other works are considered for the views expressed on sin and death. A description of the basic type and its construction is given and related to the general context. The next section deals with individual manuscripts and the detailed analyses of the miniatures of the fall. At this point the attitude to sin displayed in the miniatures is discussed. Miniatures with personifications or other metaphors for death are then dealt with, and finally the messages broadcast by both types of miniatures are considered. Chapter one concerns Carolingian works of the mid-ninth century and their relation to the social and political situation, in particular that of the circle round Charles the Bald. In chapter two, which deals with the works made in the very late tenth century and first half of the eleventh century, the emphasis shifts to Anglo-Saxon illumination and its influence, and the context is that of Cluniac reform. While much of the chapter is devoted to the Anglo-Saxon miniatures, French and German works are also considered. The third and fourth chapters have a much wider geographical spread and their context is much broader. For the first, a selection of miniatures to be analysed in detail has had to be made and these are set against a wider European background. The fifth chapter considers how the fall was presented to a wider public: it asks just what was this wider public and if the messages broadcast differed in any way from those of the miniatures, and if so, in what way. Chapter six draws together briefly my conclusions and shows how the metaphors change into those of the late Middle Ages.



## CHAPTER ONE

### THE NINTH CENTURY: LOYALTY AND LORDSHIP IN THE FRANKISH REALM

#### 1. *The General Context*

In the Middle Ages the fall of man was not one of the most popular subjects for visual representation, and before the twelfth century it was relatively rare to find depictions of it in north-western Europe. It is more than possible that many works have been lost or destroyed. Nevertheless, if we compare the percentage of the works depicting the fall with other subjects it is clear that it was never in the forefront of popularity. Even more intriguing is the fact that such depictions as there are in the earlier period come in clusters. This applies to both time and geographical spread, and gives rise to the question as to what turned men's minds to the events recounted in Genesis 1–3, and gave them the need or desire to express in visual form their idea of how sin and death came to mankind. All cultural expressions reflect, to some extent, the preoccupations of the society in which, and for which, they were made, either confirming or rejecting the concepts accepted at the time. Other than a Merovingian terracotta tile, there are no known depictions of the fall in the area under consideration from the early Christian period—and many of these were from southern Europe—until the mid-ninth century. There are four major fall cycles that date from the late 830s to circa 874, all from northern France. Within the same period in the ninth century we find the first visualised conceptions of death since the Early Christian use of Thanatos,<sup>1</sup> and again these are of northern French origin. There is a hiatus in both types of images until around the beginning of the eleventh century when the geographical origins shifted to the predominantly Anglo-Saxon area, and both have undergone considerable changes in the intervening century and a quarter.

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<sup>1</sup> Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture* (London, 1992).

There are various factors that can be considered when trying to discover why at certain times and in certain places we find depictions of the fall. The enormous increase in manuscript production in the ninth century is most certainly a factor, but this does not explain the very specific area and time of origin. The question arises, were there factors at work in the society that made and used these works that led them to question or reaffirm the nature of sin and its consequence, death? A long line of theologians and exegetes had already considered the nature of Adam's sin: pride, greed, rebelliousness, sexuality had all been considered. In many of these we see a reflection of the social values of their time: by defining Adam's sin visually, and thereby making it immediate and concrete, the makers of the manuscripts and miniatures propagated not only an idea of what constituted sin, but what values they held for their own society. A society whose values are unchallenged has no need to elaborate or defend those values, or to attack them. To be able to understand the miniatures of the fall and of death it is necessary to put these within the context from which they came. In the case of the four Carolingian Bibles, the immediate context is fairly limited, but the greater social and political situation provides the background to understanding both the miniatures and the views they propagated.

### 1.1 *Political, Social and Religious Change*

The ninth century was a time of change and flux in north-western Europe: systems of government and administration were developing along new lines; relationships between king and vassals, and between ruler and Church, were also changing. External threats caused uncertainty as well as loss and damage. The use of a partial monetary economy had social as well as economic consequences. The ninth century Frankish lands, in general, were divided into demesne lands for the use of the lord and tenure land held in return for service or payment.<sup>2</sup> While payment in kind has often been assumed, Nelson argues convincingly that in the lands of Charles the Bald there was increasing use of monetary payment.<sup>3</sup> It has been argued that the cessation of

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<sup>2</sup> N.G.J. Pounds, "Northwest Europe in the ninth century; its geography in the light of the polyptyques," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 57 (1967).

<sup>3</sup> Janet L. Nelson, *Charles the Bald* (London and New York, 1992).

minting gold coinage indicates a general decline in monetary activity.<sup>4</sup> However, it is more likely that the minting of lower value coinage is a sign that monetary transactions were not confined to the higher ranks of society. The control of the mints was an important factor in both effective administration and increasing revenue. With the Edict of Pîtres 864, Charles the Bald not only successfully re-valued the silver currency, but also took control of the mints.<sup>5</sup>

...from the time of the feast of St. Martin throughout our whole realm, no denarii, except those of our new mintage should be accepted. And from that day anyone who produces another denarius for a business transaction should be deprived of it by the count or other official...

Further evidence of royal control of economic matters is to be found in the charters of Charles granting markets and laying the stress on the fact that only markets with royal authorisation were to be allowed.<sup>6</sup> These markets also used coins as well as barter, and peasant participation in these gave them the means to accumulate, if not wealth, a degree of independence of their immediate lords. Another indication of the social changes of the period is the extent of colonisation. It seems that in these newly colonised areas land was inheritable within the family that established cultivation.<sup>7</sup> Certainly there seems to have been provision for settlers to 'sell and trade and even lease fields expressly declared to be the property of another man or of a church... custom seems likewise to have permitted squatters to settle upon another man's wastelands even without his permission, to retain permanent use of the lands improved, provided only that a customary rent was paid.'<sup>8</sup> Herlihy's sources, unfortunately, do not seem to give an indication of the status of these tenants. The enterprising colonists mentioned by Nelson could have been either from another part of the country—they are often described as 'strangers'—or younger sons striking out on their own.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> R.S. Lopez, "Of towns and trade," in *Life and thought in the early Middle Ages*, ed. R.S. Hoyt (Minneapolis, 1967).

<sup>5</sup> Edict of Pîtres, clause 10.

<sup>6</sup> MGH, Capit II, no. 273, c. 19.

<sup>7</sup> D. Herlihy, "The Carolingian mansus," *Economic History Review* 13 (1960), Nelson, Charles the Bald.

<sup>8</sup> Herlihy, "The Carolingian mansus."

<sup>9</sup> For Charles' encouragement of bringing new land under cultivation see M. Rouche, "Géographie rurale du Royaume de Charles le Chauve," in *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom*, ed. Margaret T. Gibson and Janet L. Nelson (Aldershot, 1990).

It is in just such ‘new’ lands that Lynn White Jr. sees the agricultural innovations, such as the heavy plough, the horse collar and the three field system, being introduced.<sup>10</sup> That peasants were not, or not always, tied to the land seems to be indicated, not only by these sources but also by the measures taken at Pitres in 864 concerning migrant workers, and the sale by peasants of the holdings on which the main part of their dues were assessed. Nelson also speculates that the peasant participation in a monetary economy could be used not only to meet the dues owed to their lord, but to rent new land and increase the family holding. The social and economic flexibility was reflected in the peasant donations to the Church.

Despite the conclusion of historical hindsight that the early and mid-ninth century was a period of high conjuncture, at least in the western part of Francia, as well as social movement and change, this was not evident to contemporaries. What was visible to them and what they recorded in the various annals of the period are the problems caused by natural and man-made disasters. Those problems were very real and stemmed from a variety of causes, the struggles between *potentes*, the wars between the sons of Louis the Pious the Viking raids, bad harvests, storms and other natural disasters. The Annals of St. Bertin for 843 state:<sup>11</sup>

So many and such great disasters followed, while brigands ravaged everything everywhere, that people in many areas throughout Gaul were reduced to eating earth mixed with a little bit of flour and made into a sort of bread. It was a crying shame—no, worse, a most execrable crime—that there was plenty of fodder for the horses of those brigands while human beings were short of even tiny crusts of earth-and-flour mixture.

Sixteen years later (859) the same Annals report:<sup>12</sup>

The Danish pirates having made a long sea-voyage (for they had sailed between Spain and Africa) entered the Rhône, where they pillaged many cities and monasteries and established themselves on the island called Camargue... They devastated everything before them as far as the city

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<sup>10</sup> Lynn White Jr., “The life of the silent majority,” in *Life and thought in the early Middle Ages*, ed. R.S. Hoyt (Minneapolis, 1967).

<sup>11</sup> *Annals of St. Bertin*.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

of Valence. Then, after ravaging all these regions, they returned to the island where they had fixed their habitation.

Natural disasters, too, loomed large; sickness, floods and poor harvests were an ever-present danger.<sup>13</sup>

On January 1st of that season, in the octave of the Lord, towards evening, a great deal of thunder was heard and a mighty flash of lightening seen; and an overflow of water afflicted the human race during this winter. In the following summer an all too great heat of the sun burned the earth.

Other less common disaster such as the earthquake mentioned in the *Annals of Xanten* caused not only hardship but a great deal of fear, and sometimes seem to be implicitly linked to the Viking raids:<sup>14</sup>

Twice in the canton of Worms there was an earthquake; the first in the night following Palm Sunday, the second in the holy night of Christ's resurrection. In the same year the heathen broke in upon the Christians at many points, but more than twelve thousand of them were killed by the Frisians. Another party of invaders devastated Gaul; of these more than six hundred men perished.

Ravages and disasters such as these contributed to the movement of population and the general social instability. It is also clear from the entries in the annals that they led to feelings of insecurity and questions as to what the Frankish people had done to deserve such tribulations. The Franks saw themselves as the new 'Chosen People', a Christian force surrounded by pagans and Moslems. According to the prevalent ideology it was their duty to defend the Church, to behave and act according to God's Law, and the duty of the ruler to promote God's plan for mankind and to rule as His deputy on earth. After the militant evangelism of Charlemagne, with its enforced baptisms and destruction of pagan shrines, his heirs found themselves and the Christian world on the defensive. Fear was not the only inducement to conversion: the pagan population was sometimes promised material rewards and support in return for baptism. In conquered lands those leading families who accepted Christianity, 'which was apparently accepted by the Frankish rulers as an open sign of political submission,'<sup>15</sup> stood a good chance

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<sup>13</sup> *Annals of Xanten*, 850.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 845.

<sup>15</sup> R.E. Sullivan, "The Carolingian missionary and the pagan," *Speculum* 28 (1953).

of power under the Carolingian system. Nevertheless it is clear that a Christian conversion, based on fear, might and acquisitiveness, had but shallow roots. The extent of the conversion of such peoples as the Danes and Saxons was complicated by social and political factors. The internal struggles for the Danish throne were the subject of intervention by the Carolingian monarchs who provided their candidates with support and refuge. The acceptance of Christianity and Carolingian rule by the upper order of the Saxons and the subsequent loss of political privileges of the two lower orders combined to give rise to the revolt of 841–842. Charlemagne's 'missionary' campaigns had also provided him with much war booty and tribute that gave him the means to reward his followers with not just valuable objects but also lands and privileges. His heirs were not only deprived of this income but were forced into considerable expenditure in defence of their lands. They had to raise levies and monies, and in many case had to pay a form of tribute themselves to 'buy off' Viking raiders.

Doctrinal uncertainty added to the confusion felt by many. The relatively civilised theological debates of the Court of Charlemagne over iconoclasm and adoptionism gave way to the bitter struggles over predestination and Johannes Scottus Erigena's writings that followed.<sup>16</sup> It was the study of the works of Augustine and Jerome on Galatians that led the monk, Gottschalk to his theory of double predestination.<sup>17</sup> This theory that attacked the very foundations of man's free will gave rise to a controversy not only between Gottschalk and other churchmen, but brought the educated and interested layman into the dispute. The question is of the greatest importance in trying to assess how people thought about guilt and redemption. The idea that man had free will, the freedom to choose whether or not to sin, had long been a basic belief: the will to good and the will to evil were essential to a belief in a redeeming God and in the intrinsic worthiness of the Christian as responsible for the choices he or she makes.<sup>18</sup> Methodius in the early fourth century argues in the *Symposium of the Ten Virgins*, that Adam was given free will, that is freedom from necessity and in

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<sup>16</sup> For an overview on the debate see D. Ganz, "The debate on predestination," in *Charles the Bald Court and Kingdom*, ed. Margret T. Gibson and Janet L. Nelson (Oxford, 1990).

<sup>17</sup> For an account of the change of views over free will from the early Fathers to Augustine see Elaine Pagels, *Adam, Eve and the serpent* (New York, 1988).

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.* p. xxiii.



particular freedom to control his own sexual impulses. Adam chose to sin: he was not overwhelmed by the physical drives of his own body.<sup>19</sup> At the Second Council of Orange in 529 the bishops declared that all who are willing to receive God's grace can and will be saved. The acceptance of grace is a matter of free will and, of course, there will always be those who refuse. This touches on a difficult problem for theologians from early Christian times onwards: what had you to do to accept grace? For many people it was simply baptism and belief, but for many others it made great demands on the Christian. In the third century Clement and Origen developed the idea of a trial by fire based on Luke 3:16, but came to the conclusion that the Christian had nothing to fear and that 'the marks of the baths of water and spirit will remain as signs that one is worthy of receiving the fire of baptism in Jesus Christ.'<sup>20</sup> While Augustine believed that it was impossible to resist sin without the grace and strength of God, he did not deny free will as such. He makes a distinction, based on his own sexual desires, between the desire to follow God's will and the ability of the unaided mind to control the body's urge to sin. Augustine saw a struggle between the will to good and the will to evil: 'Myself I willed it, myself I nilled it.'<sup>21</sup> Thus God's help was needed even for those who most earnestly desired to choose good, but that first impetus of one's own will to good was of the essence. The Council of Orange's declaration came down to the same thing, though couched in less despondent terms. With God's help, said the bishops in 529, everyone can overcome his will to evil, but they must want to do so—they must be 'willing.' That decision is theirs, not one forced on them by destiny. However, it was Augustine's assertion that no one, contaminated by sin as they were, was able to successfully avoid evil unaided, that led Gottschalk to develop his ideas of double predestination: his own statement made to Hrabanus Maurus at the Council of Mainz in 848 was clear and brief.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Elaine Pagels, "Freedom from necessity: Philosophic and personal dimensions of Christian conversion," in *Genesis 1–3 in the history of exegesis: intrigue in the garden*, ed. G.A. Robbins (Levinston, 1988).

<sup>20</sup> Origen, Twenty-fourth Homily, *Commentary on Luke*, cited Jaques Le Goff, *La naissance du Purgatoire* (Paris, 1981).

<sup>21</sup> Augustine *Confessions*, 8.10.

<sup>22</sup> P.E. Dutton, ed., *Carolingian civilization: a reader* (Peterborough, 1993).

I, Gottschalk believe and confess, publicly declare and bear witness that, from God the Father through God the Son, in God the Holy Spirit, and I affirm and maintain before God and his saints, that predestination is double, either of the elect to heaven or of the reprobate to death. Just as an unchangeable God unchangeably predestined, even before the creation of the world, all his elect by his free grace to eternal life, so the same unchangeable God by his just judgment unchangeably predestined all the reprobates, who on Judgement Day will be damned fully and deservedly on account of their evil merits, to everlasting death.

Gottschalk's critics, including Hincmar of Reims the supporter and advisor of Charles the Bald made a somewhat uneasy distinction between 'pre-knowledge' and predestination. In 849 Hincmar wrote to Gottschalk that:<sup>23</sup>

God wills the final salvation of all souls, to be attained by the redemption offered to all by Christ in his Passion, and by the Divine gift of grace offered to all during their lives on earth.

God has also given to all souls the gift of free will. He has known from all eternity what will be the final state of each in the life to come; but compels none to co-operate with His grace. The soul that chooses to reject Him, God will not and cannot, compel to accept Him, or that Vision of Himself which will be the joy of the life hereafter.

Hincmar laid the stress on God's goodness, his will to save all—thereby exonerating God of the responsibility for evil that can be implied by a doctrine that holds that some are predestined to evil. He stresses also that unredeemed man's fate is just, but that God, in his mercy, offers salvation and offers it to all. It is man's choice to accept or reject that grace. Nevertheless, we see here Hincmar attempting to harmonize not only God's justice and mercy, but also his omniscience. God knows beforehand those who will reject Him and redemption.<sup>24</sup> Hrabanus Maurus' reaction was even more extreme. He embarked on a polemic against Gottschalk and his teaching, declaring that Gottschalk claimed God was malevolent and unjust, that he preferred the devil to God and, by refusing to believe that man could not be rescued from the

<sup>23</sup> Cited E.S. Ducket, *Carolingian portraits* (Ann Arbor, 1962).

<sup>24</sup> See Ganz, "The debate on predestination.", J. Marabon, "John Scottus and Carolingian theology: from Preadestione, its background and its critics to Periphraseon," in *Charles the Bald; Court and Kingdom*, ed. Margret T. Gibson and Janet L. Nelson (Oxford, 1990).

sin of Adam and Eve, he was hostile to the human race. He ended by claiming:<sup>25</sup>

And so all these things having been demonstrated, is proved to be his own worst enemy, since not only does he ready the fires of hell for himself in this way, but even in this, that by seducing others through the doctrine of his error away from the way of truth he makes them the companions of his own damnation. For which reason [Gottschalk] himself will surely suffer a fitting punishment in the eternal fires [of hell].

The political aspects of the debate affected not only the personalities involved, but also the general peace and control of the realm. The great danger of the theory of double predestination was that it seemed to deny the efficacy of a good life and good works: if you were destined to be damned, then it made no difference to you what you did. This was a threat not only to the authority of the Church, but also to the stability of the state, in that it could be said to encourage lawlessness and revolt. The community of interest of Church and state is evident here, and those who were leaders of both, such as Hincmar could not allow the challenge to the established order to go unanswered. Hrabanus Maurus summed up the problem for public order in a letter to Hincmar, dated 848.<sup>26</sup>

He [Gottschalk] declares... that there are people in this world who since they are compelled by predestination of God to go to death, cannot correct themselves of error and sin. As I hear, he as already seduced many, and they are less attentive to their salvation, for they say: "what profits me to strive to serve God, for if I am predestined to death I shall never escape it, but if, on the contrary, I behave badly and am predestined to life, without any doubt I shall go to eternal rest."

Not everyone reacted so violently to the idea of double predestination. Not only was the problem of public order a cause for concern for Charles the Bald: the controversy and his reaction to it 'betray dismay at the prospect of predestined damnation for unknown numbers of his subjects but plainly also his indignation that his clergy should be

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<sup>25</sup> Cited Dutton, ed., *Carolingian civilization: a reader*. Source *Ad Notingum episcopum Veronensem de praescientia ac praedestinatione*, dci, PL, vol. 112 c. 1540C7–1541A11, pp. 369–397.

<sup>26</sup> MGH Epp. V pp. 481–482 Cited Ganz, "The debate on predestination," pp. 227–228.

thrown into confusion.<sup>27</sup> Lupus of Ferrières wrote in a letter to Charles the Bald circa 849:

This dividing into the saved and the condemned has been, is, and will be: and it will be revealed when time is over, at the Last Judgement. Those on whom God has pity are predestined to enjoy Him and His heaven. Those whom He hardens in spirit, that is, those whose hearts He does not will to soften, are left without hope of His sight.<sup>28</sup>

It is important to note that not only such important and influential scholars as Lupus and Ratramnus of Corbie were inclined towards Gottschalk's views in the controversy, but that the matter was debated in wider circles than the purely ecclesiastical or monastic: it was clearly a matter for discussion at court. There is very little evidence for what ordinary people thought and believed. In her survey of sermons preached from circa 500 to circa 1300 De Reu remarks on the continuing theme of who will be saved.<sup>29</sup> Her analysis shows some interesting features such as that in the Merovingian and Carolingian period the emphasis lay on Christ as judge and on his human nature, while Christ as saviour received far less attention. She also notes the influence of Augustine and the passive role expected of men who can do nothing to alter their fate and that 'it was prideful and sinful to want to alter any part of the divine plan.'<sup>30</sup>

Faced with raids, natural disasters, deprived of the certainty of salvation, and faced the uncertainties, squabbles and downright hostilities among the leaders of both Church and state there is little wonder that many began to question what they, as the Frankish nation, had done to bring this upon themselves. Once they had seen themselves as described in the prologue to the Salic Law, written for Pippin but also used by Charlemagne.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>27</sup> J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church* (Oxford, 1983) pp. 243–244.

<sup>28</sup> Cited Duckett, *Carolingian portraits*, p. 197.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 415.

<sup>30</sup> ...het was zelfs hoogmoedig en zondig iets aan het goddelijke plan te willen wijzigen. M. de Reu, "Middeleeuwse preken: Spiegel der maatschappij?", *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 109 (1996).

<sup>31</sup> *Gens Francorum inclita, auctore Deo condita, fortis in arma, fidelibus atque amicis suis staisque firma, profunda in consilio, nobilitasque eius incolumna, vel forma mirabiliter aegregia, audax, velox et aspera, ad catholicam fidem firmiter conuersa, emunis quidem ab omne herese, dum adhuc teneretur barbara, Deo inspirante, iuxta morum suorum qualitatem desiderans iustitiam, peruenit ad lumen scientiae, custodiens pietatem, dictauerunt legem Salicam... Uiuat qui Francus diligit, Christus eorum regnum usque in sepilernum custodiat, rectores eorundem lumen gratiae suae repleat. Exercitumque eorum protegat atque defendat, fidem muniat, pacem et felicitatem atque sanitatem per infinita secula*

The famous race of the Franks, whose Founder is God, strong in arms, true to its alliances, deep in counsel, noble in body, untouched in sincerity, beautiful in form, daring, swift and fierce, now converted to the Catholic Faith, free from heresy; while still held in a barbaric [rite], by God's inspiration, according to the quality of its customs, sought after the key of knowledge, desiring justice, keeping piety, dictated the Salic law... Long live Christ who loves the Franks! May he guard their kingdom, fill their leaders with the light of His Grace, protect their army, accord them the defence of the Faith! May the Lord of Lords concede them, of His Mercy, the joys of peace and days full of happiness! For this is the race which, brave and valiant, threw off in battle from their necks the most hard Roman yoke, and it is the Franks who, after Baptism, have enclosed in gold and precious stones the bodies of the Holy Martyrs, whom the Romans had burnt by fire, mutilated by the sword, or thrown to wild beasts.

The Franks, then, were beloved of God and ready to succeed where the Romans had failed. Much has been written over the imperial ambitions of the Carolingians, of their great effort to revive and conserve classical learning, but their ambition was directed not at the restoration of the Empire of pagan Rome, but the establishment of a Christian Empire that would defend the Church and promulgate the Kingdom of God. This was their charge and various theologians wrote of the dangers of abandoning that task and the laws of God. The language of the prologue contrasts sharply with that of other texts that warn the Franks of the wrath of God. Wala and Paschius Radbertus warned that the famines, pestilence, storms, civil wars and such disasters were the result of the Franks ignoring the word of God. The court was corrupt and the king was answerable for his people on the day of judgement. An imperial document dated 829 notes an ordinance of Louis the Pious giving his bishops the task of determining whether the conduct of the laity conformed to divine law. He also ordered bishops to consider the conduct of clerics and to take measures to ensure that it was fitting. Ten years later the Annals of St. Bertin for 839 mentions the presence of an English envoy asking permission for the English king to travel

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*tribuat. Haec est enim gens ualida, quae Romanorum iugem durissimum de suis ceruicibus discussit pugnando, atque post agnitionem baptisimi sanctorum martyrum corpora, quae Romani igne cremauerunt vel ferro truncauerunt atque betiis lacarando proiecerunt, Franci super eos aurum lapides preciosos adornauerunt.* Cited Jeffrey A. Bowman, "The Bishop Builds a Bridge: Sanctity and Power in the Medieval Pyrenees," *The Catholic Historical Review* 88 (2002).

through Francia on his way to Rome.<sup>32</sup> The envoy also advised Louis to ‘devote even more careful attention and concern to the salvation of souls of those subject to him’—this as a result of a vision of a pious English priest in which he saw lines in books that were written in blood and represented

all the sins of the Christian people, because they are so utterly unwilling to obey the orders and fulfil the precepts of those divine books. These boys now, moving about here and looking as if they are reading, are the souls of the saints who grieve every day over the sins and crimes of Christians and intercede for them so that they may finally be turned to repentance some day. And if those souls of the saints did not cry out to God with incessant weeping, there would already have been an end to so many evil men in the Christian people some time ago. You will recall that this very year, fruit came forth in abundance on the land and on the trees and vines too, but because of the sins of men most of this fruit perished and never came to be consumed or used by anyone. If Christian people do not quickly do penance for their various vices and crimes and don’t observe the Lord’s Day in a stricter and worthier way, then a great and crushing disaster will swiftly come upon them: for three days and nights a very dense fog will spread over their land, and then all of a sudden pagan men will lay waste with fire and sword most of the people and land of the Christians along with all they possess. But if instead they are willing to do true penance immediately and carefully atone for their sins according to the Lord’s command with fasting, prayer and alms-giving, then they may still escape those punishments and disasters through the intercession of the saints.

Jonas of Orleans warned that:<sup>33</sup>

those who live by wickedness and do not make reparation for their deeds by penitent lamentation and generous almsgiving, but rather persist in them until their dying day, will suffer more atrocious torments than those who, though never baptized in the font of Christ into the Church, have nevertheless done good works.

As God’s ‘Chosen People’ the Franks should not only be assured of salvation, they should be in the forefront of the fight to win God’s Kingdom; it was their promised land, but the sins of the people, the lack of discipline, the greed and injustice brought that inheritance into

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<sup>32</sup> Nelson in her edition of the *Annals of St. Bertin* comments that Æthelwulf of Wessex did not make the journey until 855, note 4, p. 42.

<sup>33</sup> Jonas of Orleans *De institutione regia*, ch. XII.

question. By abandoning 'the celestial laws which God... has promulgated',<sup>34</sup> the Franks were betraying not only their God-given task of defending the Church and working for the completion of God's plan, but were also endangering their own status and salvation. While the ills that beset the Frankish realms were obvious to all, for those who followed Gottschalk's doctrine it seemed that these were due to a lack of grace, and since that was God-given, the ills were irremediable. To others the fault lay in the unwillingness of men to follow God's commands, and the remedy lay in bringing them to a sense of their responsibility. In this the role of the ruler was of crucial importance.

### 1.2 *Ruler Theory and the Power of Propaganda*

The political face of western Europe had changed considerably since Charlemagne's time and this was not only due to the social and economic developments of an increasingly monetary system and a population that, for whatever reasons, was more mobile. The empire under a single ruler in the reigns of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious was due more to circumstances than to planning; the idea of the unity of the empire, even with subsidiary *regna*, was an ideal. However, Louis the Pious left three adult sons whose ambitions and rivalry effectively put paid to the empire as a unity. Attempts were made by Louis to keep the integrity of the Empire intact, chiefly by the *Ordinatio Imperii* of 817 that aimed to combine fairness to his sons with 'depersonalised' power.<sup>35</sup> Lothar, Louis eldest son, was to be a junior emperor and to have the whole of Francia on his father's death: the younger brothers were given smaller *regna*, they were to be subject to their elder brother and were also commended to his care. If either younger son should die without legitimate issue, his share was to revert to his elder brother. The plan also 'disinherited' Louis' nephew Bernard of Italy promising those lands to Lothar. This raised the question whether the position of the illegitimate Bernard's rule in Italy was a special favour or a legitimate claim to rulership. If the latter were to be the case then this would put Bernard's heirs in a position to rival Louis' sons, not just to Italy but to

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid., ch. XI.

<sup>35</sup> F.L. Ganshof, *The Carolingians and the Frankish monarchy: studies in Carolingian history* (1971).

the main Frankish lands and the imperial title itself.<sup>36</sup> The Merovingian tradition whereby all legitimate sons were eligible for a crown and to have a share in the kingdom, if possessing sufficient political support, had already been overturned by Charlemagne's first division of his Empire in 806, the provisions of which made 'a conscious break with Frankish tradition.'<sup>37</sup> While the empire, both under Charlemagne's division and that of Louis the Pious, provided for younger sons by giving them their own *regna*—and incidentally keeping them relatively quiescent—it was clear that a further division of the Frankish empire was seen as undesirable. This aspect is shown clearly by clause 14 of the *Ordinatio*:

But if any one of them, [the younger sons] dying, shall leave lawful children, his power shall not be divided among them; but rather the people, coming together in common, shall elect one of them who shall be pleasing to God; and this one the elder brother shall receive as a brother and a son, and, himself being treated with paternal honour, shall observe this constitution towards him in every way. But in the matter of the other children they shall, with pious love, discuss how they may keep them and give them advice, after the manner of our parents.

This also shows clearly that, while Lothar was to be Emperor, primogeniture was not a fixed principle. Indeed, the Carolingians had a history of younger sons succeeding, with their own legend of the pious younger son Ansegesus, providing both a justifying factor and a link to the Church and works of charity.<sup>38</sup> It is impossible to say if the scheme would have preserved the unity of the Empire or led to a fixed system of inheritance, but these plans were made null and void by Louis' second marriage and the birth of another son. His second wife, Judith appears to have been a lady of very strong character and ambition, especially where her son was concerned.<sup>39</sup> Louis' attempts

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<sup>36</sup> For an account of how Louis the Pious carried out the provisions of his father's will and dealt with the complexities of Bernard's situation see M. Innes, "Charlemagne's will: piety, politics and the imperial succession," *English Historical Review* 112 (1997).

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 842.

<sup>38</sup> St. Arnulf proposed to give his possessions to the paupers, but his elder son objected. His younger, Ansegesus, agreed with his father who blessed him and prophesied that his descendants would be kings. The Carolingians reckoned their descent from Ansegesus.

<sup>39</sup> For a discussion of Judith's political power see Silvia Konecny, "Die Frauen des karolingischen Königshauses: Die politische Bedeutung der Ehe und die Stellung der Frau in der fränkischen Herrscherfamilie vom 7. bis zum 10. Jahrhundert" (Universität Wien, 1976).



to carve a part of the realm for this youngest son, the later Charles the Bald, led his elder sons to rebel, notably in 833 when Lothar with the help of various followers and bishops forced a public penance on his father and effectively deposed him. Lothar's rebellion was of short duration, and if not fully restored to his former position, he was still regarded as Louis' successor as emperor. The death of Pippin, the son whose *regna* was Aquitaine, and the unsuccessful rebellion of Louis the German in 838 and 839 led Louis to a new division of the Frankish lands decided at Worms in 839. The younger Louis was to have Bavaria and the remaining land was to be divided between Lothar, despite his continued rebellious attitude, and the fifteen year-old Charles. The Annals of St. Bertin state that Lothar had considerable choice in defining his share: he was asked to make a fair division and Louis would then decide which son would have which half, but he was unable to do so. As a result Louis made the division but allowed Lothar to choose which half of the realm would be under his direct control. He chose the eastern half that included the imperial capital of Aachen and the Italian lands. He also vowed to protect Charles, his godson. Despite this, on Louis' death Lothar claimed the whole empire.

Nithard described how, after Lothar's defeat in 842, the assembled clerics examined his character and fitness to rule:<sup>40</sup>

These men examined Lothar deeds from the very beginning: how he had driven his father from the kingdom; how often by his greed he had caused Christian people to break their oaths; how often he himself had broken his promises to his father and brothers; often he had tried after the death of their father to disinherit and destroy his brothers; how much murder, adultery, destruction by fire, and crime of every sort the entire Church had suffered because of his most execrable greed. In addition they charged that he did not have the knowledge to govern the commonwealth nor could they find a trace of good will in his conduct of the government. In view of this Lothar deserved that the just judgement of Almighty God drove him first from the battlefield and then from the kingdom.

Nithard was Charles's man and wrote *Historiae* at his behest, moreover he had a personal grudge against Lothar for the loss of his lands; nevertheless it is interesting to note the findings against Lothar in this account as it states not only those qualities that were thought undesirable in a ruler but also gives expression to the relationship that should exist

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<sup>40</sup> Nithard *Historiae* IV,1 Cited Elina Screen, "The importance of the emperor: Lothar I and the Frankish civil war, 840–843," *Early Medieval Europe* 12 (2003).

between lord and man. Lothar was a rebel and oath breaker who not only caused physical hardship and damage but also led others into the same sins. It is important to note that it was an assembly that examined Lothar's conduct. Assemblies of the notables of the land for consultation or ratifying of edicts, to a certain extent, were a brake on royal power and a source of royal revenue.<sup>41</sup> They could also serve as a lever to further the interests of the individual or faction of *potentes*. According to Ganshof they lost their 'character of government institutions and took the form of meetings for promoting factional interests.'<sup>42</sup> They were a chance for a ruler to make or reinforce ties. For a monarch it was essential to bind his supporters to him, especially in the politically unstable period of the mid ninth century, and to do this various means were used including material rewards and propaganda.

Satisfying followers was an essential part of rulership, and in times of crisis, when men changed allegiance, the promise of *honores* and *beneficia* was a powerful weapon in the fight to obtain and retain support. According to contemporary sources, such as the capitularies, the *vassus* owed his lord his total loyalty and the lord in return was supposed to protect and provide for his vassal.<sup>43</sup> However often it was repeated that, as an ideal, a man followed his lord, the reality was different. Men changed sides and supporters were bought with land and titles. It could be argued that if a lord failed to provide his *vassus* with appropriate *honores*, he had failed in his duty and the vassal was justified in abandoning his lord for another. The status of *vassi dominici* demanded that their quality be recognised by their lord and be given due respect.<sup>44</sup> Even when a *potens* adhered to his lord, he could not be sure of reward, as Nithard found out. He expected his lands, lost to Lothar, to be returned to him in the settlement between the brothers, but:<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> For a description of the (theoretical) working of the assemblies see Nelson, *Charles the Bald*.

<sup>42</sup> Ganshof, *The Carolingians and the Frankish monarchy: studies in Carolingian history*.

<sup>43</sup> For discussions on the precise status of *vassi*, *missi* and other terms see Charles Edwin Odegaard, "The Concept of Royal Power in Carolingian Oaths of Fidelity," *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies* 20 (1945). Charles Edwin Odegaard, *Vassi and fideles in the Carolingian Empire* (New York, 1972). F.L. Ganshof, "Benefice and vassalage in the age of Charlemagne," *Cambridge Historical Journal* 6 (1939). F.L. Ganshof, "The impact of Charlemagne on the institutions of the Frankish realm," *Speculum* 40 (1965).

<sup>44</sup> Ganshof, "Benefice and vassalage in the age of Charlemagne," p. 148.

<sup>45</sup> Nithard *Historiarum Libri IV*, cited Nelson, *Charles the Bald*, p. 125.

since he [Lothar] would not have, he said, in the share [of the *regnum*] they were offering him the wherewithall to make good to his supporters that which they had lost. The envoys—I do not know by what trickery they were deceived—thus increased Lothar's share of the *regnum*...

This emphasis on the need for a ruler to reward his followers caused a degree of uncertainty and instability in any political situation. The king was dependent on his *potentes* for support, but they were also dependent on him for their position. The *potentes* had dependents and followers of their own to satisfy, and their relationship with the king was just one link in a chain. Even those family members entering a cloister were expected to bring with them land or revenues.<sup>46</sup> For many *potentes* the choice of whose man to be was dictated by the potential wealth and power to be gained from a ruler, or by the desire to retain family land held in a *regnum* of a different ruler. It may have been the desire to hold onto lands in Lothar's *regnum* that caused Adalhard, until that point closely connected with Charles the Bald, to leave West Francia for the Middle Kingdom in 844. His defection did not prevent his return to Charles's good graces in 861 when Charles's star was in the ascendant. Such men as Adalhard, when they shifted loyalties, brought with them a network of family members and dependents, and the constant shifts caused by the 'fluidity of kin groups'<sup>47</sup> led to a basically unstable situation whereby the ruler tried to retain control of an office and its *beneficia* while the various families sought to make both office and land hereditary, at least within the family group. Officially, lands were often held for life or for the tenure of office, and were not strictly speaking, hereditary. The retention of control over the granting of office, and its accompanying land, by a ruler gave him a degree of flexibility in using his *potentes*, either at court or as administrators further afield. Odegaard argues persuasively, but not completely convincingly, for a narrow definition of *vassi* as those who swore a special obligation to serve the king/emperor or other lord militarily. More usable is his definition of *fideles*, in its broader sense as those who specially commended themselves to the king and swore to support him with aid and counsel.<sup>48</sup> The ordinary subject swore only to be loyal and obedient, but those who commended themselves and became the *homines* of the king, swore a

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<sup>46</sup> K. Leyser, "The German aristocracy from the ninth to the early twelfth century. A historical and cultural sketch," *Past and Present* 41 (1968).

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 36, 38.

<sup>48</sup> C.E. Odegaard, *Vassi and fideles*.

more far-reaching oath to help and advise him. This bond, attaching them to the king more closely than an ordinary subject, involved not only loyalty and obedience, but aid which was only possible because of their greater material resources.<sup>49</sup>

The Carolingian rulers asked their subjects to swear that they would be faithful without deceit or ill will; their oath was essentially a promise to be obedient and to refrain from disloyalty. The magnates, on the other hand, who were servants of the king, swore that they would be faithful helpers with aid and counsel; thus their oath was not a promise of mere loyalty, for it entailed an obligation of positive service.

In spite of the confusion about the precise meaning of the word *vassus*, it seems clear that there was a two-tier system of those who were a ruler's subjects, owing him loyalty and obedience, and those who were indeed his *homines*, serving his interests and furthering his cause. The distinction is never clear, particularly in times of crisis, but it is chiefly to the *homines*, the *potentes* hoping for rich rewards or bound by other ties, that a ruler addressed his propaganda. There was a remarkable amount of movement amongst the *potentes* in the ninth century: they moved around to fulfil offices, or acquired *beneficia* in a new area by changing allegiance.<sup>50</sup> Many must have been aware of their power and how essential their support was to a ruler, but the system was reciprocal: a vassal was dependent, to a very large extent, on his lord's favour. Ideally, a good ruler was served by good vassals, bound by ties of loyalty, faithfulness and responsibility.

It was in a ruler's interest to display those characteristics and virtues that made him a fit ruler, and this could be done in two ways. Firstly by his measures and actions, and secondly by display in the form of ritual or visual embodiments of those qualities that made a good ruler. In the first instance he had to be seen not only dispensing the just and generous gifts of *beneficia*, but fulfilling the tasks and duties of a monarch. Charlemagne in a letter to Pope Leo III had declared that his task:<sup>51</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 75.

<sup>50</sup> Screen charts the relative fortunes of Lothar and Charles the Bald in their power struggle by noting the number and character of charters granted by each, indicating their degree of popularity and the changing allegiances of various foundations. Screen, "The importance of the emperor: Lothar I and the Frankish civil war, 840–843."

<sup>51</sup> MGH Epist. ii, no. 93, pp. 136ff. Cited Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church*.

Assisted by the divine piety, is everywhere to defend the Church of Christ—abroad by arms, against pagan incursions and the devastations of such a break of faith; at home, by protecting the Church in the spreading of the Catholic faith.

Alcuin took this even further, declaring that was the true bulwark on which the Church could depend.<sup>52</sup>

There is one power of the papacy, of the Vicar of Christ. There is another, the lay power of Imperial Constantinople. There is a third, of your own kingship, through which Jesus Christ has made you the ruler of Christian people, excelling in your strength the two which I have named, more renowned in wisdom, more exalted in the dignity of your realm. See! On you alone all hope for the churches of Christ leans for support.

Even more extreme was a work dating from the early ninth century by Theodulf of Orléans that stated that St. Peter, who had in his keeping the keys to heaven, had ensured that Charlemagne after his restoration of Pope Leo III possessed his own set of heavenly keys.<sup>53</sup>

The lack of hard and fast rules for inheritance and the changing ideas of kingship made the legitimization of rule of crucial importance. The rivalry between the sons of Louis the Pious also brought this aspect to the fore. While dealing with a slightly later period, Weiler's remark seems very applicable to this earlier context.<sup>54</sup>

Propaganda could only serve its purpose, that is to legitimise a particular act or action, if it appealed to attitudes and values which justified these deeds. They had to be described in terms which left no doubt as to their inherent moral quality and necessity.

The Carolingian writers of the genre *speculum principum* had the dual task of instructing the ruler and justifying his rule. In particular their definitions of a just ruler and from what he derives his power give an idea of what they felt would be in keeping with those 'attitudes and values.' The argument was that the king should be effective; if he was not, then it was right to replace him with one who was. A royal line that owed its existence to this argument was theoretically vulnerable: it had to produce rulers who were seen to be effective. The presence of brothers and adult sons was a continual threat to a ruler, as was

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<sup>52</sup> Cited Duckett, *Carolingian portraits*.

<sup>53</sup> A.M. Koldeweij, "Der Gude Sente Servas" (Utrecht, 1985) p. 86.

<sup>54</sup> Bjorn Weiler, "The rex penitens and the medieval idea of kingship," *Viator* 31 (2000) p. 12.

obvious in the deposition of Louis the Pious. The role of the Church in this incident is complex; Magnou-Nortier calls her 'l'epicentre'.<sup>55</sup> Louis was excommunicated and deprived of his weapons and insignia by his foster brother, archbishop Ebbo of Reims. Excommunication meant that he was unable to bear arms and therefore unable to rule. The politics of rule brought theology into play and the emphasis shifted somewhat from what made a legitimate king, election, inheritance or consecration, to whether the king was appointed by God.

The writers of the ninth century were more or less one in their assertion that a good and legitimate king ruled by the will of God. How that will was made known had a less unanimous opinion. In chapter III of *De Institutione Regia*, Jonas of Orleans came down firmly on the side of those who said a king's title was dependent on how he ruled.

The king is called upon to rule rightly. If he rules piously and justly and with mercy, then, he deserves to be called a king; but if he holds himself aloof from these things, he forfeits the kingly title.

Jonas was of the opinion that kings ruled either by God's gift or by his permission.<sup>56</sup>

No king governs his kingdom by virtue of succession from his forefathers. . . . So then: let whoever exercise temporal power over other mortal men believe that his kingdom has been committed to his charge, not by men, but by God. Those who rule piously and justly and mercifully undoubtedly rule by God's gift; but those who do otherwise rule, not by His gift, but only by His permission. . . . For as Isadore explains, "When God is angry peoples receive such a ruler as they deserve for their sins." . . . On this account, let every man to whom such a kingdom has been committed dispose his will and conduct his government in such a way as to be worthy to rule happily forever with Him from Whom he has received it. For it is no profit to anyone to rule on earth by royal power if (which God forbid) he is to be visited with an eternal banishment.

Thus according to Jonas the people get the ruler they deserve, a pertinent point when, according to the annals, so many disasters were visited on the Franks. In the following chapter Jonas drops the distinction between those rulers whose kingdoms were a gift of God and those who rule with his permission in favour of the blanket term 'ordained

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<sup>55</sup> E. Magnou-Nortier, "La tentative de subversion de l'État sous Louis le Pieux et l'oeuvre des falsifications (1e partie)," *Moyen Age Revue d'histoire et philologie* 105 (1999).

<sup>56</sup> Jonas of Orleans *De institutione regia*, ch. VII.

by God.' In this chapter he speaks only of the just ruler and the duty and loyalty owed to him by his subjects.<sup>57</sup>

...it is fitting that every subject should faithfully and beneficially and obediently submit to that same power; for, according to the teaching of the Apostle, he who resists power ordained by God certainly resists the ordinance of God.

The implication is that this obedience is owed to the just ruler, and that a subject has the right to expect that he is governed in a way compatible with the laws of God. The ruler is responsible for the welfare of the souls of his subjects and he should govern in the interests of the kingdom. The first of these has a number of implications: not only must he govern justly but he must make sure that the means for the salvation of his people are present.<sup>58</sup>

We therefore suppliantly call upon Your Excellency to see to it that, through you, your nobles and other faithful subjects come to understand the title, power, strength and authority, and also the dignity of the priesthood, lest, being ignorant, they place their souls in any kind of danger.

This duty and that of securing 'the well-being of the priests and their ministry, and to protect the Church of Christ by force of arms' are put before all other duties.<sup>59</sup> This places the Church in the forefront of politics, and implies that the ruler must listen to the counsel of churchmen, make them advisors and administrators, and grant the Church lands and privileges.<sup>60</sup> Jonas, then, ties ruler and Church together in a common duty to ensure the salvation of souls and by doing so insists on the central influence of the Church. The ruler is responsible for the health of the Church, but equally, the Church is responsible for the ruler and for his soul, for he will have to 'render account of his conduct of that office on the terrible day of judgement.'<sup>61</sup> Jonas connected the interests of the kingdom to justice and good domestic rule, and to the active and healthy faith of the people, saying that 'it is to their lack of faith that so many kingdoms have collapsed because they were not established upon piety, justice and mercy.' This would seem to support some of the claims of the rebels of 833—that by dividing

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., ch. VIII.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid., ch. II.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., ch. IV.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

Charlemagne's empire, Louis the Pious was weakening the land of the Franks.

In chapter IV Jonas lists the duties of a king, which include defending the weak and laying particular emphasis on the implementation of law and justice.<sup>62</sup>

As far as possible, he must prevent injustices by the terror which he inspires and by his zeal; and, if any should nonetheless arise, he must ensure that they are not permitted to continue. He must allow no one to place his hope in the commission of crimes or impudently engage in wrongful acts; and all men must know that no offence that comes to his attention will remain unchecked or unpunished...

Time after time the responsibility of the ruler is emphasised: in chapter V it is made clear that he is responsible for the administration of law and justice. He is not expected to hear every case, but he is responsible for choosing just and honest judges and administrators—and interestingly he adds they 'must be men who present no danger to him by whom they were appointed.'<sup>63</sup>

Sedullius Scottus agrees with Jonas on most points but is less ambiguous than Jonas about the removal of an unjust ruler.<sup>64</sup>

For if the Most High Ruler should see a prince unfaithful, when he has ordained his faithful servant, He might angrily pluck from that prince the office which He conferred upon him. For if an earthly king can rescind his authority from any unfaithful man and bestow it on another whom he knows to be more faithful, how much more can the divine Ruler of all men, whom the clouds of no man's treachery can deceive, withdraw his favours from false men and bestow them on others known to be proper servants of his will?

It is clear that such writers, probably following the ideas of Smaragdus who had 'dem karolingischen Denken Bleibendes beigesteuert' saw the crown as an office granted by God.<sup>65</sup> This differs from the earlier notions of crown or leadership as a personal matter. In this newer view the ruler was God's viceroy and responsible to him for the lands and people in his care, dispensing justice, protecting the innocent and defending the Church. These writers did not deal with specific problems facing

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., ch. V.

<sup>64</sup> Sedullius Scottus *Liber de rectoribus christianis*, ch. 3.

<sup>65</sup> H.H. Anton, "Smaragd," in *Biografisch-Bibliografisches Kirchenlexikon*, ed. F.W. Bautz (1995).



Frankish society at that time, nor did they draw on the secular (and pagan) Germanic tradition in which the ruler's capabilities as a war-leader would have assumed a greater role. Instead they concentrated on the new mission of the Franks of building a Christian Empire in the sense that *regna* should be governed by Christian laws and principles. That this was not always a practical consideration is obvious. Not only were the rulers constantly chastised for their ill behaviour, for allowing greedy counts and other officials rein, but their lack of determination or success against the Viking raiders was criticised.<sup>66</sup>

Another party of invaders devastated Gaul; of these more than six hundred men perished. Yet owing to his indolence, Charles agreed to give them many thousands of pounds of gold and silver if they would leave Gaul, and this they did. Nevertheless the cloisters of most of the saints were destroyed, and many of the Christians were led away captive.

A writer with infinitely more experience of the practical side of both ecclesiastical and secular politics was Hincmar of Reims. It is difficult therefore to separate his more theoretical writings from the context from which they arose, and in particular the royal rituals, many of which Hincmar himself devised. The increased involvement of the Church in the accession—and possible deposition—of a ruler was a development of the eighth century papal involvement in which Frankish rulers and their heirs were anointed and crowned. Anointing was and remained an ecclesiastical function, but the rulers themselves often crowned their sons, and Charles the Bald helped with the coronation of his queen, but by now, the pope was not the only cleric to anoint a king, the Frankish bishops had taken over this task.<sup>67</sup> The development from there of the coronation-anointing ritual was, to a very great extent, the work of Hincmar, but he never denied the secular role of election in kingmaking. In *De ordine palatii* he described the means by which a just ruler could come to power as inheritance and election; an unjust ruler would use force or intrigue. Like Jonas, he saw both just and unjust rule as being the result of a divine decision. At Charles' consecration in 848, the balance would seem still to be more or less on the side of secular election. Prudentius of Troyes wrote:<sup>68</sup>

<sup>66</sup> *Annals of Xanten*, 845.

<sup>67</sup> For the frequently strained relations between the pope, the Frankish bishops and the Carolingian monarchs see Nelson, "'Not bishops' bailiffs but lords of the earth': Charles the Bald and the problem of sovereignty," *The Frankish World*.

<sup>68</sup> *Annals of St. Bertin*, 848.

At Orleans nearly all the high nobility along with the bishops and abbots elected Charles as their king and then solemnly consecrated him with an anointing of holy chrism and episcopal benediction.

Hincmar viewed the functions of law-giving and law enforcement central to the office of king.<sup>69</sup> Law was the cement that held the *regnum* together. New laws were to be made to supplement old laws and a just king obeyed his own laws and those of his predecessors. In his letter to the pope in 870 Charles the Bald assured him of his fitness for the imperial title, including his knowledge of both civil and ecclesiastical law. Charles had already bound himself to observe the laws of his predecessors by the capitulary of Coulaines.<sup>70</sup> It is obvious that the laity were concerned in this, since it defined the obligations of the *fideles*. The conditions of the capitulary were virtually repeated in the royal promise made at the consecration of Charles as king of Lotharingia in 869. Such rituals and displays were designed, among other things, to convince *potentes*, both lay and ecclesiastical, of a king's fitness to rule. The stand taken by the Frankish bishops in the making and deposing of kings, made it essential that they were convinced that the ruler was fulfilling his function as a ruler by the grace of God.

A ruler must be just, care for people and Church and if he was to govern his land he must first govern himself. He must be moderate, merciful, loyal to his God and the Church.<sup>71</sup> The political treatises stress the need for this devotion and loyalty in the office of God's viceroy. Of more personal virtues he should be wise, temperate and chaste. The latter virtue is little emphasised: in *De virtutibus et vitiis* Alcuin gives it no special attention.<sup>72</sup> Wetti in his vision saw Charlemagne being punished for his promiscuous behaviour, and Asser in his life of Charlemagne's

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<sup>69</sup> For a short accounts of the influence of Roman law in Carolingian times see W.E. Brynteson, "Roman law and legislation in the Middle Ages," *Speculum* 41 (1966) pp. 422–426. Anton-Hermann Chroust, "The Function of Law and Justice in the Ancient World and the Middle Ages," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 7 (1946/06, 1946). Also Janet L. Nelson, "Translating images of authority: the Christian Roman Emperors in the Carolingian world," in *The Frankish World*, ed. Janet L. Nelson (London, 1996).

<sup>70</sup> *Legem vero unicuique competentem sicut antecessores sui tempore meorum praedecessorum habuerunt, in omne dignitate et ordine, fauente deo, me obseruatorum perdono.* Cited *ibid.*, p. 254. Nelson points out that context of 'perdono' in this passage 'impose on it a promissory sense.'

<sup>71</sup> An example of the interaction between emperor and ecclesiastic affairs was Charlemagne's role in the conflict between Alcuin and Theodulf of Orléans. See Rob Meens, "Sanctuary, penance and dispute settlement under Charlemagne: the conflict between Alcuin and Theodulf of Orléans over a sinful cleric," *Speculum* 82 (2007).

<sup>72</sup> Luitpold Wallach, "Alcuin on Virtues and Vices: A Manual for a Carolingian Soldier," *The Harvard Theological Review* 48 (1955/07, 1955).

contemporary, Alfred, tells how the young man prayed that he would be inflicted with some illness that would allow him to curb his carnal urges.<sup>73</sup> Nevertheless, there seems to have been no extraordinary attention paid to sexuality as a source of sin. Concubinage was more or less recognised and even the emphasis on monastic celibacy did not take a real hold until the tenth and eleventh centuries.<sup>74</sup> Nor do we find that much attention is paid to the dangers of femaleness, either as a physical sex or as a metaphor for subjugation to the senses. It is notable that Charlemagne is chastised for his own behaviour and that Alfred saw carnality as his weakness, not the result of the temptation from external (female) sources. Certainly there were complaints against women, but as individuals, not the sex as a whole. The empress Judith was accused on plotting and infidelity, but this says more of the political climate of the time than of any specific anti-female attitude. Sedullius Scottus warns that a king must look to the conduct of his wife because by 'the persuasion of an evil wife pernicious dangers are begotten.'<sup>75</sup> However, this is only part of warning that the king is responsible for the good conduct of his judges and administrators, and that of his family.

### 1.2.1 *Visual Expressions of Ruler Theory*

The system of patronage and dependents meant that by influencing a relatively small number of the most powerful a ruler could gain or keep a large following. It was necessary that those *potentes*, lay and ecclesiastical, were reminded of the virtues of the king and his rule according to God's law and grace. The relationship of the 'just' ruler to God and to his *regnum* found visual expression in a number of Carolingian miniatures. Some of these are very explicit, others imply the kingly virtues. In some we see a reflection of the works of Jonas, Sedullius and other writers giving a picture of the just king being blessed or commended by God. The illustrated psalters are of this ilk. In these the relationship between the contemporary monarch and the good king, depicted dispensing justice, or the unjust being tumbled from power is left to the viewer: they are general pictorial sermons on the function of a good ruler. Far more specific are the ruler portraits that give

<sup>73</sup> Cited Paul Kershaw, "Illness, power and prayer in Asser's Life of King Alfred," *Early Medieval Europe* 10 (2001).

<sup>74</sup> Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg, "Women's Monastic Communities, 500–1100: Patterns of Expansion and Decline," *Signs* 14 (1989).

<sup>75</sup> Sedullius Scottus *Liber de rectoribus christianis*, ch. 5.

some sort of idea of how a particular ruler wished to be seen or the makers wished him to be seen. All ruler portraits must be regarded as deliberately projecting an image. Symbols, in this case those of might and sovereignty, were effective not only in themselves but also in visual representations.<sup>76</sup> A book, even one intended for the personal use of the ruler, was frequently offered as a gift to another ruler, or to a favoured subject, church or monastery. Charles the Bald gave the Vivian Bible to the cathedral of Metz in order to mark his coronation as king of Lotharingia there in 864.<sup>77</sup> Such books were treasures that would be shown to privileged intimates, ambassadors, scholars and noble guests. Then, too, they could be used as exemplars for scribes and miniaturists so that their circulation was larger than at first sight may be supposed. Nor must it be overlooked that such a portrait contributed to the self image of the ruler in question; each time he saw it he would be reminded of those qualities expected of him, and his relationship with any other figure, real, divine or allegorical. The royal portrait seems to have developed in north-west Europe in the mid-ninth century and the iconography of these was 'born of contemporary perceptions of kingship, influenced the portrayal of kings thereafter and may even have affected subsequent ideologies of rulership.'<sup>78</sup> In this area, as with so many other sources, there is far more relating to Charles the Bald than to either his father or his brothers.<sup>79</sup> There are no less than eight surviving works, miniatures, ivories and a statue that are identified as Charles the Bald.

The depiction of Louis the Pious in a work written by Hrabanus Maurus in the 830s, *De laudibus sanctis cruces* is found in most copies of this work, demonstrating how such a visualisation of kingly virtues could reach the eyes of many influential people. The copy dated

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<sup>76</sup> A.M. Koldeweij, *Van de hoed en de rand* (Utrecht, 1995), p. 21.

<sup>77</sup> Marie-Pierre Lafitte, "Bible de Vivien, dite première Bible de Charles le Chauve," in *Trésors carolingiens: livres manuscrits de Charlemagne à Charles le Chauve*, ed. Marie-Pierre Lafitte and Charlotte Denoël (Paris, 2007).

<sup>78</sup> Rosamond McKitterick, "Charles the Bald and the image of kingship," *History Today* 38 (1988), p. 30.

<sup>79</sup> The figure kneeling before the cross in the Psalter of Louis the German was added in the late ninth century and is thus more likely to be a later owner than Louis himself. See Robert Deshman, "The exalted servant: the ruler theology of the Prayer Book of Charles the Bald" *Viator* 11 (1980), p. 387. Hageman is inclined to believe that the figure, bearing no signs of royalty, is Louis the German. Mariëlle Hageman, *De kleren van de keizer: Rituelen en media in de tijd van Karel de Grote* (Amsterdam and Antwerp, 2001), p. 136.

c. 840 and now in the Vatican is probably as close to a contemporary expression of Louis' rulership as we can find. This work enjoyed a good degree of popularity even in its early days. The Annals of Fulda for 844 note that:<sup>80</sup>

Hrabanus, a learned man and second to none of the poets of his time, sent the book which he had composed on the praises of the Holy Cross of Christ, full of a variety of figures and written in a remarkable and difficult verse form, to Pope Sergius by Aschrich and Hruobert, monks of the monastery of Fulda, to be offered to St. Peter.

The portrait was made either towards the end of Louis' life or shortly after his death and is, as all the figures in the work, superimposed on the text of a *carmen figurata*: this poem makes in its opening words a 'royal connection,' *Rex regnum dominus mundum dicio ne gubrans/Imperia sceptrum regnans*. In this Louis is shown as a *miles christi*, ready to defend his lord. It is noticeable that he is not shown wearing the royal or imperial regalia, and in fact, no offensive weapon. He holds a *crux hastata* in his right hand and his left rests on a round shield. His pose is identical to that of the Christ figure on f. 28v of the Stuttgart Psalter who also holds a *crux hastata* in his right hand, index finger extended, just as that of Louis. The Stuttgart figure does not hold a shield but his hand and arm are in the same position, as are his feet. Of interest here is that the Stuttgart illustration is the only reference to the fall of man, other than the Genesis frontispieces in the four Bibles, and depicts Christ defending the reader/psalmist from sin and death. It is this posture of protection that is important: neither Louis nor the Christ figure wears any form of armour, indicating that they are defending, not themselves, but others. This gives a further depth of meaning to the depiction of Louis. He is generally seen here as the defender of the Church, but if we can make a parallel with the Stuttgart illustration, he can also be seen as fulfilling his duty to protect his subjects from sin and the consequences of sin. The simple clothing and absence of crown,

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<sup>80</sup> In note 5 p. 23 of his edition Reuter points out that the work was in fact dedicated to Pope Gregory IV so that this must have been a later revision and the reviser had dedicated the work to the pope then in office. It would be nice to think that the Fulda manuscript of c. 840 now in the Vatican is the same one mentioned in the Fulda Annals. It is not impossible that this was the work referred to by the chronicler, but a marginal 12th century musical notation and a 14th century marginal note are both in German hands and the fact that the manuscript was once owned by Christina of Sweden, make this unlikely. I am indebted to Louis Duval-Arnould, director of manuscripts of the Vatican Library for this information.

sceptre or sword would indicate that Louis is seen as a loyal servant of God, and it is as such he is shown.<sup>81</sup> This, combined with the text, gives a clearly expresses the ideology of God-given rule—the king is the office-holder of God. A nimbus emphasises this aspect, perhaps a counterweight to Louis excommunication in 833: shortly after his death he was already known as the ‘Pious’: Nithard called his work *De dissensionibus filiorum Hluowici Pii*.

Most of the remaining ruler portrait miniatures lay great emphasis on the dignity and power of rule. The portrait of Lothar in his Gospel Book, Paris BN lat. 266, f. 1v, is of particular interest when compared to the near contemporary portrait of Charles the Bald in the Vivian Bible. The work was commissioned to mark the reconciliation with Charles in 849 and executed by the same artist responsible for the presentation portrait in the Vivian Bible.<sup>82</sup> (figs. 1, 2) There are similarities between the two, but the notable differences cannot be solely attributed to the different circumstances. The presentation has, necessarily, a more elaborate composition, but the various symbols of rule and divine approval depicted are a particular expression of ruler theory that is not dictated by the subject of the presentation and can only be regarded as a deliberate expression of an ideology that Charles and his advisors sought to propagate.<sup>83</sup> Lothar is shown enthroned, crowned and holding a long sceptre or rod. He is flanked by two bodyguards, one holding a sword and the other a lance and shield. This is a simple expression of a ruler depicted with the trappings and symbols of his authority: there is no reference to the source of his power or to the responsibilities it carries. The Vivian image, f. 423r, shows Charles in a very similar pose, and with the same regalia, the crowns seemingly identical. Charles also has two bodyguards, shown more fully, with the same weapons, but more obviously modelled on Roman soldiers and

<sup>81</sup> In none of the miniatures does a ruler hold a sword, but a sword was regarded as part of the royal regalia.

<sup>82</sup> McKitterick, “Charles the Bald and the image of kingship”, p. 31.

<sup>83</sup> Hageman is of the opinion that the Vivian Bible was made in 845 and presented to Charles with the confirmation of their charter. She puts forward the theory that this expensive work was an effort on the part of the monks of St. Martin’s to persuade Charles not to appoint a lay abbot, Count Vivian. If this were the case it seems odd that Vivian himself should be shown at the presentation and that the titulus should refer to *vivianus cum grege*. See Hageman, *De kleren van de keizer: Rituelen en media in de tijd van Karel de Grote*. Diebold agrees with the dating and occasion, but sees Vivian as already abbot. William J. Diebold, “The artistic patronage of Charles the Bald (Johns Hopkins, 1990).

less close to the throne: Charles is also given a classical touch by being shown in sandals, while Lothar is cross-gartered. This is an important point since the legitimacy of the Carolingian claim to empire was based on being the heir of Rome. Charles's throne is also somewhat more elaborate than that of Lothar and he is flanked, not only by Abbot Vivian, but by another lay advisor. Before him stand a number of richly dressed monks, three of whom hold the Bible in their covered hands. This could be seen as a fairly straightforward depiction, but it is perhaps remarkable that Charles's setting is so much more elaborate than that of his elder brother and emperor. McKitterick points out that Lothar commissioned his Gospel Book 'with his brother Charles' approval,' this may, perhaps explain this discrepancy, but it is more likely that Charles, even in his early days, was aware of the propaganda value of the royal portrait.<sup>84</sup>

The greatest differences between the two portraits lie in the emphasis given to the ideology of rulership as a gift of God. Lothar's throne is set on rocky, purplish ground, with a plain blue sky behind the throne. The background of Charles's portrait, as was common with Tours illustrations, is zoned. At the bottom is a stretch of yellowish ground and above this a stretch of green, with various small hummocks on which the majority of the monks stand. Above this is a broad band of dark blue occupied by the three monks holding the Bible and one other on the other side, presumably to maintain symmetry and to complete the circular composition. The bodyguards, Vivian, the other layman, the throne and its occupant rest on a belt of white clouds that go over into light lilac ground. Above this last is a band of clear light blue, and a canopy hanging from the framing arch divides the various divine manifestations from the scene below. Not only is Charles the centre point of the composition, he is slightly larger than the other figures. The varying sizes of the monks can be explained by the exigencies of composition, the need to let the figures further in background—the more important and active figures—be seen without restriction. Nevertheless there is considerable room between the heads of the monks in the foreground and Charles's footstool, thus not only is the greater size of the ruler deliberate, but also his isolation from his ordinary subjects emphasises his special status. Since both advisors hold on to the throne it can be assumed this indicates that their authority is derived from the throne

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<sup>84</sup> McKitterick, 'Charles the Bald and his library,' p. 37.

and that they support the ruler. The bodyguards stand on the dividing line between the blue and the clouds, perhaps expressing that their protective function is not confined to the royal person, but also extending this to the Church as part of the royal mandate to defend God and his people. Of great significance is the Hand of God indicating Charles and sending light down upon him. This is a clear indication of the nature of rulership as Charles and his advisors would have it seen: Charles was ruler by God's gift and the recipient of divine blessing. In the upper corners of the arch are two female figures, each holding a palm and offering a crown. To estimate the full significance of these we must look at the frontispiece to Psalms in the same Bible, f. 215, which comes well before the presentation miniature. Here David is shown harping and dancing. This is again a circular composition and David is flanked by bodyguards identical to those who flank Charles. The parallel is further increased by the fact that David has been given the same features as Charles and wears an identical crown. I think we can safely say that there is a purposeful identification between Charles and the biblical monarch.<sup>85</sup>

Visual similarities make implied connections in a number of other miniatures. The guards appear again in the frontispiece to Proverbs in the San Paolo Bible that shows the judgement of Solomon. This is a much more complex composition, and a great deal has been written on the similarity between the throne upon which Solomon sits and those in the various ruler portraits of Charles the Bald, in particular that of the Codex Aureus in which the association with both David and Solomon is made explicit in the *tituli*.<sup>86</sup> Not only the thrones themselves, but the architectural details consisting of 'ein Konglomerat van Dächen, Türmen und Mauren'<sup>87</sup> make a visual link. Like the bodyguards, the architectural similarities serve to emphasize the link between the rulers. While the throne in the ruler miniature is clearly not the same as the one on which Solomon sits, this latter has been identified as a representation of the throne given by Charles to the pope on the occasion of his coronation as Emperor, and possibly intended for his coronation

<sup>85</sup> The same can be said of f. 170v of the San Paolo Bible.

<sup>86</sup> See P.E. Dutton, E. Jeaneau, "The verses of the 'Codex Aureus' of St. Emmeran," *Studi Medievali* 24 (1983).

<sup>87</sup> Otto Pacht, *Buchmalerei des Mittelalters, eine Einführung* (Munich, 1986).



at Metz.<sup>88</sup> The clothing of the two kings in the San Paolo miniatures of Solomon and the ruler portrait is similar, their crowns identical. Both are much larger than the surrounding figures and their pose and gestures are again identical. The identification is made certain by the golden disc in the left hand of the ruler portrait. This is 'inscribed with a monogram in red which has been interpreted as "Charles king [and] caesar, save Charles and Richildis, this [is] king Solomon of the new Rome."' <sup>89</sup>

The architectural implication of royal virtue can be discovered in a work not associated with Charles, but with his nephew Lothar II. This is the engraved crystal now in the British Museum and depicting the story of Susannah and the elders—a subject that could be considered to be particularly apt, given Lothar's marital problems. The central scene shows Susannah and the elders before the seat of judgement that takes place under a canopy, reminiscent of those in the Utrecht Psalter and above which is written *LOTHARIVS REX FRANCI[ORUM ME F]EIRI IVSSIT*, thereby making a link between the emperor and the royal virtue of *Iustitia*. The canopy is the same as that under which Solomon sits in the San Paolo miniature and that which covers Charles the Bald in the Codex Aureus miniature. There can be no doubt that this architectural feature was associated with the just ruler and his responsibility to dispense justice to all. Nor must we underestimate the effect of the coinage. The design of the *Gratia Dei Rex* coins monogram looks remarkably like a large version of the disc held in the San Paolo ruler portrait. Coins obviously reached far beyond the restricted confines of those who had access to illuminated books. There is little surviving of the public forms of Carolingian art in which ruler theory could be expressed. It is true that there are parallels in architecture, but to most people these would be obscure, so perhaps the only way, other than ceremony and ritual of which we have a few accounts, to bring the ideas of God-given kingship to a wider audience would be with the coinage. While many of those handling the coins would be unable to read or decipher the monogram, this was sufficiently simple

<sup>88</sup> See Robert Deshman, "Antiquity and empire in the throne of Charles the Bald," in *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art-Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, ed. Christopher Moss and Katherine Kiefer (Princeton, 1995), Lawrence Nees, *The tainted mantle: Hercules and the classical tradition at the Carolingian court* (Philadelphia, 1991).

<sup>89</sup> C. De Hamel, *A history of illuminated manuscripts*, London 1994, p. 54.

and recognisable that, once it was explained, its meaning would be retained.

The differences between the two ruler portraits in the Vivian Bible and the Lothar Gospels show that there was a great deal of awareness on the part of Charles and his advisors not only of ruler theory, but of the value of expressing this in pictorial form. The symbols used were recognisable and their particular application to Charles was made apparent by the parallels between the presentation miniature and the Psalms frontispiece. Charles's continuing use of the ruler portrait to project an image of God-given kingship, and the lack of further (surviving) ruler portraits of his brothers, implies a conscious policy on his part. He was a patron of books and artists and seems to have had a genuine love of learning and interest in theology, but first and foremost he was a ruler and he never underestimated the power of images, whether as experienced in such rituals as coronation, or captured in paint. He seems to have deliberately associated the role of ruler with images, never showing himself other than mandated by God or less than royal. Perhaps the most direct statement of God-given rule is to be found on f. 2v of Paris, BN, lat. 1141 Charles is shown standing between two bishops, both nimbed, while the Hand of God places a crown on the nimbed head of the king.<sup>90</sup> In spite of the fact that this figure seems to lack some of the distinctive features of Charles shown in other works, the rather heavy face and the full moustache, there can be little doubt that it is intended to be Charles the Bald as it was commissioned by him to commemorate his coronation at Metz in 869. Perhaps the no longer youthful king was happier with this depiction of himself as much younger when claiming succession to his nephew. There can be no doubt as to the intention of the iconography—rule comes from God and in this case God does not just permit the king to rule, but endows him with his authority. Of the other ruler portraits of Charles, only two do not show the Hand of God hovering over him. One of these is in the San Paolo Bible f. 1r but even here the element of divine approval is not lacking. Charles is seated in a circular throne, similar to that used by Lothar, but with a series of arches above it in which are shown the four kingly virtues, identifiable by their attributes

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<sup>90</sup> Hincmar claimed to have some of the Holy Oil brought from heaven by a dove, which he used for this coronation. P. Boucheron, "Signes et formes de pouvoir," in *Le moyen âge en lumière*, ed. Jaques Dalarun (Paris, 2002).

and gestures. Two nimbed and winged angels indicate the throne and Charles, one bearing a rod with a trefoil head, the other a *crux hastata*. This latter, as well as showing divine approval, makes a connection with the portrait of Louis and the various depictions of Christ, indicating the role of the ruler in the defence of the Church.

The second image in which the Hand of God does not hover over Charles's head is an exceptional arrangement of the opening in the Prayer Book of Charles the Bald, where it holds a victory wreath over the head of the crucified Christ.<sup>91</sup> This gives a different, but complementary view of the relationship between Charles and God. It is the earliest surviving royal prayer book and was made for Charles's personal use sometime between 846 and 869. The only figurative decoration in the prayer book is the two-page miniature of the king kneeling in proskynesis before Christ on the cross. The adoration of the cross was standard in Carolingian Good Friday liturgy from the mid ninth century: in 836 Einhard in his letter to Lupus of Ferrières defended the practice. It was seen as a posture of humility and supplication that was suitable for imploring salvation. In the Prayer Book the opening precedes *Oratio ad adorandum sanctem crucem* and various texts used in the Good Friday liturgy in which the clergy and congregation would prostrate themselves before the cross. Amalarius of Metz explained how this prostration related to the concept of the imitation of Christ:<sup>92</sup>

On that day on which the Cross is kissed [Good Friday], he [Christ] was humiliated for us [and] for the Father unto death, even to the death of the cross. If we should be imitators of his death, we ought to be [imitators] of his humility. Hence we are prostrated before the Cross in order that determined humility of mind might be demonstrated by the deportment of the body.

Central to the Good Friday liturgy is the expectation of the worshipper to partake in Christ's triumph over sin and death. The exaltation of Christ as a result of his humility implies the expectation or hope that his imitator, Charles, will also be exalted. In the prayer that follows the miniature in the Prayer Book the worshipper begs the cross

<sup>91</sup> München, Schatzkammer der Residenz.

<sup>92</sup> Amalarius 1.14.4—*Ea die qua crux deosculatur, humilitatus est pro nobis Patri usque ad mortem, mortem, autem cruce. Si huius mortis imitators esse debemus, necnon et humilitatis oportet esse. Unde prosternimus ante crucem, ut fixa humilitas mentis per habitum corporis demonstraretur.* Cited Deshman, "The exalted servant: the ruler theology of the Prayer Book of Charles the Bald," p. 391.

to liberate him from Satan. Charles's role as king is clearly defined: he wears a crown, even though it was customary for a ruler to divest himself of his crown when worshipping or doing penance.<sup>93</sup> Other works, including the Prayer Book of Otto III, show the ruler without a crown when in proskynesis, so it was not a matter of identifying the ruler—it must have been 'a deliberate decision which emphasised the ruler was endowed with regal splendour and majesty even when in an attitude of humility.'<sup>94</sup> This effect is increased by the fact that Charles is bigger than Christ but his head is lower and they are separated by frames; Charles's arm reaches out toward the figure on the cross, his hand breaking the frame and creating a visual link between the two pages of the opening. Charles eyes are on the opposite page, a device used on other occasions, such as the Codex Aureus of St. Emmeram, Munich Clm. 14000, ff. 5v, 6r and implying that he is witness to the divine mystery. The relationship with God depicted is that of a king under God, the humble servant, mighty in earthly power only because he has received this as a trust from God. This is clearly expressed by the Hand of God holding a victory wreath over the head of the crucified Christ; while this implies that Charles will share in Christ's victory over death, his own crown can be seen as reflection of the divine victory and authority, not to be a source of pride. Hincmar of Reims expressed the same idea:<sup>95</sup>

It is therefore said of such [humble rulers] 'God doth not cast away the mighty, as he himself is also mighty (Job 36.5). Indeed, he who desires to imitate God exercising the high rank of power by exerting himself for the benefit of others and by not being elated by his own praises... For the exaltation of pride, not power itself, is the fault. God allots power; the vice of our own minds discovers pride of power.

The ruler portraits, particularly those of Charles the Bald propagated an image of the just ruler, serving both his people and God. The biblical references make it plain that the relationship between God and ruler was a reflection of the ideal relationship between ruler or lord and

<sup>93</sup> Edward wears his crown in the New Minster charter miniature. See Percy Ernst Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik* (Stuttgart, 1954–1956).

<sup>94</sup> Deshman, 'The exalted servant,' p. 400.

<sup>95</sup> *Recte itaque de talibus dicitur: Deus potentes non abjicit, cum et ipse sit potens' [Iob 36.5] Deum quippe initiarte desiderat, qui fastigium potentiae, alienis intentus utilitatibus, et non suis laudibus elatus, administrat... Tumoris namque elatio, non ordo poyestes, in crimine est Potentiam Deus tribuit, elationem viro potentiae malitia nostrae mentis invenit. Hincmar De regi persona regio ministerio ad Carolem Caleriem regen.* 3 PL 125: 837.

man. In this relationship the lord was responsible for the well-being of his vassal, appreciative of his aid and counsel: the vassal, for his part, owed loyalty, duty and fealty to his lord. It was a close and mutual relationship based on ties of personal loyalty and regard. The events of Genesis 1–3 could be said to exemplify that ideal relationship and the disastrous results when such a relationship broke down.

## 2. *The Basic Type of the Fall in the Ninth Century—the Vivian Bible*

The basic type, as explained in the introduction, is a construct, an instrument of measurement and cannot be said to be any one miniature or pertain to any particular manuscript. However, due to the very limited immediate context of the four works from the ninth century and their close similarity, one work, the Genesis frontispiece of the Vivian Bible can be said to embody all that would be found in a constructed basic type. (fig. 3) By using an actual miniature the uses and advantages of a basic type should be more apparent. This is the only instance in the present research where a real miniature can be said to fulfil this requirement.

The fall, as a subject of what may be called ‘private or privileged’ art, in the ninth century is clustered around the middle of the century, from the late 830s to about 870.<sup>96</sup> It is represented by four pages in illuminated pandect Bibles, Bamberg Staatsliche Bibliothek, Ms. 1, f. 7v, London, British Library, Ms. Add. 10546, f. 25v (Moutier-Grandval Bible), Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 1, f. 10v (Vivian Bible) Rome, Basilica of San Paolo fuori le Muram, f. 8v. There is also an ivory panel, now in the Louvre, and described as a mid 9th century ‘re-use’ of a panel from the early 6th century Areobindus Dyptich.<sup>97</sup> This, while having several interesting features, differs iconographically from the miniatures and, according to the official Louvre website, is not intended to represent Genesis but the order of creation in Isidore of Seville’s *Etymologia* Works that deal systematically with these four

<sup>96</sup> By this I mean art that only a relatively small group of wealthy and/or literate people were in a position to examine. This group can be roughly defined as patrons, makers and users of manuscripts: such people would also come into contact with the luxury applied arts—book-covers, small reliquaries and such.

<sup>97</sup> J. Hubert, J. Porcher and W.F. Volbach, *Carolingian Art* (London, 1970).

manuscripts have tended to consider style, patronage or sources.<sup>98</sup> In particular attention has been paid to the ‘Cotton Genesis recension’ and Kessler is of the opinion that each of the nineteen to twenty-five scenes he distinguishes ‘derive from the same model, and that this model was a member of the CG [Cotton Genesis] recension, and that each of the Genesis pages represents an independent selection from this fuller cycle.’<sup>99</sup> A different approach has been used here; this is not to discount the influence of ‘models’ or other sources. Obviously, these had their own special form of influence, but the emphasis lies on trying to discover why various elements, whether an ‘independent selection’ or an innovation, were used, and the implications they have for how sin was conceived. Each of the four miniatures was analysed and the elements common to each, or found in the majority, were noted. At first glance the four manuscripts fall into three categories as the Bamberg Bible is stylistically very different from the other three and the San Paolo Bible shows more ‘classical’ traces than the others, but matters of style, while influencing interpretation, do not radically affect the message. The basic type, based on these common iconographic elements, consists of a narrative sequence of the events of Genesis 1.27 to 3.24, shown in three registers with verses between. Both the Bamberg and Grandval Bibles have four registers, but by reducing the number of scenes to those that appear in the majority of the manuscripts, only three registers are necessary. The events depicted are the creation of Adam, witnessed by an angel, the drawing of a rib from Adam’s side, the presentation of Eve to Adam, Eve’s temptation by the serpent, the fall, the confrontation with the Creator, the covering of nudity, the expulsion and the labours of Adam and Eve after the expulsion. Several of these scenes are conflated in the majority of the manuscripts and therefore also in the basic type. Only the Vivian Bible conforms to this, having no scenes other than these, and thus will be used to discuss those elements that can be said to be essential to a depiction of the fall in mid-ninth century Frankish court circles.

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<sup>98</sup> For example Herber L. Kessler, *The illustrated Bibles from Tours*, Studies in manuscript illumination (Princeton, 1977), Herber L. Kessler, “The sources and constructions of the Genesis, Exodus, Majestas and Apocalypse Frontispieces in the ninth century Touronian Bibles” (Princeton, 1965), W Köhler, *Die karolingische Miniaturen: Die Schule von Tours* (Berlin, 1930–1933). Diebold, “The artistic patronage of Charles the Bald”.

<sup>99</sup> Kessler, “The sources and constructions of the Genesis, Exodus, Majestas and Apocalypse Frontispieces in the ninth century Touronian Bibles”.

It may seem that the choice of scenes is virtually self-explanatory and dictated by narrative necessity. However, further consideration brings the realisation that pictorially the narrative deals explicitly with man's creation, fall and the consequences of that fall. As a frontispiece to Genesis, the creation as a whole, even in a conflated form, would be appropriate. The choice to begin the sequence with the creation of man implies a specific purpose, that of depicting the relationship between man and God. God is *man's* creator and the origins of the rest of creation are ignored. Nevertheless, God as Creator is very much in evidence. He is shown as the author of man's being, the giver of human life. It is to God that man owes his existence.

The presence of the angel is problematical. It could be the influence of a model, but if that was a member of Cotton Genesis recension and, assuming the general accuracy of the San Marco mosaics, it seems strange that there is only one winged being since the creation of Adam took place on the sixth day. Viewed outside the confines of the Cotton Genesis recension, it becomes even more puzzling. In his ultra-violet and infrared light examination of the Ashburnham Pentateuch, Narkiss came to the conclusion that the erased figure in the second register of f. 1v was an angel.<sup>100</sup> He was also of the opinion that, although the figures on f. 1v could have been erased earlier, the over-painting 'with the closest available thick, violet-pink' occurred in the scriptorium of Tours in the mid-ninth century, where the manuscript was known to be at that time.<sup>101</sup> He postulates the reason for the erasure and over-painting as the theological controversy of adoptionism.<sup>102</sup> Whether adoptionism still aroused such violent feelings as it did in the days of Alcuin does not detract from the argument that the same paint used in the Touronian Bibles was used to block out the angel in the Ashburnham. Nor is it likely that the same Carolingian artists who, according to Kessler, 'refurbished' the Bamberg and London manuscripts would be either unwilling or incapable of restoring the angel, instead of completely blocking it out.<sup>103</sup> We are faced, then, with the question, why include an angel in a new creation scene, while erasing

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<sup>100</sup> B. Narkiss, "Towards a further study of the Ashburnham Pentateuch (Pentateuch de Tours), Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouv. Acq. lat. 2334," *Cahiers archéologiques: fin de l'antiquité et moyen âge*, XIV pp. 45–60.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59.

<sup>103</sup> Kessler, *The illustrated Bibles from Tours*.

one in an old scene? The answer to this lies in the different natures of the scenes. In the Ashburnham the angel represented the spirit of God moving on the face of the waters: in the Vivian the angel is witness to God's creation of man, bringing us back to the point that the Genesis frontispiece is concerned with man's relationship with God. According to much contemporary thought man was created to replace the fallen angels, and thus it would be very appropriate for an angel, one that had remained true to his God, to view the creation of man. It would be doubly appropriate, since man, too, was to make the wrong choice and to fall. Past, present and future are depicted in the frontispiece. The angel, who fulfils his function and justifies his existence by contemplating and praising God, is also ironically a prefiguration of what man was intended to be. By being shown the 'true' angel, the viewer is also reminded of the fallen angels and the choice that will be held out to mankind.

The creation of Eve emphasises God's essential role as creator. It is important to note that Eve is not inherent in Adam, but is created from a material that comes from Adam; she is a separate, if secondary creation. Adam plays no part in this; his role is entirely passive. He is no more than the source of the substance used by God, a substance already created, just as the earth was the material for his own creation. God himself is depicted as young and beardless, nimbed, but not crossed-nimbed. This is God as the efficient cause of Creation, usually identified with the Christ Logos. Monotheism demands the pre-incarnation and pre-creation existence of the persons of the Trinity. The acceptance of the doctrine that by the incarnation God was made visible, and thus it was permissible to make images of Him, resolved to some extent the problem of the representation of God in the early Middle Ages. Nevertheless, representations of God as the Father, complete with beard, were less frequent than those of the beardless Son. Perhaps the difficulties encountered in visually representing the Trinity caused the adoption of the idea of the Christ Logos.<sup>104</sup> The Logos had a long history in both Greek and Jewish thought, but the identification with Christ probably has its roots, somewhat indirectly, in the writings of Philo of Alexandria: in the Nicene Creed it became embedded in

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<sup>104</sup> An example of the difficulties is the Dogma Sarcophagus in the Museo Cristiano in Rome. This shows the creation of Adam by three bearded figures, one seated and making a gesture of blessing, while the foremost one rests his right hand on the head of Adam, who lies on the ground.



Christian doctrine. The ninth century does not seem to have developed firm rules for the use of the cross-nimbus. In the Utrecht Psalter the God figure is almost invariably cross-nimbed, in the Stuttgart Psalter both plain nimbi and cross-nimbi are found. Although it was usual to give the figure some indication of which Person was shown, either by the circumstance or by an attribute, it is not entirely unprecedented that the Logos here has a plain nimbus. If Narkiss is correct in his theory that there was an attempt to avoid all that could possibly be interpreted as polytheism, this could account for the ambiguity of the Creator in the Genesis frontispiece. Perhaps because the Tours artist was depicting, not the psalms and a prediction of salvation, but the creation and fall of man, he was determined to avoid any suggestion that could be interpreted as anything other than strict monotheism. It must be remembered that it was at Tours at this time that not only the angel was removed from the Ashburnham, but also one of the two figures depicted in each of the creation scenes.

The active role of the Logos and his involvement with the affairs of mankind is shown in the presentation of Eve to Adam. He literally steers Eve towards Adam, who stretches a hand out towards her. This physical contact emphasises the aspect of giving and receiving, expressing the idea of marriage as an institution ordained by God. The words 'made in his image' are clearly mirrored here. Ladner has pointed out, in connection with the Grandval Bible, that the Creator and Adam have the same face, but this is true of all four bibles.<sup>105</sup> Moreover, Eve shares the same features: no distinction of face or body is made between Adam and Eve, and only the viewer's knowledge of the sequence of events enables him to say this is one or the other. The difference between Creator and created is that the one is clothed and the others naked, the one nimbed, the other not. God and the angel share the characteristics of being clothed and nimbed, yet the angel, whether as observer or expeller, has slightly different features and short hair. The identical features of God and man point to the special relationship between the Creator and this part of his Creation. God's clothing is obviously in many ways a convention. Clothing demonstrates the worth and dignity of the wearer, removes his vulnerability and

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<sup>105</sup> Gerhart B. Ladner, *Ad imaginem Dei: the image of man in mediaeval art*, Wimmer lectures (Latrobe, 1965). The degree of facial similarity in the Bamberg Bible is less obvious due to the gold and silver used for the figures, but a strong resemblance is still discernable.

makes parts of him invisible and unknowable. When shown with nude figures these aspects are enhanced. Man may look like his Creator, but he lacks his dignity and position; he is in all things dependent on his Lord for his existence and, as is shown in this scene, company, aid and progeny. Man is open and exposed: he has no secrets from his Maker, while his Maker allows himself to be known only so far as he wishes. In spite of the direct contact between God and Man, in spite of the spark of divinity in man, as expressed in the facial similarity, much of God—and the angel—remains unknown. Man's knowledge of the divine and celestial is limited. The scene in which Adam, Eve and the Creator are together before the fall is an expression of the relationship. The humans are immeasurably God's inferiors, brought into being by his will; the facial similarity points to their intrinsic worth, possibly potentially greater than that of the angels, but their nakedness reveals the difference in knowability.

The serpent is the only animal shown in paradise: there is no sign of man's overlordship of the beasts as mentioned in the Bible. This is again a sign of the concentration on the relationship between God and man: the only beast shown is the one that disturbs this relationship. Kessler, in considering the serpent in the tree, concludes that the Carolingian Bibles depict the 'dragon' described in Nicander's *Theriaca* and Philumenis' *De venenatis animalibus*. He points out that the history of the dragon in ancient times identifies it with the serpent that guarded the apples of the Hesperides and that there is more than a formal relationship between the depictions of the two myths.<sup>106</sup> In support of this there is the Louvre panel to be considered. On this the figure of Adam is very clearly taken from that of Hercules, complete with beard, classical pose and club. Eve, too, has a strong resemblance to a dancing nymph. The influence of classical models is very apparent, not only in the poses and the sexual differentiation, but also in the impression that the figures are sexually aware. The upper register of the panel cannot be regarded as an attempt to depict the fall of man in the same way that the Bibles do. It can, perhaps, be regarded as a more abstract representation implying the animal nature of post-lapsarian man. While depicting the orders of creation it shows, too, that man is not so far removed from the bestial. The Vivian miniature, on the

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<sup>106</sup> Kessler, "The sources and constructions of the Genesis, Exodus, Majestas and Apocalypse Frontispieces in the ninth century Touronian Bibles".

other hand, shows the divine in man's nature, his relationship to God, not to the animals. The serpent in the tree in the depictions of the fall is not a purely Carolingian invention. The scene of Adam and Eve on the marble sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, c. 354, shows the serpent wound round the tree, as does a Merovingian terra cotta tile, now in the Museum Dobrée in Nantes.<sup>107</sup> The role of the serpent in the two legends is not analogous: in one it is the guardian of the situation, in the other the disruptive element. In the Christian/Jewish myth, the serpent triumphs, in the Hercules myth he is slain and defeated: Hercules expiates a sin and Adam commits one.<sup>108</sup>

In the Vivian Bible the scenes of the temptation of Eve, Eve picking the fruit and Adam eating it are conflated. Considerations of space and the continuity of these three events, both chronologically and intrinsically, make them obvious candidates for compression. Nevertheless, it could be said that these are central and important events and should therefore receive full and separate treatment. Obviously, tradition and the existing models, whether classical or earlier Christian, must have played a role, but the compression has various consequences for the interpretation, both for the conflated scene and for the page as a whole. As far as the scene itself is concerned, the visible presence of Adam at Eve's temptation raises the question of why he is shown there. The Bible implies that he was not present—*deditque viro suo qui comedit*—but in the ninth century depictions he looks on as Eve faces the serpent in the tree and reaches out for the fruit. This demonstrates his full knowledge and complicity in her actions and his failure to fulfil his responsibilities as the ruler of paradise. The prohibition itself is not shown. It could be thought that this was so well known to the viewer

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<sup>107</sup> Certain later works make separate scenes of the temptations of Adam and Eve, but this is a small minority.

<sup>108</sup> On the contemporary ivory plaque of Hercules on St. Peter's Cathedra, generally acknowledged to be the throne used by Charles the Bald at his coronation in Rome, the serpent/dragon is indeed wound round the trunk of the tree, but clearly dead, hanging from a limb, its head lolling. A 9th century manuscript of Bede's commentary on Aratus, Montecassino Cod. 3KK, p. 178, also depicts Hercules and the serpent. Here the serpent with a plain body, a dog-like head with small ears, is alive, but bears little resemblance to those described by Nicander and Philumenis. It is worth noting that it suggests that Hercules was seen 'as a virtuous hero in the Middle Ages [and in the plaques] is shown as beset by menacing, evil forces rather than as a predictable victor.' The connection here being Charles the Bald ultimately achieving imperial honours. Kurt Weitzmann, "The Heracles Plaques of St. Peter's Cathedra," *Art Bulletin* 55 (1973).

that it was not necessary, but then all the elements of the story would be well known. The question arises as to why this was omitted. This implies that simple disobedience was not the whole story, but the intrusion of outside elements in the relationship of man with God. The role of the serpent invites comparison with that of the Logos: although it does not create or work directly, it initiates change: it is active and decisive. It does not just urge Eve to pick the fruit and eat it, but holds the fruit in its mouth and offers it to her. This reinforces the view that simple disobedience is not the whole story, but the role of this external factor in the human-God relationship is of crucial importance. Eve is seduced, her will subverted, not by words alone, but by example. By holding the fruit in its mouth the serpent casts doubt on the Creator's word that to touch the fruit would mean death. This is the first step in the alienation between God and man, the doubting of God's word. The educated Christian viewer of the scene would probably recognise the irony, identifying the serpent with the devil, already dead in the eschatological sense of being cast out from the presence of God. By offering the fruit the serpent/devil offers a death like its own to man, and by accepting that offer, man fulfils God's prophecy that to touch the fruit will mean death.

The decisive element of the conflated scene is the actual eating of the fruit. It is Adam, not Eve, who consumes the fruit and makes both the knowledge and death part of himself, and therefore part of man. Eve is an intermediary: her seduction is a step to the seduction of Adam. She accepts the fruit from the serpent: Adam not only accepts it but makes it part of himself, no longer something external, but an intrinsic part of man. Nor is he induced to eat by a stranger, an outside element, but by his wife—bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh. She offers: he takes and eats. In the temptations of both Eve and Adam, the role of the one tempted is passive. Neither, at least in the first instance, picks the fruit, indeed, in the conflated scene, the implication that the fruit presented to Eve by the serpent is the one eaten by Adam. This heightens Adam's responsibility: it was his decision to eat that led to death. The strategy of the serpent highlights the contrast between its relationship with Adam and Adam's relationship with God. The latter is characterised by openness and direct contact, but also by the dependence of man on his Maker, everything he has, he is given directly by God. The physicality of the creation and presentation scenes stresses this aspect. The interaction between the humans and the serpent, by contrast, is marked by deviousness, indirectness, but also man's respon-

sibility for his own action: he decides to take something not given to him by God, but by another. He accepts not only the fruit, but also the word of another before that of God. There is no suggestion that Eve deliberately causes Adam's downfall, or that she is conscious of what she is doing. She does not eat the fruit, but offers it to Adam. As with her temptation by the serpent, doubt is cast on the Creator's word: she has touched the fruit and still lives, physically at least. She is, possibly unwittingly, the tool of the devil. Adam is not shown resisting in any way: he simply accepts what is offered. The lack of sexual differentiation between the two rules out any suggestion of a sexual element in the seduction by Eve, nor does she appear to use any wiles or rhetoric. In the conflated scene, neither Adam nor Eve shows any sign of guilt or furtiveness, nor do they display any trace of defiance. Adam's sin would then seem to be related to Eve's weakness, a lack of judgement, of being too easily swayed by the suggestion of others and a general lack of steadfastness.

This breakdown of harmony, this withdrawal of both God and man from each other is clearly shown in the following scene. The human pair is driven out of paradise, not by the Creator himself, but by an angel. In the Bible text it is God himself who drives them forth, but in the basic type, as exemplified by the Vivian Bible, that direct contact, the immediate presence of God that characterised the earlier relationship is replaced by the use of an intermediary.<sup>109</sup> Man still enjoys some protection from God who provides covering for their bodies. The covering, even at God's instigation, could be a sign of alienation and a lack of openness and contact. Despite their grief neither human looks back at what he or she has lost: the human race must make a life for itself without the presence of God. Its future lies in the world, not in paradise—there is no hint here that the death sentence can or will be revoked. In the last scene the sentence pronounced by God on the couple is shown, that on Adam explicitly, that on Eve implicitly. The ground worked by Adam and the vegetation shows little difference to that shown in paradise, contrasting here with the Bible text, so it must be assumed that the emphasis is on the fact that Adam must work in order to eat. That the work is hard is clear from the mattock he wields. The need for shelter is indicated by the 'bower,' something not necessary in paradise. Eve is not shown suffering the pangs of childbirth,

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<sup>109</sup> Genesis 3.21: *emisit eum Dominus Deus de paradiso voluptatis*.

but nursing, perhaps an allusion to her as the ‘mother of life.’<sup>110</sup> This raises the question as to whether the artist intended to imply a sexual aspect to the fall. In paradise the figures are shown as sexless, but the Bible states that they were told to ‘increase and multiply’: the lack of sexual characteristics could mean that this was to take place without sexual desire. In the final scene Adam is shown as beardless and without sexual distinction, but Eve has breasts and is distinctly more ‘female.’ This ‘femaleness’ could be seen as a way of showing her sentence of bringing forth her children in pain.

The story presented is one of a good and bounteous Lord who cares for his people. So long as man concentrates his attention on God, all is well. A rupture is caused by a third party, an intruder in the relationship who sets out to cause dissension and serve his own ends, seducing mankind from God and increasing its own position and influence. Man falls victim because he is approached obliquely and is made to doubt. Nevertheless, the fall and the fault are man’s—he has free will and can choose to listen to the disruptive counsel, or he can heed the words of God. Neither Adam nor Eve is shown as intentionally rebellious—they are ‘deceived’ and their loyalty wavers. The results of this lapse from loyalty are not only their banishment from the world of paradise and their new pains and labours, but their banishment from their Lord’s presence. The conflation of the scenes of the temptation of Eve, the picking of the fruit and Adam’s consumption of it, the crucial episodes in the story as we know it, gives a different emphasis to the miniature as a whole. These scenes may be crucial to the action, but the previous scenes depicting the creation of man and his relationship with God receive more emphasis, as do the scenes showing the consequences of the fall. Physically the conflated fall scene is fairly central, but the emphasis on the preceding and succeeding scenes turn the attention of the viewer to man’s relationship with his Lord, both in the ideal situation of harmony, and the actual situation of disharmony following man’s disloyalty and disobedience. The human drama is of less importance than the theory of relationships. An ideal relationship is shown and then the results of the disturbance of this relationship. It is always clear that the disturbance never comes from God: he had decreed an order for his creation. Once man’s attention to God and His word wanders,

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<sup>110</sup> Genesis 3.20: *et vocavit Adam nomen uxoris suae Hava eo quod mater esset cunctorum viventium.*

this order is in danger. Man breaks this order and causes the alienation, the alienation that is the eschatological death

Much of the situation in which Adam and Eve found themselves would be recognisable to a well-educated ninth century noble, but that could be said of many biblical situations. What prompted the notable production of Genesis frontispieces? One obvious influence could have been the presence of the Ashburnham Pentateuch at Tours, which until its sacking by Vikings in 853 was the premiere producer of pandect bibles. However, the presence of such a profusely illustrated manuscript does not explain why the Carolingian Bibles lay such emphasis on the first three chapters of Genesis. The Bibles were made for a politically aware and active elite, and one that saw the affairs of state as part of God's plan. Questions of tradition, virtue, self-interest and belief were part of their everyday life. The strong connection with the circle of Charles the Bald means that it can almost certainly be said that the illustrations express those ideas that were not only current among court circles, but also those that the king and his closest allies wished to propagate. That there was considerable interest in Genesis in royal circles towards the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth centuries is shown by Wigbod's commentary, done at the behest of Charlemagne and Claudius of Turin's commentary, requested by Louis the Pious. Perhaps the commissioning of a new work so recently after that of Wigbod signalled a new attitude, as Claudius' approach was different from that of Wigbod, preferring to go *ad fonts*.<sup>111</sup> This could be an indication that there was uncertainty that asked for a new look at the meaning of Genesis. Occurring early in the reign of Louis the Pious, it was probably closely related to issues of the integrity of Frankish lands and the role of the Franks. Louis was obviously not the war-leader that his father was, and other than the conquest of Barcelona, achieved in his father's time, he did not extend the boundaries of the Frankish held territories. Indeed those boundaries came under threat from Danish raids in the north, and the questionable status of the Italian lands was also an issue. Even earlier there may have been a sign that the belligerent policy of Charlemagne was perhaps less to the taste of the younger generation. William, Count of Toulouse, cousin of Louis and his companion in the

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<sup>111</sup> Michael Gorman, "The Commentary on Genesis of Claudius of Turin and Biblical Studies under Louis the Pious," *Speculum* 72 (1997).

successful Spanish campaign, renounced the world in 804 and joined his old friend Benedict of Aniane in that monastery.<sup>112</sup> The connection with Aniane went further, as Benedict became Louis' advisor and was instrumental in Carolingian Benedictine reform, advocated and supported by Louis. In a world where boundaries were no longer expanding and court life less exuberant, it seems there was a need for something more than Wigbod's 'useful compendium.'<sup>113</sup> Ironically, considering Claudius' standpoint on images, it is possible that the production of the fine Bibles at Tours provided the opportunity to develop a visual exegesis of the first three chapters of Genesis.

It is interesting to compare Claudius' exegesis with the slightly later visual exegesis. While the first is obviously far more extensive, dealing with the whole of Genesis, and leaning heavily on Augustine's *Commentari in genesim ad litteram* agreements and divergences between that and the frontispiece may point out issues that occupied people of the time. The attention given to depictions of Genesis 1–3 appears to be new: earlier illustrated Latin Bibles or Bible books seem to have had much larger cycles of illustrations and probably represent a southern tradition. The Ashburnham has nineteen miniatures, usually containing several scenes, illustrating Genesis and Exodus, and it is probable that there were a good many more.<sup>114</sup> The *Codex Amiatinus*, perhaps the only surviving northern representative, has only three illustrations, all preceding the Old Testament, but none of these is a Genesis miniature. At various times other incidents in Genesis are profusely illustrated, the stories of Noah and Joseph, for example, proved a rich source for the earlier medieval illustrators. As far as the Carolingian illustrated Bibles are concerned, as a subject for the frontispiece it might be considered more appropriate to deal with the creation as a whole, as frequently occurred later, but the first beginning of the world and life is ignored. The matter chosen is the relationship between man and God, what that relationship should be, what it became and perhaps even an inkling as to why. Clearly this hierarchical relationship was a matter of moment, but also man's position and purpose were being examined.

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<sup>112</sup> J. Nougaret and V. Guibert de la Vaissiere, *L'iconographie du sacramentaire de Gellone* (VIII<sup>e</sup> S.) (Montpellier, 1993).

<sup>113</sup> Gorman, "The Commentary on Genesis of Claudius of Turin and Biblical Studies under Louis the Pious", p. 317.

<sup>114</sup> P. McGurk, "The oldest manuscripts of the Latin Bible," in *The early medieval Bible; its production decoration and use*, ed. Richard Gameson (Cambridge, 1994).



Man's purpose, as a subject for concern, could be linked to the dichotomy shown by the writings of the times, and to the circumstances of instability and change in the ninth century, the changes in relationship between lord and vassal and the closer and altered relationship between Church and ruler. Furthermore, the Franks' idea of themselves and their mission was vulnerable; threatened by external enemies and internal strife, to many there were clear indications that the Franks had lost their way. The relationship between God and man as it was intended at the creation could be seen as the ideal relationship between lord and vassal; government based on that relationship would be a reflection of what God intended. In that relationship there would be no death and no injustice, man would be in harmony with God and with the created world. If the ideal government reflected the original relationship between man and God, then perhaps the origins of man's fall and his estrangement from God could also reflect the reasons for the problems besetting the ninth century Franks.<sup>115</sup>

Now the earthly kingdom, because it is transitory and fleeting, never reveals the truth but only some slight semblance of the truth and of the eternal kingdom.

While every ruler must be included in those who are subject to God's over-lordship, and must consider himself in the same position as the erring Adam, the hierarchical structure of society also reflects what the ruler sees as the problems. The presence of the angel in the basic type, seeking neither aggrandisement nor influence, can be seen as an expression of the ideal vassal. In the oblique reference we can find an echo of Sedullius Scottus' remarks on the removal from office of those unfaithful to their lord and the raising up of another to take their place. The resemblance of both Adam and Eve to the Logos, but differing from the angel, echoes the writings of Claudius of Turin. He points out that man was made in God's image and likeness, not that of the angels.<sup>116</sup> He makes a distinction between image and likeness. The image, that is the soul, is immortal, the likeness or body is subject to death.<sup>117</sup> The enormous emphasis on the relationship between God

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<sup>115</sup> Sedullius Scottus, *Liber de rectoribus christianis*.

<sup>116</sup> *nefas est credere ad imaginem angelorum hominem fuisse creatum, sed ad imaginem Dei*, PL 50 900.

<sup>117</sup> *Sed in interiore homine est conditoris sui imago: imago in immortalitate, similitudo in moribus*, *ibid.* And *Formavit Deus hominem de limo terrae, non est additum ad imaginem suam*, *ibid.*, 905.

and man, almost to the exclusion of all else, makes a reading possible in which the intended sanctity of man is central, his great future in which he would be *angelis sanctis aequalis*,<sup>118</sup> his distinction from the beasts made clear.<sup>119</sup> Adam's rule over and the responsibility for creation are apparent in Claudius' commentary, but here the basic type deviates from this.<sup>120</sup> Man's relationship with the rest of creation in this visual exegesis is irrelevant to the central theme. The treatment of the creation of Adam makes very clear the relationship between God and man. God, unlike the angel, leaves the heavens and stands on the earth itself and bends over to shape his creation. This can be seen as analogous to the relationship between lord and vassal: the lord literally 'creates' his man, giving him a purpose and place. He is raised up in the same way as Adam is raised from the earth.<sup>121</sup> He is intended for higher things.<sup>122</sup> The next two scenes can be seen as the lord bestowing *beneficia* on his new office-holder and giving him the wherewithal to comply with the commands of his lord. In this case God gives Adam the means not only to live easily, but also to obey the command to be fruitful and multiply. This gives a clue as to the responsibilities of the lord, as well as those of his vassal. He must provide the means by which his man is to fulfil his function. Eruigenia said that God would not ask man to be anything beyond his powers or scope and in these scenes we see that translated into very pragmatic terms. In the basic type no other command is shown; neither the responsibility implicit in the naming of the animals, nor the ban on eating the fruit plays a part. It is an odd feature of fall iconography that this central incident, the pronouncing of the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil to be forbidden, is so infrequently shown. This gives rise to various questions. The writers of the time seem to have had little problem with mentioning disobedience in relation to Adam's sin, but this is often in conjunction with other sins, most often pride, *superbia*. It would also

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<sup>118</sup> Ibid.

<sup>119</sup> *illa enim omnia [bestias] inclinata sunt ad terram, hominis autem corpus erectum est: quod significat animam nostram in supernis, id est, ad spiritualia debere semper esse erectum*, ibid., 901.

<sup>120</sup> *Et dominamini piscibus maris, et volatilibus coeli, et universis animalibus*, ibid., 901. See also 908–909.

<sup>121</sup> 'the high omnipotent God deigned to fashion man from the clay of the earth in order to restore the number of the angels, and to allow humanity to share in their splendour. Dhuoda, *Liber manualis*, book 3, ch. 10.

<sup>122</sup> See Hrabnus Maurus, *De rerum naturis*, book VI, ch. 1, *iussit et erectos ad sidera tollere uultus*.

seem to rule out the idea that sin equals sexuality. The presentation of Eve to Adam is a confirmation of the acceptability of marriage, but this may have been a propaganda ploy against an all too great asceticism. Claudius accepts that Adam and Eve were sexually active in paradise, but maintains that they felt no desire.<sup>123</sup> The lack of desire is also expressed in the ideal type: Adam greets and welcomes Eve, but both are unconcerned with their nudity and confident in the sight of God and each other. Perhaps the omission of sexual characteristics can be seen as a lack of desire rather than a lack of sexual activity. The command to procreate meant that mankind must fulfil his destiny and fill the ranks depleted by the fall of Lucifer and his rebel angels.<sup>124</sup> The command could be seen as particularly applying to the Franks, as God's people and champions.

Claudius' exegesis of the creation of mankind is rather difficult to follow and scattered, but it amounts to a simultaneous creation of the souls, perhaps to be regarded as the human soul, followed by second bodily creation in which Adam was created before Eve, but the animation of Eve was nevertheless a separate act of creation.<sup>125</sup> The visual exegesis of the basic type confirms the emphasis is less on the material supplied by Adam and far more on the separate act of creation by God. Eve, like Adam, is God's creature and servant owing her existence to Him, but she is a secondary creation. Nevertheless, at this point, there is no suggestion that Eve is subservient to Adam. In Claudius' commentary she is a part of Adam sprung from him, which may imply that she is subject to him, and Claudius frequently comments on the ill that will befall because of her. In the basic type, with its emphasis on the facial similarity between God, Adam and Eve, there is a suggestion of a degree

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<sup>123</sup> *Benedixitque illis Deus, et ait Crescite et multiplicamini, et replete terram... Nos autem non dubitamus, secundum benedictionem Dei, corporaliter potuisse illos in paradiso multiplicari, et si non peccassent, coituos sine ulla libidinis perturbatione, ut membra sola uoluntas, non libido moueret. Illud tamen credendum est, quoad tanta multitudo nasei potuit hominum quoad usque praedestinationum sanctorum numeros completetur, quantati et nunc per Dei gratiam colliguntur.* PL 50 901.

<sup>124</sup> *Et quamvis emissi de paradiso genuisse commemorantur, credimus tamen eos sine ullo ardore libidinis, vel dolore pariendi gignere potuisse filios in paradiso, ut ex limbo vitae vigorem immortalitatis sumentes, perducerentur ad numerum sanctorum, quem exspectat quantitas praedestinationum,* *ibid.*, 907.

<sup>125</sup> *Adam et Eva simul facti sunt; secundum speciem vero formae, postea femina de latere viri formata est, ibid.*, 901 and *Non eam creavit in materia, sed expressit in forma: prius enim originaliter in viri latere facta est, cujus postea detracta costa exinde mulier facta est. Quaeritur utrum femina de latere viri formata ex ejus anima acceperit animam, et urum sicut caro nascentium ex carne, sic animae ex animabus procreentur, an novae semper creentur a Deo ex nihilo, ibid.*, 909.

of equality. While Eve is presented to Adam, she does not express any degree of inferiority, but stands before him, with her head held high. This may reflect the relatively important position of many women in the higher echelons of Carolingian society, especially the queen, who were entrusted with important tasks, both in their own right and as deputies for absent husbands.

The conflated temptation and fall scenes show a hierarchical chain of responsibility. There is no sign of any other form of life, other than vegetable, in paradise, so the introduction of the serpent raises various problems. The serpent, as such, says Claudius, has no evil; he is created by God and his actions are the result of literally being puffed up by *diabolici spiritus*.<sup>126</sup> It is interesting that Claudius uses the *inflatione* implying pride and self-aggrandisement, not simply devilish possession. Is the serpent then the first to succumb to the sin of pride, according to Claudius? The only indication of pride in the serpent in the basic type is in winding round the tree trunk until it is at eye level with the humans. This is not sufficient indication that pride was the driving force either for the serpent or for the humans. The serpent in the tree has a long history in both myth and iconography.<sup>127</sup> I am inclined to interpret the serpent, and above all his sudden appearance, as the disturber of the situation coming from outside with evil intent. This must be an interpretation that can only be inferred, since there is no overt diabolic or evil element anywhere in the miniature. Nowhere in Genesis 3 is mention made of the devil, but we must assume that the ninth century viewer was not only conversant with the story, but with the idea that the devil was responsible for the temptation.<sup>128</sup> Not only does Claudius mention this frequently, but the notion of a battle between good and evil, so graphically illustrated in the Utrecht and Stuttgart Psalters, and the use of serpents in hell or to depict death itself, makes this entirely reasonable.<sup>129</sup> The intrusion of a third party into the relation-

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<sup>126</sup> *Sed et serpens erat callidor prae cunctis animantibus terrae, quae fecerat Dominus Deus. Non ex sua natura, sed ex diaboli spiritus inflatione*, *ibid.*, 909.

<sup>127</sup> As well as the Hercules myth the motif appears in the much older Gilgamesh epic, though whether that would be known to the 9th century illuminators is extremely doubtful. However, the *Phylologus* describes the salamander, frequently depicted as a snake, as climbing trees where it poisons the fruit.

<sup>128</sup> See also Dhuoda, *Liber manualis*, book 3, ch. 11, 'The Devil, agent of death, engenders this [malice] in the human heart... This was true in the beginning, since it is written 'Because of the Devil's envy, death entered the world.'

<sup>129</sup> See also Hrabanus Maurus, *De rerum naturis*, book 6, ch. 3.

ship between man and God has been particularly emphasised by the lack of reference to any other aspect of creation. It is possible that in showing this ideal and close relationship, ignoring all extraneous factors, a warning is given of third parties who would seek to disturb that relationship. There is no suggestion that Eve is in any way responsible for the serpent, either for its presence or its action. She is responsible, however, both for accepting the fruit from the serpent and for passing on the means by which Adam falls. By accepting and eating the fruit, the ultimate responsibility lies with Adam: Eve gives him the means, but he acts on it. Here again the illustration is in agreement with the political texts, in particular that of Jonas of Orleans in which he states the ruler is responsible for his judges and administrators.<sup>130</sup> Eve accepts the fruit uncritically, but Adam also fails to question what is handed to him. We can, I think, see the illustration paralleling Adam and the ruler; both carried ultimate responsibility in the earthly realm and both were finally responsible to God.

The *ubi es?* scene brings us to the point of considering what was Adam's sin? Since the prohibition is not shown, disobedience is low on the list of possible interpretations. The commentators and writers have no difficulty in dealing with this aspect, although, as has been mentioned, it is often in conjunction with other factors, notably pride, and particularly in the case of Claudius, prevarication and trying to shift the blame. Claudius deals with the trees of life and of the knowledge of good and evil and their significance, saying that the tree of knowledge was not in fact the knowledge of good and evil, *sed propterea appellatum est boni et mali scientiae, quia homo per experimentum ab ipso didicit quid esset obedientiae bonum et inobedientiae malum*. Of the prohibition he says little, using it chiefly for an exposition on death and redemption. When dealing with the fall itself and the confrontation with God, he also makes little mention of disobedience and far more of lying, self-excuse and doubting the word of God.<sup>131</sup> He has no doubt as to Adam's guilt being the result of a knowing and conscious action.<sup>132</sup> Jonas of Orleans on the other hand, puts all man's ills down to disobedience.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>130</sup> Jonas of Orleans, *De institutione regia*, ch. 6.

<sup>131</sup> PL 50 910–915.

<sup>132</sup> *nisi quod illa, quod ei serpens locutus est, tamquam verum esset, accepit; ille autem ab unico noluit consortio dirimi, nec in communione peccati, nec ideo minus reus, si sciens prudensque peccavit*, *ibid.*, 911.

<sup>133</sup> Jonas of Orleans, *De institutione regia*, ch. X.

...the first man was expelled from Paradise, condemned to exile, and made subject to the penalty of death because of his transgression of the divine command; and to this evil—inserted, as it were, into its very nature—the human race is subject even to this day.

The basic type shows the consciousness of guilt, not only by the covering of the genitals, but by the huddled stance and generally submissive postures of the two humans. In two of the Bibles, but not the Vivian, the shifting of guilt is shown, so that could be seen also as an element of the ideal type. In that case it would greatly reinforce Claudius' standpoint that much of their sin lay in lying and trying to avoid blame.<sup>134</sup> I think it would be fair to say that the conflated scene of *ubi es?* and the denial of blame also implies the pronouncement of judgement. The Christ Logos' right hand is raised in a gesture of command. The basic type does not show the curse laid upon the serpent: nor is there any sign of the enmity between the descendents of Eve and the descendents of the serpent. This again reinforces the impression that the miniature concentrated on the relationship between God and man. On the other hand Claudius states that the 'seed' of the serpent is *carnalia desideria*<sup>135</sup> and its head *illiciate suggestionis*.<sup>136</sup> He goes on to say how important the *calcaneum mulieris*<sup>137</sup> is now that the devil launches so sharp an attack on the senses, and he offers virginity as the way to fight off the devil and death.<sup>138</sup> There is no sign of such inferences in the miniature; there the emphasis is on the immediate consequences of the fall. The expulsion in the miniature does not agree with the biblical text, but perhaps can be seen as being conflated with the cherub with the fiery sword barring the way to paradise. Claudius uses guarding the entrance to paradise and the banning access to the tree of life as the chance both to extol God's mercy, as it was not an absolute ban, and to point out the effectiveness of man's labour to show his penitence.<sup>139</sup> The tunics, he says are symbols of man's new mortality. The miniature gives no

<sup>134</sup> *Ergo non est desperandum quibuslibet peccatoribus, dum et ipsi impii ad spem indulgentiae provocantur.* PL 50 914.

<sup>135</sup> PL 50 914.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid. It must be remembered that this is no praise of woman in particular, but of those of her seed, *totus genus humanum*, who resist the desires of the flesh.

<sup>138</sup> 'If at the instigation of the Devil, death's agent, fornication or some other goad to the flesh should tickle your heart, oppose it with chastity.' Dhuoda, *Liber manualis*, book 4, ch. 6.

<sup>139</sup> See PL 915.

hint of the ban on the tree of life being rescinded or of the wholesome effects of labour, but rather depicts the change in their circumstances. In the Bible, Eve is condemned to be subject to her husband<sup>140</sup>—and here Claudius explains that she will be subject to the desire for her husband, but that she is not by nature subject to him, only as a punishment for her sin—and that she will conceive and bring forth her children in pain. The miniature agrees with Claudius' interpretation of the sensual and physical nature of Eve's subjection. There is no sign of social or hierarchical subjection, but the depiction of her suckling a child implies she is subject to the desires and the limitations of her body and senses. In Adam's case the sentence of hard work in an unfriendly and unyielding world is clearly shown. The basic type shows only the immediate consequences of the fall and these are twofold, the pain and labour in place of ease and pleasure and the estrangement from God and life. Both the basic type and Claudius see the result of the fall as eschatological death, being banished from the presence of God.

In general, the basic type reflects Claudius of Turin's exegesis. The emphasis is somewhat different, being on the relationship between man and God alone. This has its parallel in the social and political situation of the time, and the Genesis miniatures complement the ruler portraits of Charles the Bald. In a time of uncertainty and flux when the relationships between ruler and ruled were changing, the ideal type preaches the obedience and loyalty of vassal to a good lord. More than that, it emphasises the need for caution, wisdom and responsibility, of listening to the commands of one's lord and not being led astray by the counsels of others, even if the one led astray has no evil intent. In some ways this is a reflection of some of the old Frankish rules for compensation.<sup>141</sup> By such rules there is no distinction made between malicious intent, carelessness and accident: only the effects of an action are considered. This also occurs again in Dhuoda's advice to her son:<sup>142</sup>

Never let yourself fall into the folly, the outrageous affront of breaking faith. Never let such an idea of disloyalty against your lord arise or grow

<sup>140</sup> Claudius has no doubt as to Eve's guilt—why, he asks, would she receive sentence, if not guilty? *ibid.*, 915.

<sup>141</sup> In some of the Salic laws there is some distinction made between intent and execution, but often there is only mention of the injury and whether this is accidental or intentional is not mentioned.

<sup>142</sup> Dhuoda, *Liber manualis*, book 4, ch. 1. It is also interesting to note that this image is very literally depicted in both the Stuttgart and Utrecht Psalters.

in your heart... because they [the wicked, unrighteous, slothful and proud] cast their nets like mousetraps in order to deceive. They never stop preparing roadblocks and impediments along the way, so that they themselves fall headlong to the ground and cause others like them to fall.

The intervention of a third party in the relationship is hazardous and can be disastrous. This lesson is also applicable to the relationship between a ruler and God and a people and God. It holds up an example of the perfect lord, his care and responsibilities. At a time when the Franks and their perceived mission seemed under threat from both outside forces and, more importantly in the minds of many, from a lack of commitment to God and his laws, the basic type focuses on the relationship and the need for a return to the observance of divine law, by showing the consequences of disobedience and estrangement. Just as a vassal who forgot his duty to his lord and allowed others and other interests to come between them is banned from his lord's sight and favour, and is left to make his way in a harsh world, so man pays for his folly by being deprived of the *beneficia* granted by a good and benevolent God.<sup>143</sup>

While the Vivian Bible can serve as a basic type and the iconography of its Genesis frontispiece can be regarded as a visual interpretation of the general ideas and preoccupations of the time, it must be remembered that it is a unique work. By considering not just the Genesis miniature but the wider iconographic programme and the context of its manufacture and use, it is possible to add to the basic remarks and give more attention to the unique emphasis of its message. The Genesis frontispiece is one of eight full-page miniatures, and to a certain extent, is an exception to the iconographic theme. This theme is the spreading of God's word and law, Jerome distributing the Vulgate (f. 3v), Moses handing down the tablets of law (f. 27v), David harping and singing (f. 215v), Christ in majesty surrounded by the evangelists and their symbols (f. 329v), the conversion and preaching of St. Paul (f. 386v) and the first seal with Moses being revealed by the four apocalyptic beasts (f. 415v). Even the presentation miniature can be seen in this light. When considered in this context the Genesis miniature can be seen as

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<sup>143</sup> Earthly things, son, teach us about the heavenly. When you have earnestly striven for something in the world and you have obtained it you will rejoice... I advise and beseech you at your seeking and your acquiring may be not only here, but also in the hereafter, *ibid.*, book 2, ch. 2.



the crucial touchstone: all the other miniatures deal with the honouring of God's Word, while the Genesis miniature deals with the flouting of that word. Devotion and loyalty to God are paramount, and in showing this loyalty, the loyalty to an earthly lord who follows God's laws and rules justly is implied. The presentation miniature can be seen as a complement to the Genesis miniature. Lowden concludes that royal and imperial books—and not just those with ruler images—give 'an image of kingship, rather than an image of a king.'<sup>144</sup> It is precisely this aspect, this view of an ideal ruler, which gives a clue to how the Genesis miniature should be viewed. The case is obviously different as we are dealing here, not with human overlordship, but with divine. It has a double function, showing both the perfect ruler and what his subjects owe him. Nevertheless, the parallels between Charles and the first and supreme Ruler are worth considering. In all scenes the Logos carries a long sceptre-like rod as his symbol of authority and very like the *crux hastata* frequently carried by the Christ figure in the illustrated Carolingian psalters, and the sceptres of the Carolingian rulers. In this case, the emphasis is on God the Creator and Lord, not God the Redeemer, as it is in psalters, so the *crux hastata* would not be appropriate. It is noticeable that in the *ubi es?* covering of nudity/judgement scene the Logos in the Vivian Bible holds this staff, whereas in the Grandval and San Paolo Bibles he holds a book or scroll. In those two cases the book or scroll can be seen as representing both the authority of the Logos as judge, and that of the law, as ordered and set down. The Vivian has a consistent symbol of authority for the Logos, making him lawmaker and judge. The most obvious parallel in the presentation miniature is that the sceptre held by Charles is very similar to that of the Logos, thus identifying him with the lord who grants all good things, an appropriate identification, increased if this was to commemorate the renewal of an immunity, and also the fount of law. The second parallel has to do with the presence of the angel. In this case too, the political considerations would be inclined to outweigh the possible theological objections to an angel being present at an act of creation. The defection to Lothar of Adalhard, closely connected to Charles the Bald, and once abbot of St. Martin's, may still have rankled and here again loyalty was shown as a heavenly virtue. Just as the angel looks on and humbly admires

<sup>144</sup> John Lowden, "The image and self image of the medieval ruler," in *Kings and kingship in medieval Europe*, ed. A.J. Duggan (London, 1993).

the work of God, so Vivian, Adalhard's successor, has himself depicted humbly offering the Bible to his lord, Charles the Bald. The parallel is clear: while Adalhard succumbed to the temptation to forsake his lord and to return to the lands of Lothar, where he had holdings, Vivian was the faithful man—and could expect commensurate reward.

The Genesis frontispiece of the Vivian Bible has no scenes that are peculiar to it: its uniqueness derives from the emphasis laid on the faithful vassal in the presentation miniature and the iconographic programme that gives importance to the promulgating and upholding of God's word and law, and identifying Charles the Bald with this task. The three other bibles all have miniatures with aspects that are peculiar to them. Having discussed the underlying basic ideas as exemplified in the Vivian Bible, it is possible to isolate the specific iconographic factors from the general and discuss the unique elements of the other bibles to investigate what specific circumstances gave rise to these. The Bamberg Bible, if not fully established as the oldest, is iconographically the most suitable starting point.<sup>145</sup>

## 2.1 *The Bamberg Bible*

The Bamberg Bible, sometimes called the Alcuin Bible, from the medalion with the *titulus* *ALCUINUS ABBA* is probably the earliest of the four bibles and has been ascribed to either the period of the abbacy of Frigidius (807–834) or Adalhard (834–843). It has been postulated that it was made under Alcuin and presented to Charlemagne. This idea is possibly due to the richness of the manuscript. Berger describes it as 'justement célèbre comme un des plus beaux types de l'art carolingien.'<sup>146</sup> The first secure dating we have for it is an eleventh century note of its presentation to Bamberg cathedral by Count Ramvold.<sup>147</sup> Köhler regards the Grandval Bible as older than the Bamberg and suggests that the latter is the work of a smaller scriptorium at Marmoutier, Tours, producing fewer and less prestigious works than St. Martin's. This hypothesis has been supported, on palaeographic grounds, by Fischer.

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<sup>145</sup> Most scholars would agree with Porcher that it is the start of a 'logical sequence.' Jean Porcher, "Book painting, the court ateliers," in *Carolingian Art*, ed. J. Porcher and W.F. Volbach J. Hubert (London, 1970).

<sup>146</sup> S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge* (Paris, 1893).

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*

However, Rand proposes that not distance but time is the cause of the deviation in the Bamberg Bible. He suggests that the text was written at St. Martins, shortly after Alcuin's death, and thus lacking the textual revisions made in the time of Adalhard's abbacy. The manuscript was then 'refurbished somewhat later (probably at the close of Frigidius' rule) at which time the illustrations were added.'<sup>148</sup> It is clear that the iconographic programme, in the manuscripts as a whole, is far more developed in the Grandval Bible.<sup>149</sup> The prolific use of gold and silver in the Bamberg Bible, dated in the catalogue as simply ninth century, is surely the sign of a highly prestigious work, and it seems to stand at the beginning of an iconographic development at Tours, notably a gradual expansion of the number of frontispieces. The richness of the work and its relative iconographic simplicity indicate, to my mind, an origin at St. Martin's and that it was made before the Moutier-Grandval. Another argument in favour of this is the close similarity between the latter and the Vivian Bible and to a lesser extent the San Paolo Bible. The style of the Moutier-Grandval seems to have been found very acceptable, so it would seem unlikely that it would be abandoned for that of the Bamberg. By considering how it deviates from the norm of the basic type, various factors come to light that can indicate certain preoccupations and ideas, which in their turn may indicate or suggest a particular context. Any suggestions can only be tentative and done with extreme care to try to avoid a circular argument, but by considering the internal evidence of the miniatures and seeing if this fits with any known conditions it should be possible to make an attempt to relate miniature to context. (fig. 4)

The Bamberg manuscript contains only two full-page miniatures, one before the Old Testament dealing with the fall, and one before the New representing redemption: the first is a fairly literal depiction of the events of Genesis 1–4, the latter is symbolic, showing the cross-nimbed Lamb with chalice, lance and sponge, surrounded by the Evangelist symbols and the four major prophets. It is noticeable that, other than the *tituli* naming the prophets, there is no explanatory text on the New Testament frontispiece, whereas the far more literal exposition

<sup>148</sup> H.L. Kessler, "The sources and constructions of the Genesis, Exodus, Majestas and Apocalypse frontispiece illustrations in the ninth century Touronian Bibles," dissertation, Princeton University, 1965, p. 9.

<sup>149</sup> The British Library dates the Grandval Bible at c. 840. J. Backhouse, *The illuminated page: ten centuries of manuscript painting in the British Library* (London, 1997).

of Genesis has four text bands, one above each register. Kessler sums up the relationship between *tituli* and miniature as having the ‘closest connection.’<sup>150</sup>

The *tituli* paraphrase the Vulgate and are designed to conform to the pictures. In a few cases where the Vulgate text was too long or otherwise unsuitable or where, as in the last scene, no appropriate Bible verse existed, a verse was invented. It would seem, then, that the picture cycle was composed first and the *tituli* worked out to fit it.

However, I am inclined to doubt that the *tituli* were dependent on the pictures. There are a number of discrepancies that indicate that the text had an independent existence. The first scene clearly shows the enlivenment or animation of Adam, whereas the *titulus* uses the word *formavit*. The *titulus* for the expulsion scene uses the plural form *exciunt*, while showing only one angel, nor is there any mention of the Hand of God in the *titulus* for the lowest register. The lowest register raises the most questions, and as Kessler noted, has no direct reference in the Vulgate. Kessler rejects Corssen’s theory that the Bamberg’s Genesis cycle was based on an earlier cycle, related to Alcuin’s *tituli*, on the ground that the correlation is not specific enough. The inclusion of the non-Biblical scenes, especially the burial scene, cannot be explained, if we take it that the Vulgate was the source of both the miniatures and the *tituli* to the general exclusion of apocryphal texts.

There are a number of elements in the Bamberg Genesis miniature that do not appear in the basic type. The least important of these is the border with medallions showing romanised heads. These can be related to the ‘royal’ aspect of the work in its profusion of gold, silver and purple, reminiscent of such works as the Aachen Gospels and to the classicising trend found in the Utrecht Psalter and the Ebbo Gospels. The classical aspect is also to be seen in some of the figures, notably the seated Eve in the lowest register. The royal and classical aspects would seem to indicate a work intended for a wealthy and influential patron, despite the scarcity of full-page miniatures. Of greater iconographic interest are the naming of the beasts, the covering of nudity (as a separate scene), the sentencing of the serpent (conflated) and the burial scene. The Bamberg gives a more extensive pictorial record of the first chapters of Genesis than the basic type. The inclusion of the

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<sup>150</sup> Kessler, “The sources and constructions of the Genesis, Exodus, Majestas and Apocalypse Frontispieces in the ninth century Touronian Bibles”.

medallions containing Sol and Luna not only refers to the work of the fourth day, but also gives a cosmic dimension to the miniature. In this the Logos is not only the Creator of mankind, but of everything, the universal Creator, a factor emphasised by the scene of the naming of the animals. In the Bamberg, man and God do not inhabit a world to the exclusion of all else: God's relation with man is not the only subject, but also man's relation with the beasts, albeit a lesser one. When we consider the naming of the beasts the presence of the serpent in this scene must be noted. Bottom centre, the serpent faces Adam like the other animals to receive his name. Here the artist has made a distinction between this and the serpent shown in the third register: in the naming scene it is coiled and looped, with its head up, very like the serpents shown in the Utrecht Psalter. The presence of the serpent in this scene is indicative of its status in regard to man: it is subject to him and therefore man should be able to command and control it.

The second register has two elements that do not appear in the ideal type, and one important omission. The first of these elements is the relatively small detail of Adam not only holding out his hand to Eve, but touching her on the shoulder. In the Vivian and San Paolo Bibles it is the Logos who touches Eve's shoulder as he steers her toward Adam: in the Bamberg the touch increases Adam's acceptance of his partner, and may indeed be a means of expressing *dixitque Adam hoc nunc os ex ossibus meis et caro de carne mea*. The actual fall, the eating of the fruit is not shown; instead a chain of action and responsibility is depicted, leading from the serpent to Adam in an unbroken line, Eve forming the central link. A visual parallel to this is formed in the denial of blame scene, the pointing finger of Adam almost touching Eve who points down to the serpent at her heel. The one reflects the other in an implied chain of causality as well as responsibility. The three are associated in their crime, and in their punishment. The next discrepancy has some significance for the interpretation of the changing relationship between man and God. The basic type conflates the covering of nudity with *ubi es?*<sup>2</sup> (and the sentencing). In the Bamberg the covering of nudity occurs in a separate scene, thus highlighting Adam and Eve's consciousness of guilt, or the acquisition of guilty knowledge, before being faced with their Lord and Creator. The huddled postures and the hand held to the face by one of the figures, probably Eve, denote the realisation of what they have done. They do not need to be confronted with their misstep to know they have committed a sin. The other discrepant factor in the third register is the sentence on the serpent. Whether the

denial of blame can be seen as belonging to the basic type is open to question. It appears in both the Bamberg and Grandval Bibles, and can be regarded as symptomatic of the relationship between God and man. The acceptance and acknowledgement of one's sin was seen as the first step to redemption, and only by accepting that punishment was not only just but within the order of things, could one begin to show true penitence. In this scene there is a further level implied and that is the refusal to accept God's omniscience, because, Claudius says, the question *ubi es?* does not imply that God did not know where Adam was.<sup>151</sup> Adam and Eve not only shift the blame but try to escape the just judgement of God, and in so doing not only call God's omniscience into question, but refuse to accept the responsibility for their own actions. Angelomus of Luxeuil goes so far as to say that man's attitude at this juncture was probably decisive, and if he had shown suitable penitence, his fate might have been avoided.<sup>152</sup> The inclusion of the sentence on the serpent is in keeping with the broader narrative aspect of the Bamberg. In this it differs from the Grandval Bible where the denial of blame scene visually emphasises the two humans. In the Bamberg the complicity and guilt of the serpent are manifest, and it mirrors the story of the humans: like them, it is created and given its place in paradise, like them it takes and holds, if not eats, the forbidden fruit—this is one of the extra-Biblical elements—and like them it is cursed and punished.

The most interesting discrepancies occur in the lowest register. Not only does it contain the burial scene, but the separation of Adam and Eve by that scene is remarkable. This scene, with the presence of the hand of God at the two upper corners, deserves further consideration. To my knowledge this register has not been subject to a thorough-going analysis, and while Kessler<sup>153</sup> has identified the burial scene as being the internment of Abel and based on the Apocalypse of Moses, he did not consider the implications of the register as a whole, nor the

<sup>151</sup> *Increpantis vox est, non ignorantis*. PL 50 913.

<sup>152</sup> *Adam ante pardisum posuit, ante paradisum collocavit, scilicet propter spem paenitentiae, ut aspiciens semper beatitudinis locum fortassis peonitere, et per veram emendationem rediret ad beatam vitam, quam spiritaliter paradisum nominavit. Sed, heu! prob dolor! noluit, sed in sua miseria peccator remansit*. Cited R.R. Grimm, *Paradisus coelestris, paradisus terrestris: zur Auslegungsgeschichte des Paradieses in Abendland bis um 1200* (Munich, 1977).

<sup>153</sup> Kessler, *The illustrated Bibles from Tours*. It must be noted that Kessler gives the reference as XLVII, 3, of the Apocalypse which he cites, but in the versions I consulted it was XL, 3. A shorter version is however found in *Vita* 47.4.

full text of what he quotes. Since the reading and interpretation of this register, which differs so greatly from the ideal type, is dependent on the identification and interpretation of the burial scene that will form the central point for the present analysis. Kessler sought for the sources of the extra-Biblical elements and found that they ‘can now be identified as the *Vita Adae et Evae*, an apocryphon wrongly called the *Apocalypsis Mosii* in its Greek version, which was written in Hebrew or Aramaic during the first century.’ I will continue to call this work the *Apocalypse of Moses* to distinguish it from the similar Latin *Vita Adae et Evae*. Despite Porcher’s identification of the scene not as the burial, but the murder of Abel,<sup>154</sup> it cannot be doubted that the central scene of the fourth register is that of a burial, since a close examination of the figure lying on the ground shows that it is wrapped in winding clothes, and thus must be regarded as a corpse ready for burial, rather than the body of a newly slain man. Whether this is the burial of Abel, or that of Adam or indeed a conflation of the two requires further examination. The only indication in the scene itself is that a man is digging the earth next to a body. There are various texts that could correspond to this. The first is that of the Vulgate: *dixitque ad eum quid fecisti vox sanguinis fratris tui clamat ad me de terra*.<sup>155</sup> This does not seem to be likely, as the man is clearly not God and surely his presence as speaker would have been shown, and it is obvious that this is a burial rather than a confrontation. The lack of any indication of the presence of God causes some difficulty as in both the *Apocalypse* and the *Vita* his commands, if not his actual presence, are central. The *Apocalypse* describes the burial of Adam thus:<sup>156</sup>

Then God spake to the archangel(s) Michael, (Gabriel, Uriel, and Raphael): ‘Go away to Paradise in the third heaven, and strew linen cloths and cover the body of Adam and bring oil of the ‘oil of fragrance’ and pour it over him. And they acted thus did the three great angels and they prepared him for burial. And God said: ‘Let the body of Abel also be brought.’ And they brought other linen clothes and prepared his (body) also. For he was unburied since the day when Cain his brother slew him; for wicked Cain took great pains to conceal (him) but could not, for the earth would not receive him for the body sprang up from the earth and a voice went out of the earth saying: ‘I will not receive

<sup>154</sup> Porcher, “Book painting, the court ateliers.”

<sup>155</sup> Genesis 4.10.

<sup>156</sup> R.H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudographia of the Old Testament*, Oxford, 1913, *Apocalypsis Mosii*, ch. 40.

a companion body, till the earth which was taken and fashioned in me cometh to me.' At that time, the angels took it and placed it on a rock, till Adam his father was buried. And both were buried, according to the commandment of God, in the spot where God found the dust, and He caused the place to be dug for two. And God sent seven angels to paradise and they brought many fragrant spices and placed them in the earth, and they took the two bodies and placed them in the spot which they had digged and builded.

This is the passage cited by Kessler, but he omits the mention of Adam's body. The double burial is found again in the *Vita*.<sup>157</sup>

And the Lord said again to the angels Michael and Uriel: 'Bring me three linen cloths of byssus and spread them out over Adam and other linen cloths over Abel his son and bury Adam and Abel his son.'

The fact that there is only one body again creates difficulties when trying to fully identify the scene with the text. The Vulgate says only of the death of Adam *et mortuus est*. Nevertheless, several incidents depicted in the Genesis miniatures seem to come from apocryphal works and these could have been part of an iconographic tradition, so familiar that they were used without a second thought. In view of the enormous discrepancy in treatment of the lowest register between the Bamberg and the ideal type, I would suggest that they were very deliberately included. Rather than regarding the registers as a succession of scenes in the manner of a comic strip, they should be considered almost as paragraphs. In that case we can, very crudely, regard the top register as life before the creation of Eve, the second the creation of Eve and the disregard of God.<sup>158</sup> The third register is then clearly trial and punishment. That leaves the fourth, which cannot be read as a chronological narrative because the burial scene interrupts the single scene of the depiction of the labours of Adam and Eve. I suggest that the artist or designer of this register worked not only from a model, but was acquainted with both the apocryphal works mentioned and conflated elements thus giving a special eschatological significance to the whole miniature. This would be in keeping with the small iconographic programme of the Bamberg. The single other miniature gives the means of redemption. The Genesis miniature gives not only the reason why redemption was necessary, but

<sup>157</sup> Ibid., *Vita Adae et Evae*, ch. 47.4.

<sup>158</sup> A number of interpretations could be formed from this ranging from the intrusion of sexuality, to the ill effects of a third party in the relationship.



also gives a hint of it. The much greater iconographic programmes of the other three Bibles mean that a sort of pictorial Heilsgeschichte can be given spread throughout the work: in the Bamberg it has to be compressed. Porcher considers the aspect of fall and redemption to be the central factor of the manuscript's programme, and acknowledges the hint of God's care shown in the fourth register.<sup>159</sup>

The toiling Adam and Eve are not abandoned, for God's hand is outstretched above them (this small detail shows both the artist's enlightened sensitivity and his perfect understanding of theology).

In this he lends far more weight to the Hand of God than Kessler, who comments that it 'signifies His spoken word,'<sup>160</sup> and, according to him, is not appropriate to the labours of Adam and Eve; he concludes that here it was used as a purely decorative element. The scarcity of decorative elements within the registers, as opposed to the border, makes it unlikely that the artist would simply take an essential element from one scene, such as the sacrifices of Cain and Abel, and transpose it to another solely because it appealed to him aesthetically. It must be considered as a deliberate and intentional inclusion. Firstly, I would dispute that the Hand was not appropriate to the labours of Adam and Eve. Each hand points to one of the two, each fulfilling, more or less, the punishment ordained for him or her by God. Adam works to scratch a living from the soil, while Eve's pain in childbirth is symbolised by the infant on her knee. This would also account for the strange arrangement of the pair, separated as they are, by the burial scene. The withdrawal of the Creator, as exemplified by the disappearance of the Logos after the judgement scene, must surely also signify the new distance between God and man and in this way their condemnation to death. By this means the spiritual death of man is shown; he is no longer able to enjoy the presence of God, the definition of eschatological death. This is the confusion sown by the tempter in 3.4 *Nequaquam morte moriemini*. Eve will not die an immediate physical death, that will come later, but she will die the spiritual death of being deprived of the knowledge of God's presence. The depiction of the Hand of God is a promise of the possible reversal of the sentence, of redemption. While God is no longer immediately accessible to man, He has not abandoned him; He

<sup>159</sup> Porcher, "Book painting, the court ateliers."

<sup>160</sup> Kessler, "The sources and constructions of the Genesis, Exodus, Majestas and Apocalypse Frontispieces in the ninth century Touronian Bibles".

is still a presence in the world after the fall, watching and judging, but also caring. In the *Apocalypse* Eve tells Adam:<sup>161</sup>

‘My lord, Adam, behold, I have seen in a dream this night the blood of my son Amilabes who is styled Abel being poured into the mouth of Cain his brother and he went on drinking it without pity. But he begged him to leave him a little of it. Yet he hearkened not to him, but gulped down the whole; nor did it stay in his stomach, but came out of his mouth. And Adam said, ‘Let us arise and go and see what has happened to them. (I fear) lest the adversary may be assailing them somewhere.’ And they both went and found Abel murdered.

Clearly this dream indicates a murder that has already taken place. The *Vita*, although using very similar language, sees the dream as a prediction of murder.<sup>162</sup>

For thereafter Eve conceived and bare a son, whose name was Abel; and Cain and Abel used to stay together.

And Eve said to Adam: ‘My lord, while I slept, I saw a vision, as it were the blood of our son Abel in the hand of Cain, who was gulping it down in his mouth. Therefore I have sorrow.’ And Adam said, ‘Alas if Cain slew Abel. Yet let us separate them from each other mutually, and let us make for each of them separate dwellings.’

And they made Cain an husbandman, (but) Abel they made a shepherd; in order that in this wise they might be mutually separated.

It is this last text that is interesting in relation to the fourth register of the Bamberg manuscript. The figure working the ground on the left can be both Adam and Cain, both tilling the ground. Eve sits apart with the child Abel on her knee, showing the separation between the brothers. The throne-like chair on which Eve sits differs greatly from the stony ground of the basic type and requires some explanation.<sup>163</sup> Reasons for this could be found by examining both the apocryphal works already considered and Claudius of Turin’s *Commentarii in Genesim*. In both apocryphal works the dying Adam is not only promised redemption but a ‘throne.’<sup>164</sup>

<sup>161</sup> Charles, *Apocalypse*, ch. 2–3.1.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid., *Vita Adae et Evae*, ch. 22–23.1.

<sup>163</sup> The San Marco mosaic also shows Eve sitting on a chair. See Kurt and H. Kessler Weitzmann, *The Cotton Genesis: British Library codex Cotton Otho B.VI* (Princeton, 1986), pl. 60.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid., *Apocalypse*, ch. 39, v. 1–3 and ch. 51, v. 1–2.

'Adam, what hast thou done? If thou hadst kept my commandment, there would now be no rejoicing among those who are bringing thee down to this place. Yet, I tell thee that I will turn their joy to grief and thy grief will I turn to joy, and I will transform thee to thy former glory and set thee on the throne of thy deceiver. But he shall be cast into this place to see thee sitting above him, then he shall be condemned and they that heard him, and he shall be grieved sore when he seeth thee sitting on his honourable throne.'

'Adam, Adam.' And the body answered from the earth and said: 'Here am I, Lord.' And God saith to him: 'I told thee (that) earth thou art and to earth shalt thou return. Again I promise to thee the Resurrection; I will raise thee up in the Resurrection with every man who is of thy seed.'

The reference to Adam and to his seed can be explained by Claudius' commentary, which distinguishes, as Augustine did, between those who were of the city of God and those of the city of men.<sup>165</sup>

*Natus est igitur prior Cain ex illis duobus generis humani parentibus, pertinens ad hominum civitatem; posterior Abel, ad civitatem Dei. Sicut enim in uno homine, quod dixit Apostolus, experimur, quia non primum quod spiritale est, sed quod animale, postea quod spiritale*

Abel, according to the *Vita* and *Apocalypsis*, shared Adam's fate and was taken with Adam to paradise there to await the last judgement. He can therefore be seen as a prefiguration of those journeying to the City of God.<sup>166</sup>

*Hunc secutus Abel, quem major frater occidit, praefigurationem quamdam peregrinantis civitatis Dei, quod esset ab impiis, et quodammodo terrigenis, id est, terrenam originem diligentibus, et terrenae civitatis terrena felicitate gaudentibus, persecutiones passura, primus ostendi.*

The Hand of God fits into this interpretation without problem, indicating both punishment and care. It also emphasises the connection between sin and crime and the contrast between the peaceful conditions of paradise, as exemplified in the naming of the beasts, with the danger and disharmony of the world outside.

The highly metaphorical content of the miniature as whole inclines me to think that the burial is of Adam, or rather mankind, represented by Adam. It is clear that this eschatological reading is at variance with the basic type. There the emphasis is on the consequences of the fall

<sup>165</sup> PL 50 916.

<sup>166</sup> Ibid., 920.

of man, but the eschatological reading of the fourth register conforms to the interpretation of the miniature and of the programme of the work. The miniature, in fact, is less narrative than the basic type, even though it contains more scenes: it gives an account of the history of mankind, an account that is extended to a full Heilsgeschichte with the Lamb frontispiece. I am aware that according to the apocryphal works the angels carried out the burial; this is clear in the *Apocalypsis* but less so in the *Vita*. In the *Vita* Adam asks to be buried 'towards the sunrising in the field of yonder dwelling' and it would seem that the burial by angels in paradise is a spiritual burial. In each case the burial by angels is witnessed by Eve and Seth and the *Apocalypsis* contains a passage in which the angels give the instructions for the burial of Eve, telling Seth, 'Lay out in this wise every man that dieth till the day of the Resurrection.'<sup>167</sup> If we consider the miniature as a whole it gives a picture of the cycle of the life of man. Even the medallions containing Sol and Luna have a special place in this. They have, of course their part in the story of creation, but in the two apocryphal works they are darkened at the death of Adam.<sup>168</sup> Thus in the miniature they see man's creation, but are not shown at his death. The first register shows man in harmony with God and the natural world: the second register shows the extension of man's horizons—he becomes a social creature and is faced with choices. His choice is the wrong one; by concentrating on earthly things surrounding him—his wife and the serpent—he ignores the greater for the lesser and betrays his Lord. The third register is that of justice and retribution and man must face his Lord and accept the sentence of banishment. The final register shows the full consequences of that sentence, not only banishment, but death and estrangement. In this the Bamberg is far more far-reaching than the basic type, which only shows the immediate consequences of the banishment. The Bamberg not only shows the eschatological death by the withdrawal of the Logos, but the physical death to which man is subject. Again, unlike the basic type, it foreshadows the redemption: the Hand of God shows that God has not wholly forsaken his creation, both judging and protecting.

<sup>167</sup> Charles, *Apocalypsis*, ch. 43.2.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid., ch. 37.1—the sun and moon themselves fall down and pray on behalf of my father Adam. *Vita*, ch. 45.3—the sun darkened and the moon.

Clearly the Bamberg Bible diverges considerably from the iconography of the basic type as well as stylistically. These differences are not confined to small details, but give a fundamentally different emphasis. Superficially, the main difference is that the narrative is extended, but the importance is not purely narrative. In particular an analysis of the fourth register brings the eschatological aspect of the whole miniature to the fore as a cycle of creation, sin, punishment and the possibility of redemption: the creation of life is linked to both the physical and the spiritual death. The extra-Biblical burial scene—the first burial in the history of man according to the apocryphal works—and its implications for Adam's descendents shift the emphasis slightly towards repentance and a concern for future generations. As has been said, there is no secure dating for the work, general opinion putting it in the period 834–843 and made under the abbacy of Adalhard. This dating would seem to conform to the special emphasis of the miniature. I suggest that the concern for repentance and forgiveness as displayed in the fourth register, along with separation of Cain and Abel, reflects the concerns in the Carolingian realms following various events of the reign of Louis the Pious. The strained relationship between Louis and Lothar (and Pippin and Louis the German) is reflected in the 'rebellion' against both a lord and father, who has given bounteously; the naming of and lordship over the beasts is analogous to the granting of Lothar's imperial title and *regna* to his other sons. The events of 833 can also be traced in the attention to forgiveness shown by the Hand of God and the burial scene. The concern for the young Charles and his inheritance seems to be reflected in the separation of Cain and Abel, Abel the younger son sitting on the knee of his enthroned mother. Just as Adam and Eve tried to protect Abel in the *Vita*, Louis and Judith tried to ensure Charles's inheritance by the pact with Lothar. This would suggest then that the Bamberg Bible dates from the late 830s, and before the Bröderkrieg was unleashed at Louis death.

## 2.2 *The Moutier-Grandval Bible*

The iconography of the Moutier-Grandval concentrates on the creation of man, his fall and expulsion from paradise. (fig. 5) All extraneous matters, at first sight, are excluded, but within this framework the themes are amplified and developed. In the first scene the Logos stands upon the earth from which he shapes Adam while two angels look on. This

could be a reference to the angels being present at the creation of Adam and being called upon to worship him. The *Vita* has Satan saying:<sup>169</sup>

When God blew into thee the breath of life and thy face and likeness was made in the image of God, Michael also brought thee and made (us) worship thee in the sight of God; and God the Lord spake: Here is Adam. I have made thee in our image and likeness.

The reasons for the presence of the angels has already been discussed in connection with the basic type, but it may be mentioned here that a complementary reason for the appearance in the Grandval Bible could be the insistence on the high destiny of man envisioned by God and expressed in the passage cited above. The angels, however, do not descend to the earth: they view the Logos and his creation from a point above. It is from this point that the Logos leans down to remove the rib, he is then on another plane than Adam. This may refer to the Bible text that describes Adam as being created before paradise, whereas Eve was created in paradise.<sup>170</sup> In the first register there are clearly two planes, a heavenly and an earthly, the one inhabited by the angels and the Logos, the other by man and by the Logos when he needed the material of the earth to make man. In the second register we are shown paradise, a place that both man and God can inhabit, a sign of the harmony that existed between them, and man's enjoyment of the presence of God.

Depicting the ban on the eating of the fruit of the tree of knowledge is relatively rare in medieval art, and to my knowledge is only ever shown unambiguously after the creation of Eve, in contradiction to the order of events in Genesis 2. There are two important implications in the use of this scene. The first is obviously that there is a great deal of emphasis on the sin of disobedience. Adam and Eve disobey a direct order and command: this may seem obvious from textual sources, but visual sources tell their own story, with their own emphasis. The selection of elements of a text to illustrate, and how to illustrate those elements, constitute the structure of an independent narrative. Thus, the other three Carolingian Bibles that do not illustrate the ban tell a slightly different story to the Grandval Bible. The basic type, seen as a pictorial source and not just a working of the text, leaves open the question of the precise nature of man's sin, but the emphasis lies more

<sup>169</sup> Charles, *Vita*, ch. 13.2.

<sup>170</sup> See Alcuin Blamires, *The case for women in medieval culture* (Oxford, 1997).

with allowing the intrusion of an external factor, of relegating God to the background, of wanting more than is given, than on downright disobedience. These elements are also present in the Grandval Genesis miniature, but with the inclusion of the prohibition scene, the emphasis is firmly placed on the aspect of disobedience, rebellion and the breaking of a compact with God. It cannot be doubted that this scene is that of the prohibition, and not, for example, the instruction to be fruitful and multiply. The Logos stands before the tree and gestures towards it with a commanding hand, two fingers outstretched.<sup>171</sup> The tree shown in this scene is not the same as that shown in the conflated *ubi es?*/hiding the nudity/denial of blame scene. This last shows the tree as a fig tree, which accords with the usual identification in ancient and medieval theology with the tree of knowledge of good and evil. This poses a problem if the four dark lines issuing from the base of this tree are, as Kessler identifies them, the four rivers of paradise. He puts this down to ‘confusion on the part of the Carolingian artist’ as to which was the tree of life and which the tree of knowledge.<sup>172</sup> Tradition, however, links them to the tree of life.<sup>173</sup> By considering the *titulus* relating to the prohibition a possible explanation can be found. This reads *AST EDANT NE POMA VITAE P[RO]HIBET IPSE CONDITOR* and is the truly strange element: the artist can be seen as simply following the text of the *titulus*—which he would surely know before beginning his work. The ban on eating from the tree of life does not occur until the judgement, Genesis 3.22. This means that the writer of the *titulus* was either confused, or there was some other reason. If we examine what the Vulgate says there are two points at which distinction between the two trees is not very clear. The first of these is at the first mention of them at their planting when they are both described as being planted in the middle of paradise.<sup>174</sup> The second occasion is at the beginning of chapter 3 when Eve replies to the serpent’s question that they may

<sup>171</sup> It is noticeable that this gesture differs from that of the presentation of Eve and the judgement where the Logos raises his index finger, the others relaxed in a curve.

<sup>172</sup> Kessler, “The sources and constructions of the Genesis, Exodus, Majestas and Apocalypse Frontispieces in the ninth century Tournian Bibles”.

<sup>173</sup> The Vulgate does not specify precisely the place from whence the rivers spring: *et fluvius egrediebatur de loco voluptatis ad irrigandum paradisum qui inde dividitur in quatuor capita*. Genesis 2.10.

<sup>174</sup> *produxitque Dominus Deus de humo omne lignum pulchrum visu et ad vescendum suave lignum etiam vitae in medio paradisi lignumque scientiae boni et mali*. 2.10.

eat of all the trees in paradise except from the one in the middle.<sup>175</sup> Here there is only mention of one tree ‘in the middle of paradise’, not specific mention of the tree of knowledge, as there is in 2.17. The most probable explanation is a deliberate conflation of the trees and this is underscored by the use of the same *titulus* in the Vivian Bible.<sup>176</sup> Its appearance there is all the more remarkable because there is no prohibition scene, and to judge from the layout of f. 10v, the *tituli* of the first register were added as an afterthought, or had been forgotten. The other *tituli* are, as in the Grandval, neatly written on borders between the registers. Those for the upper register are written in much larger letters on the page, above the frame, the last letters of *conditor* extending beyond the continuation of the right-hand frame, so that the decorative foliage on that corner has to droop downwards. The *tituli* above the miniature is not unique to the Genesis frontispiece in the Vivian but it does seem to have been less thought out than, for example, that on f. 329v, where there is no logical place for a *titulus* in the miniature itself. If there was no reason for the *titulus* to use the word *VITAE*, it is all the more strange that it was not only repeated in the Vivian, but was apparently deliberately added. The *tituli* of the Genesis pages of both works are identical, but the Vivian has a register less than the Grandval. If the use of *VITAE* was a mistake, it seems odd that it was not corrected and even repeated in another work.<sup>177</sup> A far more probable explanation is that the tree of knowledge and the tree of life were neither a simple confusion or even a straightforward visual conflation, but a deliberate identification of the two. This is not unique to the Genesis frontispiece in the Grandval Bible, but is to be found in a passage in a pseudo-Ephraimic homily in which God is considered to be both trees.<sup>178</sup> The likelihood of an acquaintanceship with this idea in ninth century Francia is increased by the fact that the

<sup>175</sup> *respondit mulier de fructu lignorum quae sunt in paradiso vescemur de fructu vero ligni quod est in medio paradisi praecepit nobis Deus ne comederemus et ne tangeremus illud ne forte moriamur.* 3.2–3.

<sup>176</sup> The only way it differs from the same *titulus* in the Grandval is in abbreviation, for example in the Vivian the *M* of *EVAM* is suspended and in the Grandval *RO* in *PROHIBIT* is contracted, whereas in the Vivian the *H* is elevated.

<sup>177</sup> Mistakes in copy did and do occur, but these are far more obvious in *tituli* than in body text.

<sup>178</sup> Cited: Jane Stevenson, “Ephraim the Syrian in Anglo-Saxon England,” *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 1 (1998).



same passage is paraphrased in a commentary from the late seventh originating from Canterbury.<sup>179</sup>

*Lignum etiam vitae et reliqua. Secundum historiam arborem fici unamque, non duo. Ideoque Dominus ei maledixit in euangelio specialiter, non altro, quia in ea prima transgressio facta est. Et Deus est lignum uitae et scientiae boni malique; si bene senti/mus et intelligimus de eo, hoc est de sancta trinitate, nobis erit lignum uitae. Sin autem, aliter erit ut in euangelio dicitur: 'Hic in ruinam et in resurrectionem multorum in Israel,' et reliqua.*

The Canterbury Commentaries were lecture notes or aides memoir written by the students of Abbot Hadrian and Archbishop Theodore, who were possibly acquainted with Ephraimic and Pseudo-Ephraimic works, perhaps even bringing copies to Britain.<sup>180</sup> Bischoff and Lapidge trace the idea that 'the tree of life represents the tree of knowledge of good and evil and, *a fortiori*, of God' via Matthew XXI.19, Mark XI.21, which relate Christ's cursing of the fig tree, via Gregory of Nyssa, Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Maximus the Confessor, all equating the tree of life to God.<sup>181</sup> They, like Stevenson, find the closest parallel in the pseudo-Ephraimic homily that makes the double parallel explicit.<sup>182</sup> Thus the idea of the trees of life and knowledge as one and the same was fairly widespread and Bischoff and Lapidge's analysis of the manuscripts of the Commentaries provide evidence that text of the Canterbury Commentaries was known in ninth century Francia. One

<sup>179</sup> Bernard Bischoff, Michael Lapidge, *Biblical commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1994). 'First Commentary on the Pentateuch' text, p. 310. The tree of life also and so on. According to the narrative there was one fig-tree, not two. And therefore the Lord cursed it especially in the gospel, and no other, since the first sin was committed through it. And God is the tree of life and of the knowledge of good and evil; if we think and understand about it properly, that is, about the Holy Trinity, it shall be for us the tree of life. If not, it will turn out otherwise for us, as is said in the gospel: Behold, this child is set for the fall, and for the resurrection of many in Israel,' and so on.

<sup>180</sup> Stevenson, "Ephraim the Syrian in Anglo-Saxon England," *passim*.

<sup>181</sup> Bischoff, *Biblical commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian*, p. 442.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 442–443. *Deus enim arbor scientiae boni et mali recte dicitur, idemque est arbor uitae; et siquidem parentes nostri praecepto paruissent, utque arborem scientiae boni, et lignum uitae, sibi Deum fuissent experti: atque ad iucundissimam contemperationem prouecti fuissent, in ligno uitae repositam, quod est ipse Deus unus et trinus.* God is with right called the tree of knowledge of good and evil that is the same as the tree of life and if our parents had acknowledged this then for sure God would have granted them the experience of the tree of knowledge of good and of the tree of life and it would have brought to them the most joyful contemplation which rests in the tree of life, that is God himself, one and three. (My translation)

of these, at least, Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M.P.Th.F.38 is contemporary with the Grandval and Vivian Bibles. While the relevant passage is not, or no longer, to be found in it, it is evidence that the Commentaries were still being used and copied. It must, then, be regarded as a distinct possibility that the makers of the Grandval were acquainted with the exegesis identifying the tree of knowledge with the tree of life, and that neither the *titulus*, nor the miniature is the result of a mistake or carelessness on the part of the scribe or artist, but a conscious reference to this. With this in mind the interpretation of the scenes can be extended further. God is the source of life, which he will grant to his faithful followers. At the same time he can withhold this, dealing death and punishment to those who betray him. God is the source of knowledge that gives life and also that which gives death. This explains why the olive tree (life) is shown at the ban—the fruit was not theirs to take, but would be granted to them if they proved faithful—and the fig (death) at the temptation and the *ubi es?* scenes. Viewed in the light of the Commentaries and on the assumption that the *titulus* and the trees are not errors, the sequence makes sense and reinforces the message of the rest of the miniature.

The next major discrepancy between the Grandval and the basic type is the consumption of the fruit. This forms a separate scene to the temptation of Eve, and Eve, as well as Adam, is shown eating the fruit. The idea of sin and evil entering via the mouth is relatively common in Carolingian thought. In the Stuttgart Psalter a black bird is shown entering Judas' mouth, an idea which is again expressed in *Heliant*.<sup>183</sup>

When the betrayer  
Took the food and was eating it in his mouth,  
The divine power left him; evil creatures,  
Satan wrapped himself  
Tightly around his heart.

Here the fruit is taken from the mouth of the serpent and enters the mouths of the humans, making a parallel with the verse cited above. In this scene Adam and Eve share the guilt: Eve is not merely the instrument by which Adam acquires the fruit, but like him, she ingests

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<sup>183</sup> *Heliant*, LV, 4620–4625, cited G. Ronald Murphy, *The Saxon saviour: the germanic transformation of the Gospel in the ninth century Heliant* (New York and Oxford, 1989).

it, making it a part of herself. This would agree with Claudius' interpretation of the tree. It would also agree with the *Apocalypsis*:<sup>184</sup>

he [the serpent] went and poured upon the fruit the poison of his wickedness, which is lust, the root and beginning of every sin, and he bent the branch on the earth and I took of the fruit and I ate.

And in that very hour my eyes were opened, and forthwith I knew that I was bare of the righteousness with which I had been clothed.

The text does not mention that Eve took the fruit from the serpent's mouth, but this element in the miniature could be a very effective visual method for showing the contamination of the fruit. It also gives a reason, other than iconographic tradition, for showing the serpent in the tree. The verses cited above are spoken by Eve, and she is as aware as Adam of her nakedness, a knowledge that comes from eating the fruit. The Grandval stresses this point. Eve and Adam are both aware of what they have done; both have betrayed the trust of their Lord and must face banishment. A second parallel is found to the section of *Heliant* cited above. The poem continues from that point:<sup>185</sup>

Since the help of God  
had abandoned him in this world. Thus shall those people  
who, under heaven, change lords.

Kessler's discovery of a minute scene in the fourth register of the Genesis frontispiece, which he interprets as the murder of Abel by Cain, is one of the most intriguing features of the Grandval Bible. He describes the scene thus:<sup>186</sup>

Beneath the right tip of the garland that forms Eve's bower is a tiny sketch. Two figures are delineated within a lightened square. One stands at the left and extends his arm toward the figure at the right who seems to be trying to balance himself as he falls backward. The figures may be no more than illuminator's scribbles. They are, however, part of the ninth-century painting; and, on the basis of similarities with San Marco and San Paolo f.l.m., they can perhaps be identified as the Slaughter of Abel.

The reasons for including this scene can be seen as fairly obvious, it simply follows the narrative as it does, more or less in the Bamberg Bible. However narrative intention cannot account for the strange way

<sup>184</sup> Charles, *Apocalypsis*, ch. 19.3–20.2.

<sup>185</sup> *Heliant*, LV, 4625–4627.

<sup>186</sup> Kessler, *The illustrated Bibles from Tours*.

it is inserted into the much larger scene of the labours of man. To a certain extent the clarity of the scene is impaired by the touches of gilding. Nevertheless there are certainly two figures facing each other. The figure on the left stretches out his left arm toward the figure on the right, touching him. This right hand figure bends very slightly forward, his right arm relaxed by his side. The second figure is less distinct. I agree with Kessler that he (and it is almost without doubt male) is falling to one knee, his right leg bent and the left stretched out behind and to the side of him. The position of the arms is more difficult to determine. It is possible that his left arm is by his side, giving the impression is that this is held away from the body. Kessler sees the left arm as being thrown up in an effort to retain balance, and this would account for the dark area behind the figure on the right. The right arm is very indistinct—it is also very possible that the two arms are shown but the small size and general lack of clarity make it impossible to decide. The position of this figure is similar to that of the Mors in the Uta Codex. My observations are based on the facsimile edition, and the colour reproduction there, when viewed with fairly strong magnification, gives a different impression than that of Kessler's black and white photograph. Nevertheless after spending several hours comparing the colour and black and white reproductions and following Kessler's arguments I agree with both his description and interpretation.<sup>187</sup> (fig. 6)

The scene itself is set against a dark blue background, similar to that of the upper part of the right-hand side of the fourth register. Immediately under this area the background is dark purple, with a billowing edge that does not run parallel to the undulations of the yellow ground. The purple area starts at roughly the same point as the dark lilac area on the left-hand side begins. I suggest that the whole upper part of the right-hand side of the fourth register was originally blue and then overlaid with purple. This would seem to be borne out by the lower part of the background to the left-hand side. There glimpses of pink can be seen under the dark lilac layer; this is especially noticeable along the upper edge, the join with the yellow earth and the area close

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<sup>187</sup> Unfortunately the manuscript is not available for examination, and its condition makes even new photographs impossible. The British Library can find no trace of the photograph used by Kessler. My thanks to the staff who searched for it. Figure 6 is my own reconstruction based on my notes and sketches of the facsimile edition.

to the end of the garland hanging from Eve's bower. From the application of the pigment, especially the dark blue in the second register it is clear that the figures, even if not fully painted, were sketched in before the background was painted. To return to the scene, this has a clear demarcation where the artist has taken his brush, loaded with purple, round the edge of the scene. It is also very clear that, as would be expected, the gilding was done after all other stages of the painting. It is possible that the scene, however small was still clearly noticeable and the decision was taken to gild the figures, the three short strokes on the left and the long one on the right being very similar to the gold tassel on the left-hand side of the garland. Viewed from most positions, only the gilding is visible, unless the viewer subjects the work to very close scrutiny. A possible reconstruction of the making of the scene would be that the small and secret scene of the fratricide was painted, for what reason we will shortly attempt to determine, but its floating position drew attention to it. To disguise the scene it was decided to gild the figures and to add a leafy tassel to the left-hand side of the garland. It is possible that the scene was noticed and the artist told to paint over it—this would account for the purple layer, and possible even the dark lilac layer, as more harmonious than the underlying pink. If this was the case then the artist very skilfully avoided deleting the scene.

The introduction of this small scene, in what can only be regarded as a secret and clandestine manner, points to a most unusual situation. For some reason it was found necessary or desirable to include the scene, but at the same time it could not be done openly. What then were the circumstances that could have led to such an action? The first point of interest is the subject itself, the murder of a younger brother by an elder. This could have a good many parallels in Carolingian politics, especially royal politics. It could refer to Louis the Pious' blinding of Bernard of Italy and his subsequent death, whereby an uncle and emperor was responsible for the death of his nephew. While this is a possibility, the strained relations between the sons of Louis the Pious, the elder brother's jealousy of the younger, make a closer analogy. In 841–842 as a result of various social, political and religious circumstances the lower classes in Saxony, the *Stellinga*, rebelled against the ruling class and against their king, Louis the German. They demanded a return of their traditional rights and political system. They further wanted a return to their old religion, both Christianity and Carolingian hegemony being associated with the loss of rights and political power. One of

the factors leading to the initial success of the revolt was the situation caused by the quarrel between the royal brothers.<sup>188</sup> This revolt was an event that deeply shocked many and it receives an almost unique amount of attention in the ninth century chronicles, being reported in four independent sources.<sup>189</sup> More shocking to the ninth century Christian Frank was the behaviour of Lothar, who, in attempting to distract Louis and to improve his own position in his campaign against his brothers, entered into negotiations with the leaders of the *Stellinga*, promising them ‘the choice between some kind of written law and the customary law of the ancient Saxons, whichever they preferred. Always prone to evil, they chose to imitate pagan usage rather than keep their oaths to the Christian faith.’<sup>190</sup> In a further measure he bought the aid of the Danish king, Harald, and the *Annals of Fulda* express the horror that an anointed and Christian king could even consider such acts, not only against his brothers, but against the Frankish people and against God:<sup>191</sup>

Lothar, to secure the services of Harald, who along with other Danish pirates had for some years been imposing many sufferings on Frisia and other coastal regions of the Christians, to the damage of Lothar’s father’s interests and the furtherance of his own, now granted him Walcheren and the neighbouring regions as a benefice. This was surely an utterly detestable crime, that those who had brought evil on Christians should be given power over the lands and people of Christians, and over the very churches of Christ; that the persecutors of the Christian faith should be sent up as lords over Christians, and Christian folk have to serve men who worshipped demons.

Lothar’s ploys failed and an uneasy truce was formed at Mâcon in 842 after which Louis the German<sup>192</sup>

marched throughout Saxony and by force and terror he completely crushed all who still resisted him: having captured all the ringleaders of that dreadful example of insubordination—men who had all but

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<sup>188</sup> Eric J. Goldberg, ‘Popular Revolt, Dynastic Politics, and Aristocratic Factionalism in the Early Middle Ages: The Saxon *Stellinga* Reconsidered,’ *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies* 70 (1995).

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 480.

<sup>190</sup> Entry for 841, ‘*The Annals of Fulda, Ninth century histories*, volume II,’ translated and annotated by Timothy Reuter, Manchester, 1992.

<sup>191</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, 842.

abandoned the Christian faith and had resisted Louis and his faithful men so fiercely.

The alliances with the *Stellinga* and the Danes on Walcheren caused difficulties for Louis and his half-brother, Charles the Bald, but it was the alliance with pagans, or newly converted pirates that shocked and horrified them and their followers. It is not difficult to imagine that the artist of the Genesis frontispiece would wish to comment on this breach of brotherly trust and attack on the Christian faith, and where better than in a miniature showing the fall of man and what better topic for an allegory than the murder of Abel? If this hypothesis is correct it would suggest a date no earlier than 842–843, so the hypothesis would cause no undue strain on other factors influencing dating. The circumstances were singularly appropriate for such a subject, so why was it not shown large and openly?

Kessler's comment that it is possible that the scene is just the scribbles of the artist seems unlikely. The expense of putting together the volume, whether this was 'refurbishing' a slightly older volume and providing it with illustrations, or working on a new, argues against such carelessness. Furthermore the placing of the scene, next to Eve suckling the infant Cain and bearing no relation to any of the other figures on the page, leads me to think that it is unlikely that these were try-outs for larger figures. Even if they were preliminary sketches, it would have been a simple matter to cover them with the dark blue paint that surrounds them. It is my opinion that the artist working in St. Martin's, Tours, in the realm of Charles the Bald, made the scene either on his own initiative, at the command or suggestion of a superior or possibly to express the community's outrage at Lothar's behaviour. The secrecy can be explained by the conditions of fragile peace that prevailed after the agreement at Mâcon where the brothers swore 'an oath of peace and fraternity' and agreed to a division of the lands of Louis the Pious to be decided later.<sup>193</sup> A further consideration could be the intended recipient of the Grandval Bible. This has never been established beyond doubt, but Berger cites Speyr's account of the 'péripiétés' of the work.<sup>194</sup>

Lothaire I<sup>er</sup>, petit-fils de Charlemagne, entra dans le couvent de Prüm en Lorraine, y prit l'habit de moine et mourut l'an 856. Dans un diplôme accordé par ce prince à l'abbaye de Prüm, il est fait mention des images

<sup>193</sup> Ibid.

<sup>194</sup> Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge*, p. 212.

en caractère d'or dont était orné le commencement des manuscrits qu'il avait donnés à son gouverneur. L'an 1576, le couvent de Prüm ayant été dissous, et ses ressources données à l'électeur de Trèves, les Pères bénédictines transportèrent religieusement la bible d'Alchuin et la déposèrent à Grandis-Vallis.

It is possible that Lothar himself donated the Bible to Prüm. In a note Berger cites C. Boweri's *Antiquitates et Annales Trevirenses* of 1670—'*Bibliothecam cum imaginibus, et majoribus characteribus in voluminum principis deauratis*.'<sup>195</sup> He acknowledges that this description could possibly fit other Bibles, but if Speyr's account is accurate, then it is highly likely that the Grandval Bible is the work mentioned.<sup>196</sup> The entry of Lothar into the monastery of Prüm, close to Aachen, and his death there are well documented. Criticism of Lothar would not be very welcome in his own lands, and especially not in a monastery with such close ties with its ruler. It is not likely that either the monks of Prüm or their royal patron would take kindly to any visual allusions to the betrayal by Lothar of his brothers. We know that Lothar commissioned his Gospel Book from Tours in 849, apparently to commemorate his reconciliation with Charles, but if Lothar wanted to donate a splendid new Bible to the monastery with which he had the closest ties, or even if he wanted it for his own use, he was more likely to go to Tours than to another scriptorium. Tours was the primary source of the highly prestigious illustrated and ornamented pandect Bibles. The likelihood of this is increased when we consider the position of the lay abbot of Tours for eight or nine years, Adalhard. He was a court official of Louis the Pious and the uncle and probable guardian of the wife of Charles the Bald and left Charles for the kingdom of Lothar. The precise date of this defection seems uncertain, but Nelson puts it as 842. If this is the case the inclusion of the clandestine scene makes even more sense. It is not unreasonable to assume that not only Lothar's actions, but the defection aroused the indignation of the monks of Tours. The presence of the angels at the creation of Adam emphasises those who have chosen to remain loyal, to abide by what was ordained and decreed, those who

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<sup>195</sup> Ibid.

<sup>196</sup> McKitterick considers this likely. R. McKitterick, "Carolingian Bible production: the Tours anomaly," in *The early medieval bible: its production, decoration and use*, ed. Richard Gameson (Cambridge, 1994).



have not succumbed to the desire for more than their share. There is the warning implicit in the judgement on Adam and Eve: the death sentence is banishment from the presence of God. While the omnipotent God's sight of them remains undiminished, they are banned from seeing God, from knowing him directly. They are the outlaws, doomed to a hard existence without a lord. In just such a way can the basic type be seen as a warning for all those who betray or desert their lord; desiring their own good they are deprived of all the good things they had. The Grandval places particular emphasis on disobedience and forsaking the ways of God, increasing the force of the warning. Disloyalty does not bring the benefits expected and they have given up their rights, privileges and positions for an illusory reward. This too could be seen as an affirmation of Charles's right to his lands. God would confirm Charles in his position, and those who abandoned him would be cast out to make what they could of their lives. It must be remembered that banning was a very common punishment for those who showed or were even suspected of disloyalty. Furthermore, the 840's were the time when Gottschalk's preaching was beginning to threaten the idea of free will and choice; this preoccupation must have combined with the politics of the day, and the idea of choice would have been in people's minds. The events of the last years of Louis the Pious' reign, and especially the insurrection of Louis the German together with the events of the *Brüderkrieg*, must have brought to the fore questions of loyalty and justice. The presence of the angels could be an expression of concern at the preaching of double predestination and to emphasise that man, and contemporary man, had the power to choose both his fate and his loyalty to his lord.

### 2.3 *The San Paolo Bible*

The three Bibles already considered were made within a relatively short period of time, a period of great unrest and uncertainty. There are no surviving Genesis miniatures for the following two decades until the San Paolo Bible was produced. It has been classed as belonging to the 'court school' of Charles the Bald whose works display a 'lively eclecticism. Its draughtsmanship is dependent on earlier Reims products such as the Utrecht Psalter; a large part of the iconography stems from Tours; and its ornament is related to the Franco-Saxon style of

St. Amand. Such eclecticism requires access to a large library such as that of Charles the Bald.<sup>197</sup> Various centres have been suggested for the 'court school,' such as Corbie and St. Denis, but more recent research rejects the 'court school' origins and favours Reims as the scriptorium. The dating has been dependent on the identification of Charles' wife, shown with a waiting woman in the ruler portrait. Kantorowitz argued that it was produced in 870 on the occasion of Charles second marriage.<sup>198</sup> Ghaede was of the opinion that the queen was Hermintrude and the prayer for fecundity relates to her.<sup>199</sup> As a result he dates the San Paolo to the period 866–869. More recently Diebold has argued very persuasively that the Bible was not intended for Charles, but that the probable patron was Hincmar and the manuscript was intended as a gift to either Pope Hadrian II or Pope John VIII and thus dates from c. 872. Whether intended for Charles or the Pope it was probably made with both rulers in mind, considering how early it was in papal possession.

The San Paolo Bible has one scene that is peculiar to it, the creation of Eve. (fig. 7) This follows the scene in which the rib is extracted from Adam, but takes place in the middle register. Even though the depiction of the two scenes is not unique in medieval art, it is unusual enough to call for some comment. The poses of the humans and the Logos in both creation scenes are almost identical. This is all the more apparent because the two right-hand scenes in the upper and middle register 'flow' into the middle scenes. In the other Bibles each scene is bracketed by trees, or by the dividing line made between paradise and earth.<sup>200</sup> In the upper register Adam seems to rise out of his recumbent body in the first scene to receive his soul in the second. In the middle register the Logos seems to take Eve and, turning, present her to Adam. If we regard the scenes as parallel then we must also see both scenes as a completion, the upper as the completion of man, body and soul, the lower as the completion of mankind, male and female. The idea of completion is emphasised by Adam holding out both hands to Eve. It is

<sup>197</sup> Kessler, *Sources and constructions*, p. 14.

<sup>198</sup> Ernst Kantorowicz, "The Carolingian King in the Bible of San Paolo fuori le mura," in *Late classical and medieval studies in honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr* (Princeton, 1955).

<sup>199</sup> Joachim E. Ghaede, "The Bible of San Paolo fuori le mura in Rome: Its Date and Its Relation to Charles the Bald," *Gesta* 5 (1966).

<sup>200</sup> In the Vivian Bible the angel seems to function as a divider between the animation of Adam and the drawing of the rib.

true that inclusion of the additional scene restricts the space available, leaving less room for the central incidents of the temptation and fall, which here are conflated with the covering of nudity, *ubi es?*<sup>2</sup> and the judgement. This scene deviates from the basic type, as Eve does not take the fruit from the serpent. As with all the Bibles, she looks at the serpent and hands a fruit to Adam, but her left hand holds the leaves that cover her genitalia. There is a great deal of emphasis on Eve, and on Eve as a female. There is never any question as to which figure is which, as in the other Bibles. Both humans have the same facial features, which are also those of the Logos and the expelling figure, but they are sexually differentiated. Not only is Eve depicted with large and pendulous breasts, but Adam's genitalia are clearly shown.

The obvious sexual differentiation of the San Paolo Bible is the most striking characteristic and has little to do with the sexuality displayed in the Louvre panel. There the figures are very sexually aware, Adam posing and aggressive, Eve seductive. The figures in the Bible have none of the pagan aura of a sensual Arcadia, even when in paradise. In the lower register the animal nature of sexuality is emphasised. Unlike the basic type, the couple are naked when expelled, the expelling figure more threatening; they are not ushered out, but driven. The San Paolo makes the unpleasant consequences of the fall clearer than the basic type; not only are the couple thrown naked into the world, but even at the scene of their labours they are not given the dignity of clothing: they are still naked except for cloaks of animal skins, their sexual characteristics being again clearly visible. In the basic type, while the couple might have lost paradise, they are coping with life on earth. In the San Paolo they are eking out a miserable existence, scarcely better than animals. In this respect the contrast between the naturalness and completeness displayed in the first, second, fourth and fifth scene, and the huddled figures of the last scene is highlighted. In no scene are the figures sexually aggressive or seductive, but in the earlier ones they display confidence and naturalness. This special emphasis on sexuality accords with Claudius' remarks that the couple had sexual relations in paradise, as witnessed by the 'completing' shown in the presentation scene, but felt no desire. The final scene stresses the animal nature of sexuality outside that decreed by God. By putting so much emphasis on sexuality, and, in particular, the negative aspects depicted in the last scene, much of the attention has shifted from the relationship between God and man, to that between male and female. There are still the elements of the relationship between man and God—the harmony and

gentleness shown by the Logos in the early scenes contrasts with the anger displayed in the expulsion. Here there is no intermediary: they are driven out by God Himself. God's anger is direct and he drives the couple from him, not just withdrawing as in the basic type.

The miniature as a whole displays the usual concern for the relations between a lord and his people, the harmony when they follow his laws, and the disharmony when they break those laws and betray the trust placed in them by their Lord. The clear sexuality leads to a concern for the ordinances of God concerning sexuality: no longer is the rebellion and betrayal connected to relatively amorphous sin: the 'evil knowledge' is clearly physical. The iconographic programme of the San Paolo Bible shows the Heilsgeschichte, starting with the misery of post-lapsarian man in the last scene of the Genesis frontispiece, but even early in the work there is a small hint of redemption. The initial to Genesis on f. 10r is an elaborate and beautiful work, mostly in purple and gold with a plethora of strap and buckle pattern and acanthus leaves. Almost hidden in the wealth of decorative detail, a tiny cross surmounts the I, the first sign of hope after the depiction of man's fall on f. 8r, perhaps also a sign that man must leave his concern for the earthly and tangible and search carefully the word of God. The iconographic programme is very similar to that of the Vivian Bible, and indeed the David and Solomon pages show a likeness to the younger Charles the Bald, rather than the older monarch shown in the ruler portrait.

The preoccupation with the physical side of man shown in the miniature is perhaps a reflection of the concerns of the 860s. It is very possible that Charles did order a splendid new Bible to be made to commemorate his marriage to Richildis. There are various factors that would argue for a later date than that give by Ghaede. Charles must have harboured imperial ambitions after the death of Lothar II and his own somewhat precipitous coronation in Metz in 869. On that occasion, according to the Annals of Fulda, he had declared that, because he ruled two *regna*, he was to be 'called emperor and augustus',<sup>201</sup> and the ruler portrait shows Charles holding an imperial orb. The illness of Louis the German must also have given impetus to the idea that the imperial title was within his grasp. This made all the more pressing the matter of his heir. He had been, as many Carolingians were, unfortunate in this matter. By 869 four of his six sons had died, and

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<sup>201</sup> *Annals of Fulda*, 869.

Carloman, one of the remaining two, had been tonsured, thus making him ineligible for the throne. The remaining son, Louis, had already rebelled in 862, a rebellion which had cost him the abbacy of St. Martin, Tours. He had also, like his sister and brother Charles, married without the approval and consent of his father. In these circumstances it is not remarkable that Louis felt a new heir was essential. In spite of consecration at St. Medard in 866, Hermintrude produced no new son and when she died, only a month after the Metz coronation, Charles lost no time in taking a new wife, one with close connections in Lotharingia. Richildis was not without her detractors, the chief being Hincmar of Reims, who during the betrothal period referred to her in the *Annals of St. Bertin* as Charles' concubine. The legitimacy of royal unions was a point of issue from 860. In 855 Lothar II, in spite of his long-standing unofficial union with Waldrada, had married Theutberga, chiefly as measure to hold his elder brother Louis of Italy in check when their father died. It was soon obvious that Louis was no longer a threat and by 857 Lothar had rejected Theutberga. Charges of incest and abortion were laid at Theutberga's door and, according to Theutberga, she was put under great pressure by the Lotharingian bishops to confess. She subsequently fled to Charles, and Hincmar rejected the findings of Lotharingian bishops and demanded a retrial. There is no doubt that both Charles and Hincmar saw Lothar's attempts to gain a divorce as a political opening. Furthermore legitimising Lothar's union with Waldrada would effectively block Charles' imperial ambitions, by giving him, Lothar, a legitimate heir in his son, Hugh. Supported by Charles and Hincmar, Theutberga appealed to Pope Nicholas I, who deposed two of the Lotharingian bishops sent to plead Lothar's case, and insisted on Theutberga's reinstatement.

The choice of the subject of Susannah and the elders for the Lothar crystal could be seen as the emperor's means of associating himself with this kingly virtue—'Lothar steadfastly claimed to be seeking only justice.'<sup>202</sup> The crystal could be Lothar's claim to justify his actions, by making the very obvious connection with Susanna; his reinstatement of Theutberga, however unwilling, could be seen as the triumph of justice and his own confirmation as a just ruler. Charles had played a large role in his nephew's marital difficulties and set himself up as the

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<sup>202</sup> Genevra Kornbluth, "The Susanna Crystal of Lothar II: Chastity, the Church, and Royal Justice," *Gesta* 31 (1992), p. 34.

champion of the true wife, blessed by marriage and God, rather than the concubine whose union had received no such blessing. Perhaps the hostility of Hincmar to his own hasty marriage to Richildis led him to let it be known in this work, very possibly created to commemorate that marriage, that God ordained marriage, as exemplified by Adam and Eve in paradise. If Hincmar was indeed the patron and the work was intended to promote Charles to the pope, he would have wanted to emphasise that the union was formal and had now received God's blessing, and that such a union was for the sole purpose of begetting children, in fulfilment of God's command. It cannot be doubted that Charles' chief interest in the marriage was to produce another heir, and here it can be added that an heir to the Franks was an heir to God's 'Chosen People', working to expand and protect Christendom. That it should be Charles' heir rather than Lothar's is obviously political, but even so Hugh could be seen as the offspring from that union of 'evil knowledge' depicted in the last scene of the San Paolo Bible.

#### 2.4 *Sin in the Ninth Century*

The ideas expressed in the basic type are to be found in the specific manuscripts, but each one of these lends its own emphasis, modifying or expanding on the general themes. The concerns of the day are to some extent reflected in the manuscripts, both in the general sense and in more specific ways. Considering their origins it is not surprising that political issues found expression in the Genesis frontispieces. The Bamberg Bible lends itself to an interpretation both more eschatological and more in keeping with the circumstances of the last years of Louis the Pious' reign. The Moutier-Grandval Bible lays a great deal of emphasis on the aspect of disobedience, the breaking of agreements and the freedom of choice to do so. The hidden scene must surely refer to the struggles between Lothar and his brothers, the betrayal of oaths, the crime of hatred to a brother and, most of all, turning from God to the heathen as the ultimate betrayal. The Vivian Bible the most 'typical,' shows the importance of loyalty and justice, carefully identifying Charles with the just ruler, while the San Paolo Bible shows a new emphasis on sexuality and less on free will, reflecting the marital and political struggles of the 860s. By that time, too, the controversy over Gottschalk and double predestination had died down. Thus while each miniature expresses fairly general ideas of loyalty and obedience to a just and generous lord, and the fate of those who choose to betray their Lord,

each one adds a small measure by emphasising an aspect or bringing in another theme. In this way they can reflect ideas, or at least those ideas that a particular political elite wished to propagate.

It is notable that, until the latest Bible, there is virtually no hint of sexuality in relation to sin. The figures of Adam and Eve are androgynous up to the point in the story when Eve is shown sucking a child. In none of the miniatures is there a visual circle enclosing Eve and the serpent, rather there is a link between Adam and the serpent via Eve. Even in the San Paolo Bible, where Eve is more closely related to the serpent by her inclined head, it cannot be said that she is truly aligned with it, nor can be seen as a source of sin. Nor is she an obvious metaphor for the senses, rather, as a secondary creation, she is a little lower in the hierarchy than Adam. It is perhaps a fine distinction, but I suggest that she is more a metaphor for human and earthly concerns than for the senses as such. In the same way the ideal relationship between God and man can represent the divine level and the disturbed relationship the earthly level. At this point it would be precipitous to say there is a distinction between earthly and divine, between body and intellect that is symbolised by male and female. Eve is not a prime actor, but simply a medium. There is little apportioning of guilt; both are responsible, with Adam having rather more responsibility due to both ingestion and his role as primary creation. While there is much emphasis on the loyalty owed to a just lord, in general there is little attention paid to rebelliousness or deliberate disobedience. The greater emphasis lies with the intrusion of outside elements that disturb the harmony of the relationship between God and man, and man's interest in things other than God. Within the miniatures themselves there is little hope of redemption or a reprieve of the death sentence, but within the iconographic programmes as a whole the miniatures function as a starting point for Heilsgeschichte. In connection with this, there is a notable emphasis in two of the works on the spreading of God's word, something that might be considered appropriate for the Franks as a nation, and particularly for their rulers.

The ninth century Genesis frontispieces give a picture of generic rather than individual sin. Just as the *Specula* give the qualities and virtues of a king, rather than those of a man, the miniatures show the just lord and the disloyal vassal as symbols of generic types. Even the sexual emphasis in the San Paolo Bible is in the realm of legitimate succession. It is a political and social sin that is committed, an external and visible act. There is no trace of internal struggle or the more

personal aspects of sin. The miniatures are a form of political and social propaganda, aimed at royal and court circles. They reflect the ideal relationship, as conceived by the makers, between vassal and lord. The responsibility for sin lies with the office and function and how it is fulfilled, rather than with the individual.

### 3. *The Attitude to Death in the Ninth Century*

Man received the death sentence as a result of the fall, but does the punishment fit the crime, in the sense that in the concept of death there is a reflection of the sin committed?

In the theological controversy that arose from Gottschalk's doctrine of double predestination, judgement was obviously an important aspect. However, there is little to indicate that there would be a first and provisional judgement, immediately following physical death. On the contrary, the emphasis is all on the verdict of the last day. What, then, happened after physical death? Writing of the beginning of the twelfth century, Le Goff says that the Church had developed no coherent doctrine of what happens between physical death and the last judgement and this certainly seems true for the ninth century.<sup>203</sup> By the ninth century the attitude towards death had undergone some very radical changes since late antique times. Most of these were due to Christianity and the cult of saints: no longer were the dead strictly separated from the living. This had to do, in part, with demographic factors following the collapse of the Roman Empire: the size of settlements fluctuated, some expanding to surround old burial sites, others, more numerous, contracting so that the dead were buried in the abandoned suburbs. While this physical closeness to the living may have caused people to become less fearful of the dead, the change in attitude had its real roots in belief. The Christian doctrine of eternal life and the resurrection of the body propagated the idea that the dead were not harmful, thereby contradicting the rites and beliefs of earlier civilisations. This also provided the doctrinal basis for the cults of saints and martyrs. The argument for these cults was that the saints were not dead, but

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<sup>203</sup> Jaques Le Goff, *The birth of Purgatory*, Aldershot, 1984 (Le Goff, *La naissance du Purgatoire*), p. 130.



truly and eternally alive as witnesses to the faith for which they had physically died. Manifesting themselves in dreams and visions, they were also part of the world, but they had undergone a physical transformation that put them beyond the reach of earthly corruption. Many Christians were convinced that to be buried close to the remains of a saint would ensure that they would partake of that saints' resurrection on the last day.<sup>204</sup> Relics played an essential role in worship; the Fifth Council of Carthage in 401 had declared that all altars must contain relics, a measure that was reintroduced in the Carolingian period.<sup>205</sup> Nor must the role of relics in everyday life, such as swearing oaths on relics, be underestimated. In troubled times relics were seen as a source of protection and the Carolingians 'in importing saints hoped to find a solution to their society's ills.'<sup>206</sup> Einhard's account of how he acquired the relics of two Roman martyrs, an account that reads like a modern spy story, shows the length to which people would go to obtain the patronage and protection of saints.<sup>207</sup> Innes and McKitterick link the developments in Carolingian history writing to the cult of saints and necrologies.<sup>208</sup> Towns and other lay settlements, as well as churches and monasteries, put themselves under the protection of these 'truly living,' and built round their shrines. By the eighth century it was common to find churches with their graveyards within town walls.

There was no single opinion as to the immediate fate of the physically dead. It was thought by some that the very good, saints and martyrs, went straight to heaven, others that they went to an earthly paradise; the wicked went straight to hell and the majority slept in expectation of the last day. The idea of the dead sleeping was probably the most common and orthodox vision. In 835 a synod of bishops at Thionville approved the *Liber Officialles*, a symbolic interpretation of the liturgy by Amalar of Metz. In it he wrote:<sup>209</sup>

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<sup>204</sup> Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: thefts of relics in the central Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1990 (1978)).

<sup>205</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>207</sup> Even Einhard and his assistants did not go as far as Bishop (later Saint) Hugh of Lincoln did over 300 years later. Under the pretence of kissing the wrapped body of a saint he bit off the finger in his attempt to acquire a relic. Paul Binski, *Medieval death: ritual and representation* (London, 1996).

<sup>208</sup> M. Innes and Rosamond McKitterick, "The writing of history," in *Carolingian culture: emulation and innovation*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge, 1994).

<sup>209</sup> *Idem corpus oblatam ducit secum ad sepulchrum et vocat illam sancta ecclesia viaticum morientis, ut ostendatur non eos debere, qui in Christo moriuntur, deputari mortuos, sed dormientes. Unde et Paulus*

Such as a body takes the oblation that the holy Church calls the viaticum of the dying to the grave, thus it is shown that there is no guilt, those who die in Christ are not to be thought of as dead, but sleeping. So Paul wrote to the Corinthians: “a woman is bound by the law as long as her husband lives: but if he sleeps she is free.” And as the particle stays upon the altar until the mass ends, so do the bodies of the saints rest in their graves until the end of the world.

Paschasius Radbertus wrote of ‘saints long asleep in Christ.’<sup>210</sup> Epitaphs often express the pious hope that the deceased is in some pleasant place, or with God. On the tombstone of Pope Hadrian is a verse purporting to be from Charlemagne and possibly written by Alcuin. We read that:<sup>211</sup>

This tomb, O dearest friend, thine earthly frame doth hold,  
While thy happy soul with the saints of God delights,  
Until the final trump within thy ears shall sound:  
“Awake! With princely Peter rise thy God to see.”

Even in this there is the overtone of sleep, and incidentally, the idea of the saint’s presence ensuring resurrection.

There is evidence that the idea of purification after death was known, if not widespread. Certainly the idea was widely discussed by Augustine but he not was greatly interested in the fate of the soul between physical death and the last day, probably because he believed that it was nearby.<sup>212</sup> His writings give no very clear idea of this. In the *Enchiridion*, chapters 67 and 68 he tells us that at the last judgement everyone must pass through a fire, but this was a fire of judgement, and the godly would be unharmed; those with quotidian sins would have them burned away, and the wicked would go to hell. The cleansing by purgatorial fire would be dreadful and the process would last a long time. This was judgement day and the end of time, but he thought it possible that some may be purified faster than others.<sup>213</sup> He even suggested that “This death came into being through the perpetration of the first sin;

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*ad Corinthios*: “Mulier alligata est legi quanto tempore vir eius vivit; quod si dormierit vir eius, liberata est”. *Remanente in alteri ipsa particula usque ad finem missae, quia usaque in finem saeculi corpora sanctorum quiescent in sepulchris*. Cited Duckett, *Carolingian portraits*, pp. 111–112.

<sup>210</sup> Cited Geary, *Furta Sacra: thefts of relics in the central Middle Ages*, p. 18.

<sup>211</sup> Cited Dutton, ed., *Carolingian civilization: a reader*, p. 47.

<sup>212</sup> Vide Le Goff, *La naissance du Purgatoire*, pp. 61–85.

<sup>213</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.

and it may be that the period which follows death brings to each one an experience suited to the 'building' he has erected."<sup>214</sup>

Such ideas were not widespread in the ninth century. Nevertheless, there are visions of the dead undergoing torture for their sins: in the late sixth century Gregory of Tours recounted the vision of Sunniulf, and in the eighth century Bede recounted that of Drychthelm. In the ninth century there were several of these visions, that of the monk Wetti, made into a poem by Walafried Strabo, that of the poor woman of Laon in the reign of Louis the Pious, that of Bernold and that of Charles the Fat. It is nowhere explicit that these are not visions of what will happen on judgement day, but at least in some cases it is implied that the purgation is taking place at the time of the vision, and can be relieved or even ended by the actions of the living. What is remarkable about the later visions, and differentiates them from the earlier examples, is that they name people they see being subjected to purification by ordeal. Wetti saw Charlemagne being punished for his promiscuous behaviour: the poor woman of Laon saw not only Charlemagne, but other named *potentes*, and her guide led her to a wall:<sup>215</sup>

whose upper reaches stretched up to the heavens, and beyond it was another wall, which was entirely inscribed with golden letters. She asked him what this was. "It is," he said, "the terrestrial paradise into which no one shall enter unless [his name] is found written there." ... The woman read and found that the name of Bernard, once king, was inscribed in letters more brilliant than any other there. But the name of King Louis was so faint and almost obliterated that it could scarcely be seen. But she said: "Why is that name so obliterated?" Her guide answered: "Before he carried out the murder of Bernard, no name had been clearer on the wall. The killing of Bernard led to the obliteration of that name. Go and take diligent care not to hide any of this from the king.

Bernold saw Charles the Bald in torment and Charles the Fat saw his father, Louis the German and many of his followers suffering torment. He also saw his uncle Lothar in the valley of paradise where he also saw Lothar's living grandson. Lothar bade Charles to 'transfer the power to this child.'<sup>216</sup>

All these visions are clearly politically motivated, the visionaries, except for Charles the Fat, being urged to tell their visions, sometimes

<sup>214</sup> Ibid., pp. 77–78.

<sup>215</sup> Dutton, ed., *Carolingian civilization: a reader*.

<sup>216</sup> Cited Le Goff, *La naissance du Purgatoire*, p. 121.

to named people such as Louis the Pious or Hincmar. Charles's vision took place shortly before his death and was intended to smooth the way for his chosen successor. The fact that the visions, or rather the accounts of the visions, were politically motivated does not invalidate them as evidence as to views of what happened after death. A purification process after physical death was a weapon to be used. It is also important to note that release is promised because, although the person had committed a sin, he had also furthered the cause of God or that the report of the vision would do so. It is difficult to assess how seriously the people who reported these visions took the idea of purgation. It is tempting to think that they used it cynically and for their own political ends. Certainly they used it, but in how far they believed that they and others would suffer torments of purgation after physical death is uncertain. It is more than tempting to think that Hincmar did not take the idea too seriously. In 867 he wrote to Pope Nicholas I in a letter about his removal of clergy ordained by Ebbo: 'I am sure the Creator must see the rust of evil deeply engrained upon my soul, or he would not expose it so often to this purgatorial fire from the seat of Apostolic authority.'<sup>217</sup> Since at that time Hincmar paid little or no attention to papal demands for the reinstatement of the clergy, his assertion here seems tinged with levity.

In the epitaphs we see the first signs of death as a being and inimical to the physical life of man. In the verse on Hadrian's tomb it is called 'Grim death': in an epitaph for Egghard who died at Roncesvalles we read that 'Insatiable death met him in the shadows with a piece of iron, But everlasting light conveyed him to the stars.'<sup>218</sup> Around 843 Dhoua wrote her own epitaph in which eternal death and Satan are linked to the serpent motif:<sup>219</sup>

Locked in the tomb of a great wound  
 She ended her earthly life.  
 You, O King, forgive her her sins.  
 Lest that foul snake snatch away her soul,  
 Pray and say these words:  
 O Forgiving God, give her relief.

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<sup>217</sup> Cited Dutton, ed., *Carolingian civilization: a reader*.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 374.

Dhouda's epitaph expresses some of the uncertainties inherent in the double predestination doctrine, but no fear of physical death, or what would happen immediately after: her concern is for her soul and eschatological death. Physical death is the fate of all, and a source of loss and grief to the deceased family and friends: this sense of loss is expressed in a letter written by Einhard to Lupus of Ferrières on the death of his wife, Emma, in 836:<sup>220</sup>

All my interest and all my solicitude in regard to affairs of my own or my friends have been taken away and wholly dissipated by the profound grief I have experienced over the death not long ago of my faithful wife, my most dear sister [in Christ] and companion. And it seems impossible that it should end, for my memory clings so tenaciously to the thought of such deaths that it cannot be wholly torn from it. More than this, the grief itself is constantly added to and the wound received is aggravated by the fact that my prayers have not been of any use and the hopes that I had placed in the merits and intercession of the martyrs have completely disappointed my expectations...the pain and anxiety which have come upon me from the death of my dear partner will abide with me forever until that period of time which God has willed to bestow upon me for this poor temporal life shall reach its due ending and be finished.

In this letter we see only the grief of a man for the loss of his wife and his bewilderment that the saints he had begged to intercede for her physical life had failed to keep her for him, saints whose relics he had caused to be stolen from their tomb in Rome. His grief is for himself and the loss of the presence of his wife. There is no fear of death, either of what she may encounter beyond the grave, or of his own approaching end.

### 3.1 *The Eschatological Death in the Psalters*

Anyone searching early medieval art for the well-known skeletal figure that is the common personification of death nowadays would be disappointed. This figure made its appearance in the fifteenth century, and its predecessors are not easy to recognise. Few scholars have paid attention to these early medieval personifications: Jordan gave a useful, although incomplete inventory and others have identified one or other figure as death, but none have gone into the relationship between concepts of

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<sup>220</sup> Ibid., pp. 299–301.

sin and death and their visual expressions.<sup>221</sup> My own starting point was the two illustrated psalters, Utrecht, Bibliotheek Rijksuniversiteit MS. 32 and Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Biblia Folio 23. These are contemporary with the three older Bibles considered above, and also come from northern France. The patrons and original owners of these works are unknown, but their profusion of illustrations and general high quality indicate that they were from the elite, whether lay or ecclesiastic.<sup>222</sup> Both made in the *regnum* of Charles the Bald, it can be assumed that the readers of the psalters came from the same class and circle as those of the Bibles. By comparing their illustrations with the Gallican text a number of visual expressions of death were revealed. These combined with other miniatures, notably those showing the serpent at the foot of the cross and the apocalyptic death, did not lead to a single basic type, but did give two general types that serve as a basis for the future developments and changes of the visual personification of death, and provide a basis from which to measure how those personifications altered to suit the conceptions of each period and place.

The most common representation of death in the Utrecht Psalter is that of a giant, either a head<sup>223</sup> or half-length.<sup>224</sup> This is the form noted by Jordan; however, he makes no distinction between the passive head and the more active and threatening half-length. (fig. 8) The giant only appears from f. 51 (f. 1 was inserted, possibly to replace a dedicatory page that was no longer applicable, but is not a later addition to the psalter as a whole), so we can conclude that either the artists working on the first third of the illustrations had a less active view of death, or that the view changed to a more active one.<sup>225</sup> The reasons for such

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<sup>221</sup> See Louis E. Jordan, "The iconography of Death in western art to 1350" (PhD., Notre Dame, 1980). Jill Bradley, "'O mors, ero mors tua'. The changing concept of Death as expressed in the manuscript illumination of north-west Europe c. 800 to 1426" (Open Universiteit Nederland, 2000).

<sup>222</sup> There can be no strict division between lay and ecclesiastic in the period. Laymen were leading theologians; there were lay abbots and the clergy, both regular and secular, performed high administrative and even military functions.

<sup>223</sup> Ff. 9r, 14v, 31v, 34v, 50r, 53v, 59r, 66r, and 79r. In addition the same head can be seen on the side of a fiery furnace on f. 5r.

<sup>224</sup> Ff. 1v, 51r, 53v, 67r and 78r.

<sup>225</sup> The problem of the hands involved in the illustrations and the period of time over which the drawing took place is open to debate. For a discussion of this and tables of the hands see Kurt van der Horst, "The Utrecht Psalter: picturing the psalms of

a change are not obvious, although it is possible that events may have sharpened the perception of the danger presented by death. In both forms the giant is confined in a pit, which may be assumed to be sheol or hell. He does not form a hell mouth, and is not an entry into hell, but is a denizen of that place. Psalm 114 v. 3 reads, 'The sorrows of death surround me: and the dangers of Hell have found me' and is illustrated by victims being clasped to the breast of the giant.<sup>226</sup> This would seem to indicate that the fiery pit is hell and therefore the head or giant must be death. Nevertheless, in none of these cases does death roam abroad seeking victims. Indeed his victims, in most cases, are delivered to him, driven by angels or demons. The demons themselves do not inhabit hell, but either drive or drag the unrighteous there, or they prevent their escape, holding them in the pit by means of spears or lances.<sup>227</sup> In some commentaries it is said that the demons are torturing the victims, but I can find no instance of this.<sup>228</sup> The illustrations resemble depictions of soldiers driving prisoners before them and forcibly holding them in a place of captivity. The torture would seem to consist of being in the fiery pit of hell and the knowledge that there is no escape.

A second creature used to represent death is the serpent. This features in two scenes in which Christ triumphant tramples a snake and a lion.<sup>229</sup> The illustration on f. 53v is of particular interest as it features a wealth of death themes. (fig. 9) In the upper centre of the illustration is the *super aspidem* where the victorious Christ tramples the defeated beasts.<sup>230</sup> On the lower left is a fiery pit with a gigantic head, and on the lower right another fiery pit with a half-length giant in it. The repetition of figures occurs frequently in the Utrecht illustrations, the manner of illustration being discursive and showing several incidents in one picture. A further interesting feature of this illustration is the head to the right of the Christ figure. This is closely resembles those of the

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David," in *The Utrecht Psalter in medieval art: picturing the psalms of David*, ed. Kurt van der Horst, W. Noel, and W.C.M. Wusterfeld ('tGoy, 1996). I find Van der Horst's view the most likely, especially taking into consideration the use of multiple stages in illumination. Vide J.G. Alexander, *Medieval illuminators and their methods of work* (London, 1992). C. De Hamel, *A history of illuminated manuscripts* (London, 1994), p. 76.

<sup>226</sup> f. 67r *Circumdederunt me dolores mortis: et pericula inferni invenerunt me.*

<sup>227</sup> There is an exception to this on f.4v where an angel drives demons into a pit.

<sup>228</sup> For example E.T. De Wald, *The Stuttgart Psalter, Biblia folio 23 Wuerttembergischer Landesbibliothek Stuttgart* (Princeton, 1930).

<sup>229</sup> Ff. 36r and 53v.

<sup>230</sup> Verse 13: *Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis: et conculcabis leonem et draconem.* You walk upon the serpent and the basilisk: you trample on the lion and the dragon.

giants having a big nose, coarse features and wild hair and beard. It is accompanied by two small demons and represents the *daemonio meridiano* of verse 6. De Wald identifies this with the plague, but it is interesting to note that the noonday demon received various interpretations during the Middle Ages and researchers have long debated the genesis and function of the soul-stealing figure in medieval literature. Evagrius Ponticus (346–399), among others, thought that the *daemonio meridiano* was the cause of languor, boredom, sleepiness and ultimately suicide.<sup>231</sup> The shadow of death is shown as a prison and a cave respectively on f. 62v and f. 88v.<sup>232</sup> A cave shelters the archers who shoot at the psalmist in the illustration to psalm 22, f. 13r.<sup>233</sup> In a metaphor similar to the *super aspidem* motif, Christ tramples a human figure on f. 88r to signify his victory over the sting of death.<sup>234</sup> This relates to two virtually identical scenes of the harrowing of hell on f. 8r, illustrating psalm 15, v. 10, when the psalmist pleads that his soul should not be left in Hell and canticle 14, the *Symbolum Apostolorum*, describes the events of Christ's passion, crucifixion and resurrection. In both a tall figure standing on a prostrate human form stoops to lift up two naked figures from a pit. (fig. 10) This is obviously a reference to the *Gospel of Nicodemus* in which Christ, during his descent into hell, after trampling death underfoot, led all the fathers from hell. The stories based on Nicodemus can vary in detail: often Eve is the last to leave hell, but most illustrations, as here, show the first to be brought out as Adam and Eve.

The same figures that appear in the Utrecht Psalter are found again in the Stuttgart Psalter, but with a different emphasis, with serpents playing the most dominant role and the anthropomorphic element tending to the demonic.<sup>235</sup> The Stuttgart is very different in appearance to its near contemporary. It uses a different script, a different style of illustration and a different layout. This difference in layout has consequences for how the viewer sees the illustrations. The Utrecht's lively

<sup>231</sup> Barbara Newman, "Possessed by the spirit: devout women, demoniacs, and the apostolic life in the thirteenth century," *Speculum* 73 (1998).

<sup>232</sup> Psalm 106, v. 10: *Sedentes in tenebris, et umbra mortis*. Sitting in darkness and the shadow of death. The text of this verse is found on f. 89r and Canticle 9, v. 8: *Illuminare his qui in tenebris et in umbra mortis sedent*. Enlighten those who sit in darkness and the shadow of death.

<sup>233</sup> Verse 4: *Nam et si ambulavero in medio umbrae mortis non timeo mala*. Though I walk in the midst of the shadow of death I do not fear evil.

<sup>234</sup> Canticle 8, v. 8: *tu devicto mortis aculeo*.

<sup>235</sup> The serpent is found on ff. 16v, 28v, 107r, 107v 121v and 130r.



drawings are crowded with figures and incidents. The heavier style of the Stuttgart receives extra emphasis because only one incident is shown per illustration. Although more than one illustration per psalm is a frequent occurrence, the incidents selected acquire a heightened importance due to their isolation. The serpent is shown in hell on f. 16v illustrating psalm 15, v. 4, where it is shown wound around the left arm of a winged demon.<sup>236</sup> (fig. 11) In this illustration Christ approaches a citadel and lifts up a naked man while another man and a woman crawl towards him. The demon sits cross-legged in the gates and looks on with dismay. De Wald identifies this scene as a descent into hell, an identification questioned by Davazac who adds the unlikely—but because of the psychopompic aspect, interesting—identification of the demon as Aesculpius.<sup>237</sup> The close similarity between this illustration and that shown on f. 29v, which beyond doubt illustrates the incident

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<sup>236</sup> *Multiplicate sunt infirmitates eorum postea acceleraverunt.* Their weaknesses are multiplied, after that they hasten.

<sup>237</sup> 'A better interpretation [than the harrowing of Hell] was suggested to me by Professor Schapiro. According to him, the scene is not a Descent into Limbo but deals with Christ performing three miracles: the healing of the deaf-mute, the paralytic and the sick man, while the winged demon is a Roman counterpart of Hermes Esculapius. Esculapius is both the conductor of souls to the lower world, a psychopomp and the tutelarian god of medicine. This identification is supported by the fact that the demonic figure is shown in the illustration with a pair of wings in the back of his head while a snake coils up along his left arm, features which can be interpreted in relation to Hermes' winged helmet and caduceus respectively. The first part of Professor Schapiro's interpretation has already been proposed by the *Christian Index* of Princeton and provides the best explanation for the three different sorts of suppliants that are too clearly designated by means of gesture or objects or sex (the naked figure touching his mouth, the cripple's crutches and the woman) to be the accidental expression of the artist's whim. Moreover, the illustration does not quite correspond to any of the known types of Descent into Hell.

As for the identification of the demon as Esculapius, in order to accept it one must first determine whether the representation of a pagan classical deity is an orthodox procedure in the psalter. Other evidence in the manuscript indicate that the attributes through which classical personifications can be identified retain their integrity as objects, i.e. a cornucopia, a rinceaus of grape-wine, a crown of light etc., whereas in the case of the demon on fol. 16v the wings on the head and the snake about the arm are not attributes *per se*, but at best naturalized transmutations thereof which must be interpreted as denotative attributes. Moreover, while Hermes—Esculpius holds his caduceus with his right arm, here the snake coils up the demon's left arm.' B. Daverzac, "The Stuttgart Psalter: its pre-Carolingian sources and its place in Carolingian art" (Ph.D. University of Columbia, 1971) 131–132 (footnote). In support of the idea of Aesculpius being shown he was considered a great enemy of Christ. Ildiko Csepregi-Vardabasso, "Death and ritual in healing (in antique and early Christian records)" (paper presented at the Passages from Antiquity to the Middle Ages: Aging, Old Age and Death, 2005).

in *Nicodemus*, would favour the interpretation of the descent into hell. The identification of the demon as Aesculpius seems unlikely, not only for the reasons mentioned by Daverzac, but because the demon figure is sitting within the gates and not leading souls, indeed he appears as an inhabitant of hell, which reinforces the *Nicodemus* interpretation. The forcefulness with which Christ approaches the gates of hell certainly gives the impression of the victorious leader storming the enemy citadel. However, it cannot be denied that here there is no sign of the traditional leading forth of the fathers. I suggest that this is a descent into hell, but illustrates another part of *Nicodemus*. The figures hurrying to meet him are most likely a reference to ch. XX illustrating Satan's words on seeing Christ entering hell:<sup>238</sup>

...many that I have made blind, lame, dumb, leprous, and possessed he hath healed with a word: and some whom I have brought unto thee dead, them hath he taken away from thee.

There can be no doubt that the miniature on f. 29v is that of Christ storming the gates of hell. *Nicodemus* tells of the great light, which the patriarchs and prophets in Hell saw and was the precursor to the coming of Christ. The various prophets rejoice and explain their connection with this event, ending with Seth, who, at Adam's request, relates how Michael told him that:<sup>239</sup>

...when five thousand and five hundred years are accomplished: then shall the most beloved Son of God come upon the earth and raise up the body of Adam and the bodies of the dead...and shall bring our father Adam into paradise and unto the tree of mercy.

*Nicodemus* makes a clear distinction between Hell, Death and Satan as personages. Satan warns Hell to get ready to receive Christ into his domain, but Hell is reluctant and when a mighty voice announces the arrival of the King of Glory, 'Hell cast Satan forth out of his dwelling.' In the iconographic register of *Der Stuttgarter Bilderpsalter*, there is only one entry for death: Mütherich identifies the huge dark figure on the lower left of the miniature on f. 29v as death. This is a figure that has demonic traits, big ears, staring eyes and sharp teeth, but is distinguished

<sup>238</sup> James, M.R., ed., *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1924).

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 125.

from the demons by his size and lack of wings. Hell is probably the winged figure just inside the gates and in the act of barring them.

Then said Hell to his wicked minister: Shut ye the hard gates of brass  
and put on them bars of iron and withstand stoutly, lest we that hold  
captivity be taken captive

...the Lord of majesty appeared in the form of a man and lightened  
eternal darkness and brake the bonds that could not be loosened; and the  
succour of his everlasting might visited us that sat in the deep darkness  
of our transgressions and in the shadow of death of our sins.

When Hell and Death and their wicked ministers saw that, they were  
stricken with fear...

Then did the King of glory in his majesty trample upon death, and laid  
hold on Satan the prince and delivered him unto the power of Hell, and  
drew Adam to him unto his own brightness

In this text Hell, Satan and Death take the form of three separate beings and the Stuttgart follows this by giving them separate forms. Like the Utrecht, death can take more than one shape and I suggest that the shape is dictated by the aspect that the artist or designer wished to emphasise, and by the context, including that of apocryphal and pseudographic influences.

The serpent as the bringer of death to mankind finds its most explicit representation on f. 28v (psalm 22, v. 4,) (fig. 12). A Christ figure stands by a stream between two trees; around the base of the tree on the right coils a serpent. Bischoff, Mütherich et alia make a clear connection with the fall by identifying the tree around which the serpent twines as a fig tree, but make no mention of death. It seems to be beyond doubt that the tree is the tree of knowledge of good and evil and the serpent refers to the temptation and fall of man. This is a very graphic representation of how death first came to mankind. The Christ figure stands between the serpent and the reader, a double bar to death, confining the one and protecting the other, a reminder of his defeat of death. Like the miniatures on f. 16v and f. 29v this is without a doubt an eschatological death. Those rescued from hell are physically still dead, but alive in the presence of God. In the case of psalm 22 the reference to the soul makes the eschatological significance clear by the words *animam meam convertit*. The link between death and the fall of man is made more emphatic by the use of the combination of

tree and serpent again on ff. 130r<sup>240</sup> and 121v,<sup>241</sup> although the tree on f. 130r has different foliage.

The serpent appears in other contexts and forms. The *super aspidem* motif is to be found on f. 107v, lower illustration and in similar form to the illustration of the same verse in the Utrecht Psalter. Another version of the same theme illustrates psalm 73 v. 13, f. 87r.<sup>242</sup> Snakes become the aggressors, not the defeated, attacking Christ on f. 107r. This illustrates psalm 90 and it clearly refers to the *demonio meridiano*; Christ, protected by a nimbus, is attacked by a club-wielding demon and six snakes (fig. 13). Heimann links this to the Coptic texts of Death and his six sons.<sup>243</sup> I assume that she refers only to the earlier fifth century text, as the *Stuttgart* is considerably older than the other texts she cites in her article. De Wald sees them as the plague, attending death, in the form of the demon, and Mutherich at alia simply as the noonday devil attended by serpents. In view of the psalm text—*non accedet ad te malum*—the miniature can be seen as Christ untouched by all that could harm him, including death, and by implication extending that protection to the righteous.<sup>244</sup> The serpent can take the form of a basilisk or dragon, for example on f. 10v where a marginal note—De Wald says these notes are in a ‘somewhat later hand’—refers to those who incline to the works of our pagan fathers and of devils, and the preachers of heresy being dragged to the gates of death, while the

<sup>240</sup> *Circumdederunt me dolores mortis: et pericula inferni invenerunt me.* The sorrows of death surround me: and the dangers of Hell have found me.

<sup>241</sup> *Et stetit Fineas et placavit et cessavit quassatio.* And Phineas stood and prayed and the shaking ceased. Since psalm 105 deals with worship of the Golden Calf and the subsequent sickness visited on the Children of Israel, the serpent of the illustration must represent (deadly) sickness or plague.

<sup>242</sup> *Tu confregisti capita draconis.* You break the head of the dragon.

<sup>243</sup> Adelheid Heimann, “Three illustrations from the Bury St. Edmunds Psalter and their prototypes. Notes on the iconography of some Anglo-Saxon drawings,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 29 (1966), pp. 39–46.

<sup>244</sup> It is interesting to note the similarity between the Death/*demonio meridiano*, and, indeed the demons of the Utrecht, and depictions of vice, notably that on f.8r in the ninth century copy of *Psychomachia*. Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 412 (393 bis). Both in style and composition this work shows great similarity to the *Stuttgart Psalter*. The text on f. 8r reads:

*Ecce modesta grauistabat patientia uulta  
Per medias in mota acies uarios q[ue] tumultus  
Uulneraque e[t] rigidis uitalia per uia pilis  
Spectabat defixa oculos e[t] lenta manebat*

faithful are received within the gates of life.<sup>245</sup> On f. 74r, psalm 79, there is a clear reference to the story of Jonah, where he is shown being fed into the mouth of a sea dragon.<sup>246</sup> Since a second or third century text variously ascribed to Cyprian or Tertullian refers to this episode and speaks of Jonah being thrown into the ‘*mortis hiatus*,’ this could be a possible source for this illustration.<sup>247</sup>

Two other representations must be examined as possible death images. The first of these has a great similarity with the dominant death image in the Utrecht Psalter. To the left and right of the illustration on f. 111r fires rage, each bearing in the centre a bearded head very reminiscent of the Utrecht giants and this illustrates psalm 96.<sup>248</sup> The illustration on f. 93r features the angel who brings the plagues to Egypt from which none escape. This is a curious figure. The Stuttgart is not particularly rich in angels, but this one is clearly different, not only from the six-winged cherubs, and from the beings that accompany Christ. It is dark, carries a flaming torch, while breathing fire, but it has no demonic traits. Mutherich refers to it as ‘ein böser Engel’ and points out that it is so referred to in the text—*p[er] angelos malos*. She also notes that as it is dressed in a dalmatic and a pallium it cannot be regarded as a devil.<sup>249</sup> Again, if we refer to the biblical text it would seem unlikely that it could be considered a devil, since the plague was sent to the Egyptians on God’s command. Thus a dark angel of death would seem to be the appropriate interpretation. In this case it would seem that the angel is the bringer of physical death, but with this one exception, it cannot be said that the various figures bring physical death. There are several scenes in the *Stuttgart* in which figures, even individual figures, are led to furnaces, just as in the Utrecht work figures are driven or dragged to the pit, but there is no suggestion of an individual being

<sup>245</sup> *Porta mortis studia parentum paganorum seu demoniorum sive praedicatio hereticorum quae ad mortem trahit*. I had to rely on De Wald’s transcription as part of the notes on f. 10v is illegible.

<sup>246</sup> Verse 2. *Salvum me fac D[eu]s q[uonia]m intraverunt aquae usque ad animum meum*. Save me Lord because the waters pour in up to my soul.

<sup>247</sup> Carmen de Jona. Vide G.D. Schmidt, *The iconography of the Mouth of Hell: eighth century Britain to the fifteenth century* (Selinsgrove, 1995).

<sup>248</sup> *Ignis ante ipsum p[ro]p[ter]cedet et infla(m)mabit in circuitu inimicos eius*.

<sup>249</sup> Demons and devils in the Stuttgart are deformed and bestial creatures. This would seem to be a good example of the early ambiguous nature of angels. See P. van de Eerden, “Engelen en demonen,” in *De Middeleeuwse Ideeënwereld*, ed. M. Stoffers (Heerlen, 1994).

led from his physical life. In all cases it seems to be an ultimate fate of the evildoer.

We can distinguish several representations of death. The head and serpent, the most frequently used, are common to both psalters. The head can be classed with other anthropomorphic figures such as the demon, the evil angel and the human. It can be seen that, paradoxically, death is something living and is to be found in a place such as a tree's shade or a prison. This place is one of darkness—*umbræ mortis*—and closely linked to hell and sin. A sojourn in this place is not the fate of all; in the Utrecht's illustrations the blessed and their fate is contrasted to that of the sinners. With the exceptions of the evil angel and the snakes that attack Christ in the Stuttgart, whatever type of representation is used, death is confined or impotent. The serpent is always coiled round the tree, or round the arm of a demon in hell, the dragons or basilisks are either in hell or being hacked to pieces. The giants, heads and demons are confined to hell and the human figures are defeated and are trampled upon by a triumphant Christ. Death does not seek its prey, it receives it: even the sea monster is confined to the ocean and Jonah is fed to it. The evil angel is simply fulfilling the commands of God. The miniature on f. 107r is in a different category to the other illustrations. Here the attack is on Christ, not on man: it is part of the cosmic battle between God and the devil. It is a conflict that is played out before the redemption and is an essential part of it. By identifying the psalmist with Christ and his victory over the *demonio meridiano*, something both psalters depict, the Christian reader need not fear attack: death and Satan have already been defeated.

There is almost a dualistic aspect to the clarity of division between the righteous and the unrighteous, between the forces of God and those of the devil. The illustration to psalm one in the Utrecht is a good example of this (fig. 14). It is a roughly circular composition, which turns on the axis of two men each regarding one of the two alternatives. One the left, under the light of the sun the *beatus vir* sits outside a classical rotunda. He is seated at a scholar's desk, his head resting on his left hand and his right hand tracing the words of the book before him. This is clearly *lex Domini* in which he delights and which he studies. God's approval is demonstrated by the angel that stands behind him: this could be derived from author portraits in gospels, and thereby alluding to David's authorship of the psalms, but that would not correspond to the text. Even if we take the blessed man to be David he was not the author of God's law. I suggest that the angel can be regarded as teacher and protector,

his outspread arms implying both functions. Flowing from just below the rotunda is a stream, springing from the urn of a river god, next to whom stands a tree bearing abundant fruit. It is interesting to note that the tree has trefoil leaves and small round fruits and bears a strong resemblance to a fig tree. It is possible that this is a reference to the tree of knowledge. Since the ninth century view of the tree was not always straightforward, sometimes being seen as the source of both good and evil knowledge and even conflated with the tree of life, it is possible to interpret these scenes as good knowledge, that of God's laws leading to good and paradise-like existence. The stream and the roots of the tree lead the eye to the other side of the picture. Diagonally opposite and separated from the blessed man by the top leaves of the tree, a band of armed men demonstrate the fate of the unrighteous. While death is not mentioned in psalm 1 it is clearly intended here. Not only does the giant in the pit conform to the dominant death image in the Utrecht, but the text of the psalm speaks of the unrighteous not being resurrected at God's judgement and perishing. It is this perishing, the eschatological death, that is shown: it is not ceasing to exist, but being driven into hell where death awaits them. The context here makes it very clear that this is not a temporary fate but eternal. Death and hell are inextricably linked: death is the warder and gaoler who holds the unrighteous, driven to the pit by trident-wielding demons, in an inescapable embrace. Above this scene we see the man whose fate this is. He is placed under a portal opposite and slightly above the seat of the blessed man. He sits on a throne and is flanked by guards on his right side. In his right hand he holds an unsheathed sword before him, point down. On his left side, a counterpoint to the angel of the blessed man, is a devil holding snakes and with snakes twined around his legs and sprouting from his head. In this we can see a certain resemblance to the ruler portrait in the Lothar Gospels, where his guards crowd close to him, whereas the guards of Charles the Bald are set at a distance in all his ruler portraits. The similarity is increased by the way in which the sword is held, this mirroring the staff held by Lothar. It has already been suggested that the Utrecht Psalter is somewhat later than the date usually assigned based on the stylistic similarity to the Ebbo Gospels.<sup>250</sup> However, internal evidence would indicate a date no

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<sup>250</sup> Jill Bradley, "'O mors, ero mors tua'. The changing concept of Death as expressed in the manuscript illumination of north-west Europe c. 800 to 1426" (M.A., Open Universiteit Nederland, 2000), and Celia Chazelle, "Approaches to Early-Medieval Art: Archbishops Ebo and Hincmar of Reims and the Utrecht Psalter," *Speculum: A Journal*

earlier than the mid 840s. There is no way of knowing whether the man seated on the throne of pestilence is a sly reference to Lothar, but since he was regarded in the circle of Charles the Bald as traitor to God and his brothers, it is a possibility that is worth bearing in mind. The usual date given for the Lothar Gospels is 849 and it is possible that f. 1v of the Utrecht, although a Reims manuscript, influenced the design for the ruler portrait in Tours.

Death has two functions in the psalters—if we discount the angel of death. Firstly it is the enemy, an ally of the devil and sin. In the Stuttgart it often has demonic traits and in all cases it is closely associated with hell and damnation. There can be no doubt that death and sin go hand in hand. The use of the serpent/tree motif in the Stuttgart makes clear the connection with the fall of man. Given the strong antagonistic and military character of the miniatures, it could be said that death is a general in Satan's army. God, and more specifically Christ, and the devil battle for the world and for man: they fight, the one to accomplish God's grand plan, the other to thwart it. Angels and demons hurl spears at each other. Christ charges the walls of the devil's stronghold. This is a head-on clash between the forces of eternal life and eternal death. To the righteous and faithful the outcome is never in any doubt; Christ has already ensured victory. The individual plays no part in this battle other than to choose one lord or another. For a follower of Christ victory and life are assured: for those that turn from God there awaits the eternal death. This is death's second function: he is the gaoler who executes God's punishment upon the unrighteous, holding them captive and preventing them enjoying the knowledge and presence of God. Death is the just punishment, the sentence pronounced on the unrighteous by a just Lord. It is a sentence of banishment, of deprivation of all that is good, and all that is given by a good Lord. There are no executions or lack of consciousness on the part of the evildoers, they can feel and suffer, but they are dead to God. Death is thus both God's enemy and God's servant. His enemy that endeavours to claim mankind and to thwart God's plan, becomes his servant that punishes those who will not follow God laws. It is also clear that the two functions flow over into each other. This is particularly true of the

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of *Medieval Studies* 72 (1997). Chazelle also argues convincingly that the dating of the Ebbo Gospels also could be a decade or so later than previously thought.



Utrecht where angels and demons drive men to the arms of death. Death in his role as gaoler is as much a prisoner as those he holds: perhaps he can best be seen as a general in a defeated army that must now do the bidding of the victor.

The exception to these functions is the dark angel that brought physical death to the Egyptians, but in this context the miniature on f. 93r must be seen as a direct reference to Israel's release from the Egyptian captivity—*Coram patribus eorum fecit mirablium in terra Aegypti*. Given the text of the rest of the psalm as a warning to those who lapse from the ways of God, the makers evidently chose to depict in three miniatures the plagues of Egypt, showing God's wrath toward those who do not heed his word. In this sense the dark angel is a direct servant of God, fulfilling a different role by carrying out his orders in the fight against his enemies. The angel does not bind the souls of the Egyptians in hell, but sends them to that fate. Physical death is not the punishment meted out to the unrighteous by God, but a means to ensure the liberty of the Jewish people and the working of God's plan. Nowhere else does death take a life, for death is not a physical process but a state of being Godless for all eternity.

In considering the psalters in context we must consider their function and how their owners would have used them. Both are biblical psalters and most likely intended for study and contemplation. They are both richly illustrated and it seems most likely that the illustrations served as a point of departure for meditation.<sup>251</sup> The illustrations in both are closely tied to the text: they are not autonomous but derive a great deal of their meaning from the text, and add another dimension to it. They provide their own commentary and exegesis. This works in different ways in the two psalters. In the Utrecht the relationship between the elements illustrated gives various possibilities of interpretation to the text. The Stuttgart, like the marginally illustrated psalters, steers the emphasis of interpretation by what is illustrated, these portions of text acquiring extra significance by the visual exegesis.<sup>252</sup> Obviously how a

<sup>251</sup> It has been suggested that the illustrations served a mnemonic function. Horst, "The Utrecht Psalter: picturing the psalms of David." K. Corrigan, "Early medieval psalter illustration in Byzantium and the West," in *The Utrecht Psalter in medieval art: picturing the psalms of David*, ed. Kurt Van der Horst, W. Noel, and W.C.M. Wusterfeld ('tGoy, 1996).

<sup>252</sup> "Le choix des termes illustrés dans les psautiers qui n'est pas basé ni sur la préférence accordée récits historiques, ni sur une sélection logique visant une explication

text is illustrated says something of the mental cast of designer and user.

Both psalters have many scenes of great violence. The 'militarism' of the Utrecht has been commented on frequently, and Daverzac is uncertain whether the violent scenes shown in the Stuttgart show sensitivity to suffering, complacency or even a taste for violence. In my opinion this is to project a present day view onto ninth century creations. Violence, war and armies were a fact of life and as such were a natural idiom of thought and expression for the makers and users of the psalters. They were not isolated from the world, but a part of it, not protected from the feuds and battles but often actively participating in them. The immediate impression is that the Stuttgart shows more violence than the Utrecht, but this is a false impression due to the different styles and layout of the psalters. In 308 illustrations the Stuttgart contains about 85 scenes of violence or potential violence, some also including divine protection.<sup>253</sup> The size of the scenes and the fact that fewer figures are found in them bring the violence to the foreground. There are certainly scenes in which God vents his wrath on Satan and the ungodly, but the majority of the illustrations show violence against a single figure. This contrasts with the Utrecht in which, from the 166 illustrations, about 109 contain scenes of violence or potential violence. Here most of the violence seems to be part of a war waged between the forces of God and the devil: angels and demons attack each other and their followers, bands of the ungodly, hunt righteous men. The psalmist and Christ are the only individuals, and usually in dialogue with one another. This would appear to be a cosmic struggle, with the end never in doubt. The figures driven to death and hell are the captives of a battle, the losers who have sided with the forces of evil. It is worth noting that

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du texte illustré, semble davantage remonter au discernement des mots du texte, évocateurs dans le contexte donné d'une époque, souvent conservés ensuite, mais adaptés à des besoins et des sentiments nouveaux: ce choix premier pourrait ainsi remonter à une phase primitive d'illustration pure que U[trecht] transmettrait en partie, dont S[uttgart] et V[atican gr.1927] garderaient le souvenir, tout en témoignant de l'évolution par la pénétration des images—commentaires, de plus en plus envahissantes comme le pouvaient la presque totalité des psautiers orientaux.' Suzy Dufrenne, *Les illustrations du psautier d'Utrecht: sources et apport Carolingian* (Paris, 1972).

<sup>253</sup> I include scenes of hell, the crucifixion, punishment and God's triumph over his enemies, but not groups of armed men where they are not immediately threatening. These twentieth-first century criteria apply to the selection of scenes in both psalters.

the demons themselves do not undergo this sort of fate.<sup>254</sup> They act as warders for the lost human souls. The single figure as the subject of violence in the Stuttgart Psalter is more difficult to assess. It could be that this is a result of the style and layout, but it could also denote an interest in a more personal struggle against the forces of evil, whether of the Church collectively or the individual soul. If the latter is the case, there is little evidence of a fight against an evil within, but of persecution of the righteous by the unrighteous. In virtually all cases, other than God's attacking the unrighteous, the victim of violence is either Christ or the psalmist, which indicate a less than total identification with the individual, and leads to the conclusion that the solitary figure of the victim is the symbol of the faithful Christian soul.

It is clear that both psalters use the idiom of violence, and not in any negative sense. The struggle between good and evil is bloody and vicious and God can mete out violence just as Satan can. In both cases the struggle is not an internal one: in the Stuttgart the good man is persecuted by the ungodly: in the Utrecht the armies of good and evil fight their battles and skirmishes; a soul joins one army or the other. In both psalters Christ is a warlord, leading an attack on hell, trampling his defeated enemies, relieving a beleaguered city, or fending off the attacks of death and the devil. He is also a magistrate dealing out justice and caring for his people. The Church or the heavenly Jerusalem is clearly an ideal version of the secular state, just as the cosmic battle between good and evil reflects the continual earthly battles. God is the ultimate just lord and while the Carolingian monarchs consciously modelled themselves on the Old Testament kings, God, or more specifically Christ is portrayed as the ideal Lord and ruler: he is the strong but merciful warlord, the keeper of peace, the protector of the weak and dispenser of justice described by Scottus and Smagardus. With historical hindsight it may be obvious that while the writers and scholars of the period thought that the earthly state should be a reflection of the heavenly, they in fact projected their view of the ideal state, including those virtues and responsibilities they honoured and respected, onto the divine ideal. Instead of the earthly striving to mirror the heavenly, those ideals characteristic of their society were projected onto the divine, and thereby, for them, gained absolute status.

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<sup>254</sup> The exception is on f. 4v where demons are driven to a pit by an angel.

The classical heritage is obvious in both psalters and this reinforces the link with the Roman past. The Utrecht, in particular, strives for the effect of an antique document, not only with the references to mythology and the old scripts used, but also the dress worn by the figures. Such deliberate antique elements reinforce the authority of the work and emphasise both the Roman heritage and the conscious attempt to transform this into a Christian context. The late antique element is considerably less in the Stuttgart, but it is there and in certain cases heightened by explanatory inscriptions. Both works date from the last years of the reign of Louis the Pious or, more likely, the early years of Charles the Bald. Neither comes from the Tours scriptorium but the consensus of opinion is that the Utrecht was intended for a powerful person, either a member of the royal family or someone close to them. Given the orthodox implications of the illustrations and the fact that it is a product of the Reims scriptorium, it is a distinct possibility that Hincmar was connected with its production.<sup>255</sup> This would bring it close to being an 'official' expression, and, as with the Touronian Bibles, the element of propaganda must be born in mind. The Stuttgart is harder to place: it is almost certainly the product of the St. Germain-des-Près scriptorium, but there is no clear indication for whom it was intended, or who commissioned it. The number and quality of the illustrations point to a wealthy patron, as do the even script and quality of parchment. The style is far removed from the pseudo-classical fashionable at court and produced by the Reims scriptorium, nor, in contrast to the Utrecht work, is there any attempt to use archaic script to add authority to the work. In place of the well-known nervous lines and fluttering drapery of the Utrecht, the Stuttgart outlines are clear and bold. While the figures in Utrecht, their faces indistinct, are full of restless movement, the solid, huge-eyed figures of the Stuttgart are full of deliberation. These figures are not without dynamism and often have powerful energy, but it is an explicit and focussed energy. The style is reminiscent of the Carolingian Apocalypses and not without similarities to the Grandval Bible, while the lighter touch and lack of distinct features of the Utrecht have something in common with the Bamberg Bible.

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<sup>255</sup> See Chazelle, "Approaches to Early-Medieval Art: Archbishops Ebo and Hincmar of Reims and the Utrecht Psalter." Bradley, "'O mors, ero mors tua'. The changing concept of Death as expressed in the manuscript illumination of north-west Europe c. 800 to 1426".

The multiplicity of scenes in one miniature that is such a feature of the Utrecht, lends itself to polyinterpretability of both illustration and text. This indicates an intellectual and theologically schooled reader, by no means ruling out a lay owner or patron, but indicating a milieu, such as the court of Charles the Bald that took a scholarly interest in theological matters. The implication is that the reader is thoroughly conversant with the psalms and also with various forms of exegesis, and this knowledge would allow him to consider the various relationships between the elements of the miniature, moving freely from one to the next in a web of ideas. In this respect the Utrecht Psalter can be regarded as a stimulus to discussion and meditation. The miniatures of the Stuttgart, on the other hand, steer the reader. By highlighting one or two scenes or elements the Stuttgart miniatures have a didactic function, instructing the reader which passages are important and how they must be interpreted. Perhaps this impression is increased by the style. Whereas the Utrecht seems to encourage exploration—within limits—and the use of the reader's own intellect and knowledge by its multiple relationships and by the restless style whereby little seems to be fixed, the style of the Stuttgart with its clear outlines, features and colours, echoes the definite and unambiguous character of the layout. This would suggest that, while the intended reader was expected to be conversant with the psalms and some degree of exegesis, he was not expected to be, or was discouraged from, searching for new subtleties. This does not mean that the Stuttgart is necessarily more conservative than Utrecht—it is entirely possible that a detailed comparison of the two would indicate that the reverse is true. Certainly, the Utrecht has extremely conservative elements, showing the value of authority, both theological and ecclesiastical, the essence of free will and a preoccupation with judgement. These are points to bear in mind when considering the differences in how the two psalters portray death. As has been seen, many of the images are common to both, but the emphasis is different. The Utrecht tends to a more anthropomorphic expression, using the giant and the human figure, while the Stuttgart concentrates on those aspects that are inhuman: the frequent use of the serpent and the demon makes the connection with sin a strong one. Death in both psalters is a punishment—deprivation of the state of blessedness and the presence of God. In the Utrecht the emphasis is on the fate of the prisoners of war: those who fought against God are condemned to eternal death. These are faceless legions, lost and damned, but the armies of the righteous are no more defined as individuals. The soldiers

on both sides battle out their generals' war and rejoice with the victor or suffer the consequences of defeat. The Stuttgart chooses a less cosmic battlefield than the Utrecht, showing the battle as taking place on earth, but frequently with God's intervention and protection of his man. It seems to be on a smaller scale, perhaps enabling the reader to identify more readily with the righteous man, and to that extent more personal than the Utrecht manuscript. The armies of heaven and those of Satan, the scale implied by small figures and the sight of God and his angels above the battle, not infrequently taking part, lend an almost apocalyptic atmosphere to the Utrecht. This increases the emphasis on the eschatological character of death, a fate found at the end of time as the last battle is fought. Perhaps it is this oppositional character that has dictated the anthropomorphic forms given to death in this manuscript. It is also worth noting that there are four Carolingian Apocalypses, and possibly more have been lost. Like the fall of man, illustrated Apocalypses tend, certainly in the earlier Middle Ages, to be found in clusters—at least as far as we can deduce from those remaining to us.<sup>256</sup> This being said, there is nothing in the Utrecht to indicate an Antichrist or any specific apocalyptic vision. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that it gives an impression of a cosmic battle being fought on a timeless scale. The discursiveness and lack of specificity of the images lend them a universal quality.

The oppositional character of the Utrecht conforms to the belief in the Frankish destiny as the new 'Chosen People', as the heirs of Rome and the defenders of the Church. This lends a degree of simplicity to the battle between good and evil, Christ and Satan. There is no gradation: Augustine's categories of good, not quite good, not quite evil and evil find no echo in the Utrecht's miniatures, even those where the text admits the faults of the psalmist. There is no question of what is right or wrong, but the righteous and the unrighteous serve their lords and share their fate. Nor is there any doubt that the makers of the Utrecht saw themselves as fighting on God's side while the fate of the unrighteous was a warning to those who might stray from God. It is possible that the makers, and certainly if Hincmar was the patron, had in mind a warning to those, and there were many, who were inclined to

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<sup>256</sup> I discount here the Beatus manuscripts; while I am aware that there was cultural contact and even evidence of correspondence between Alcuin and Beatus, these manuscripts belong to a very different tradition.

follow the teachings of Gottschalk. By giving this timeless eschatological quality to the work, and with the great emphasis on choice, justice and the differing fates awaiting the servants and the enemies of God, an effective argument against predestination was constructed. The theme of justice receives a great deal of attention from the illuminators, and occurs no less than thirty-two times and frequently linked to themes of death, either in text or illustration.<sup>257</sup> Such miniatures could serve as a timely reminder to any one tending to unconventional views. It is also a statement and reminder of the Frankish destiny and its role in God's plan. From the psalter illustrations it is clear that death was regarded as something alive, but confined: it was to be feared and avoided and was closely associated with punishment. At the same time we gain an impression of something almost impersonal, something that concerns the enemy, but an external enemy: the individual Christian can look on the fate of the unrighteous from the ranks of the godly and enjoy the triumph over death that he shares with all those who are on the side of God.

### 3.2 *The Apocalyptic Death and the Serpent at the Foot of the Cross*

The extreme diversity of the ways used to represent death in the two psalters prevents the construction of a single basic type from these examples. However, by considering two other sources, crucifixion images and the fourth horseman in the Apocalypses, we can discern two very general 'basic types.' The timeless aspect of the Utrecht Psalter brings it in some ways close to the Apocalypses made in the Carolingian era. The style is clearly different, that of the Apocalypses being closer to that of the Stuttgart Psalter, but in the iconography of death it shows the same human aspects of anthropomorphism. It seems obvious that the rider of the pale horse should be shown this way, but the iconography of the fourth rider shows an extraordinary variety from the demonic figures of *Liber Floridus* and Bodley 352 to the *Douce Apocalypse*, which shows Christ as the Fourth Horseman.<sup>258</sup> The text of Revelation names only one rider, the rider of the pale horse—*Mors*. The present identification of the horsemen as Pestilence, War, Famine and Death, was not

<sup>257</sup> Ff. 5r, 8r, 11r, 12v, 15v, 16v, 20v, 21r, 28r, 28v, 32v, 37r, 38v, 49r, 49v, 51r, 51v, 55v, 56r, 56v, 60v, 65r, 67r, 68r, 74v, 78r, 83v, and 84v (some folios have more than one expression of justice).

<sup>258</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Douce 180.

usual amongst medieval commentators. It must be remembered that the death of Revelation is, in many ways, a different concept. Gregory the Great wrote to Ethelbert, King of the Angles, in June 601.<sup>259</sup>

Further we also wish Your Majesty to know, as we have learned from the words of Almighty God in Holy Scripture, that the End of the present world is already near and that the unending kingdom of the Saints is approaching. As this same End of the world is drawing nigh, many unusual things will happen—climatic changes, terrors from heaven, unseasonable tempests, wars, famines, pestilences, earthquakes. All these things are not to come in our own day, but are to follow on our times. If you are aware of some of them happening in your land, do not be disturbed, for these signs of the End of the world are sent ahead so that we may have a concern for our souls. Awaiting the hour of death, by our good actions we may be found ready for the Judge Who is to come.

This displays not only the conviction that the end of the world is near, but also a particular use of the word ‘death’: here it seems to mean the end of time, in the same way the Utrecht places death at the end of time. The two concepts of the specific apocalyptic and the more general death are not entirely different and the depictions of the two generally show much in common. If we regard each of the two types of Apocalypse made in the Carolingian period and take Trier Stadtsbibliothek 31, f. 17v and Valenciennes Bibliothèque Municipale 99, f. 13r, we see that there is a considerable difference not only in lay-out but in the manner in which the horseman is depicted.

The oldest of the four works, that now in Trier, on f. 17v shows the Lamb with the book, the four Beasts, here clearly identified with the evangelists by the books they bear, John and the four horsemen.<sup>260</sup> (fig. 15) The illustration follows the text fairly closely, but the angel offers a wreath, not a crown to the first rider: this is very similar to the wreath above the head of Christ on f. 67r in the Utrecht Psalter and it is possible that this is an indication of the identification with Christ. However, like all the Carolingian Apocalypses, the Trier gives the text only and no commentary. All the riders are nimbed, as they are in many of the

<sup>259</sup> Trans. from Gregorii I Papae Registrum Epistolarum (MGH. Epist. Sel. I), pp. 309–310, cited B. McGinn, ed., *Visions of the end* (New York, 1979).

<sup>260</sup> P. Klein, “Les cycles de Apocalypse du haut Moyen Age (IX–XIII<sup>e</sup> s),” in *L’Apocalypse de Jean: traditions exegetiques et iconographiques*, ed. R. Petraglio (Geneva, 1979).



Beatus manuscripts, and this could express their supernatural status.<sup>261</sup> At least one of the Carolingian exegetes, Berengaudus, although probably writing after the Trier was made,<sup>262</sup> identifies all four horsemen with Christ.<sup>263</sup> Indeed, the thirteenth century Douce Apocalypse, mentioned above, uses a shortened version of Berengaudus' commentary, and under the miniature of the fourth horseman is written 'the rider is the Lord, who calls himself *vita* namely of the elect as well as *mors* (Matth. 10:28) of the reprobates.'<sup>264</sup> Caesarius of Arles, Bede, Beatus, Ambrose Autpertus, Alcuin and Haimo of Auxerre identify the fourth rider as both the devil and death, and several of these writers saw the last three horsemen as aspects of death and the devil. Snyder is of the opinion that the artist of the Trier was not very competent: in conflating images from an exemplar that had either marginal or inter-textual illustrations he bungled them. Snyder complains that the horsemen are in the wrong order, with the pale horse coming first. He agrees that the same arrangement is to be found in the Valladolid Beatus, but that 'it makes better sense... simply because the horses are reversed in direction implying that they move out from right to left.'<sup>265</sup> This, I think, does not do justice to the illustrator or to the function of the illustrated Apocalypse. It is often said that the illustrations of Carolingian art need to be 'read,' and to understand them the text must be well known to the reader. If the reader used the illustrations as a stimulus to meditation, as the Wearmouth paintings were intended to be, then he would concentrate on each image, reading naturally from upper left to lower right.<sup>266</sup> It is confusing for a modern viewer who tends to see each element as part of a scene as a whole, and to interpret it as an entity. However this does not mean that it was so regarded by the ninth century reader: in the later manuscripts the riders are separated by frames and shown in

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<sup>261</sup> For a discussion on mandorlas and supernatural light see J. Markow, "The iconography of the soul in medieval art" (University of New York, 1983).

<sup>262</sup> Elements of the Council of Toucy in 860 are to be found in his work. D. Visser, *Apocalypse as Utopian expectation (800–1500). The apocalyptic commentary of Berengaudus of Ferrières and the relationship between exegesis, liturgy and iconography* (Leiden, New York, Köln, 1996).

<sup>263</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 112.

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>265</sup> J. Snyder, "The reconstruction of an early Christian cycle of illustrations for the Book of Revelation—the Trier Apocalypse," *Vigiliae Christianae* 18 (1964).

<sup>266</sup> For developments in the direction of both reading and writing see Michelle P. Brown, *The British Library Guide to Writing and Scripts: History and Techniques* (London, 1998).

the order in which they appear in the text; this supports the idea that in the Trier, too, the miniature functions in this way. In keeping with the text, the fourth horseman carries no attributes, but is followed by a dark winged head, which represents *Infernus*. Here it must be noted that the head in no way resembles the head of the giant in the Utrecht. According to Klein the Trier gives a straightforward illustration of the text, with no extra-textual inference.<sup>267</sup> Nolan, on the other hand, feels that the specific narrative action, in both design and execution was subordinated to the eternal, unchanging symbolism. This, she says, has the effect, and perhaps the intention, of drawing the reader's attention from the narrative to the universal moral meaning.<sup>268</sup> The idea that the illustrations of the Trier served a meditative purpose does not necessarily mean that they were consciously influenced by such commentators as Bede, who stresses the eternal, rather than the historical symbolism: the assumption that this was the function of illustration was probably unquestioned. The composition, too, invites meditation. It is almost a perfect square with the angel acting as an axis. As has been said, the riders move from left to right, but the Lamb, the angel and John all face left, the outstretched arm of the angel acting as counterbalance to the movement of the horses, but more than anything this movement draws the attention of the reader to the first horseman, whether as pre-eminent in being identified with Christ or as an indication of where the reader must begin his contemplation, or both.

The second of the Carolingian Apocalypse types, as represented by the Valenciennes manuscript, differs from the Trier in layout and various significant details. (fig. 16) While the riders are not separated by frames, the idea of 'reading' by concentrating, one by one, on each of the riders and his significance, is very clear. The miniature covers half of each page in an opening, ff. 12v and 13r, but connected by the double frame giving unity to the whole. The lower frame holds four representations of the Lamb, one under each rider, each Lamb removing one of the seals of the Book. The riders face right, as those in the Trier, but there are no other figures or symbols, although *tituli* have been added in the margin above the miniature. These identify the horsemen by their attributes, except for *Mors*, who is identified by name. His 'attribute'—*infernis sequebatur*—is not shown. Unlike the

<sup>267</sup> Klein, "Les cycles de Apocalypse du haut Moyen Age (IX–XIII<sup>e</sup> s)."

<sup>268</sup> Barbara Nolan, *The Gothic visionary perspective* (Princeton, 1977).

riders in the Trier who wear togas and are barefoot, these riders are dressed in contemporary clothes, complete with spurs. The first rider wears a diadem and nocks a fletched arrow to his bow. The forward movement is emphasised by his horse, which prances forward, both forelegs raised high. The second horse is more sedate, trotting with opposing front and back legs raised, while the rider slows the forward dynamic by holding his sword at a steep angle. The momentum of the composition is further retarded with the third horseman. His horse simply stands and the forward movement of his upraised right arm is abruptly ended with the downward movement of the chain holding his balance. This braking sequence focuses the attention on the fourth horseman: his horse leaps forward, as if about to leave the page, but this is more than counteracted by the position of the horseman himself, who looks over his shoulder at those 'behind' him, a movement echoed by the Lambs, facing left. The backward gaze of the fourth horseman is possibly due to a tradition of that figure looking back at *Infernus*, as, for example, in the S. Server Beatus, but here there is no *Infernus*, and in the Trier, where he is depicted, the rider's gaze is fixed forward. Again the reader is invited to stop and ponder, even if the composition is less complex than the earlier manuscript. It is possibly this meditative quality that led Heitz to write:<sup>269</sup>

Quant au climat général des représentations, les premières apocalypses carolingiennes nous paraissent «plus optimistes, plus sereines» que leurs descendants d'après l'an mille. Un reste d'équilibre antique, une sorte de pondération heureuse survit dans les cycles carolingiens et contraste avec le réalisme brutal des représentations plus tardives, notamment «romanes». Les apocalypses carolingiennes culminent toutes encore dans la vision éclatante de la Cité de Dieu.

This optimism is to be seen in another category of death, the serpent at the foot of the cross. This motif is first found, so far as is known, around the middle of the ninth century. Possibly its first appearance is on f. 43v of the Drogo Sacramentary, but it rapidly became a popular motif in both miniatures and ivories.<sup>270</sup> (fig. 17) This gives rise to the question of not only its significance but as to how it developed. It has been argued that the serpent represents not death or sin, but

<sup>269</sup> C. Heitz, "L'iconographie de L'Apocalypse au Moyen Age: introduction" (paper presented at the Texte et Image, Chantilly, 1982).

<sup>270</sup> Paris, B.N. Ms lat. 9428.

the old law.<sup>271</sup> Another interpretation that has been put forward is that of a reference to the crucified serpent. Chazelle, quite correctly, in my opinion, links the Drogo initial with the Easter liturgy.<sup>272</sup> Her interpretation of the serpent at the foot of the cross is dependent on her identification of the seated figure on the right as Nicodemus and a reference to John 19:39–40,<sup>273</sup> and by implication to John 3<sup>274</sup> and Christ's identification of himself with the brazen serpent of Exodus.<sup>275</sup> Chazelle combines this with other readings from the Carolingian Good Friday liturgy concerning the defeat of death and the devil, and the comparison of evil men with serpents. These two readings are not incompatible, indeed they are complementary. If we consider Christ as the new Brazen Serpent, defeating the serpents of sin and death to give new and eternal life to the believer, this agrees with both the Bible text and with various miniatures. However, the serpent cannot be seen as the crucified serpent. It is not lifted up, but placed under the cross in a position of subjection. This contrasts with the very clear use of both the crucified serpent and crucified Christ in the tenth century marginal

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<sup>271</sup> Elizabeth Ann Kirby, "The motif of the serpent at the foot of the Cross 850–1050" (Florida State University, 1981). I have been unable to find a copy of this dissertation and must relay on the information given in UMI Dissertation Abstracts. "This study demonstrates that the art motif of the serpent at the foot of the crucifix, which appeared between 850 and 1050 in the northern Frankish kingdom, has previously been misinterpreted, due to critics not paying sufficient attention to the artists' rendering of the serpent. This motif is not a symbol of sin or death, but rather represents the Old Law of Judaism, which was superseded by the New Law of Christianity, symbolized by Christ on the cross. The origins of this motif derive from liturgical drama, only performed in certain northern Frankish Lotharingian reformed monasteries. History shows the remarkable tenacity of the Franks for their own liturgy, which was more dramatic than the Roman ritual continually imposed. From the visual evidence of the motif, it seems possible that the serpent candlestick was introduced into the liturgy in the mid-ninth century during the ceremonies for Holy Week, and thereby provided the artists with a model for manuscripts, ivories, rock crystals, metals and at least one fresco.' Since I cannot follow Kirby's arguments in detail, I must follow my own observations and knowledge of the use of serpent motifs in Carolingian art.

<sup>272</sup> Celia Chazelle, "An exemplum of humility: the Crucifixion image in the Drogo Sacramentary," in *Reading Medieval Images; the art historian and the object*, ed. Elizabeth Sears and Thelma K. Thomas (Michigan, 2002).

<sup>273</sup> Ibid.

<sup>274</sup> John 3:14–16, v. 14 *et sicut Moses exaltavit serpentem in deserto ita exaltari oportet Filium hominis* v. 15 *ut omnis qui credit in ipso non pereat sed habeat vitam aeternam* v. 16 *sic enim dilexit Deus mundum ut Filium suum unigenitum daret ut omnis qui credit in eum non pereat sed habeat vitam aeternam*.

<sup>275</sup> This identification had already been made by Ferber. Stanley Ferber, "Crucifixion Iconography in a Group of Carolingian Ivory Plaques," *Art Bulletin* 48 (1966).

illustration in St Gall Ms 342, in which a crucified serpent heads the page, with the crucified Christ, immediately under it.

The numerous examples of Carolingian works showing the serpent at the foot of the cross, do so unambiguously, the cross never impaling the serpent, nor raising it.<sup>276</sup> In the Drogo Sacramentary a large snake coils at the foot of the cross, as does a smaller one in the Prayer Book of Charles the Bald;<sup>277</sup> in the Gospel Book of Francis II a serpent lies behind the cross,<sup>278</sup> and in a Metz fragment of the *Te igitur* initial a small snake lies under Christ's feet, as the blood streams from them.<sup>279</sup> The veneration of the cross was a growing cult in the ninth century, especially in connection with the Easter liturgy. The numerous crucifixion images, as in Hrabanus Maurus' *De laudibus sanctis crucis*, are clear manifestations of this. The central role played by the cross in both liturgy and meditation had its consequences in the iconography of the crucifixion. The Carolingian crucifixions are expressions of triumph: not Christ's suffering, but his victory, is the point. In the majority of the miniatures he is upright, eyes open, inviting the viewer to partake in this defeat of sin and death. It is in this context that we must see the serpent. This is the eschatological death that was the sentence pronounced on man with the fall, and now defeated and nullified by Christ's victorious death. Just as Christ signifies eternal life for his faithful followers, the serpent is the death from which he has freed them. Hildburgh sees the serpent at the foot of the cross as a possible reference to the fall and the fight between good and evil, but more specifically to the wood of the cross springing from the fruit of the tree of knowledge.<sup>280</sup> Certainly, the fourth century poem *De Pascha* was popular in the Carolingian period. This describes a tree that is cut down and then planted: it then brings forth a first fruit that ripens on the cross: this falls to earth and is resurrected in the form of a cosmological tree. In *Carmen de laudibus sanctis crucis* Hrabanus Maurus combined the idea of the cross and the tree:<sup>281</sup>

<sup>276</sup> It was a particularly popular motif on ivories.

<sup>277</sup> Munich, Residenz, Schatzkammer, f. 39r.

<sup>278</sup> Paris, B.N. Ms lat. 257.

<sup>279</sup> Paris, B.N. Ms lat. 1141.

<sup>280</sup> W.L. Hildburgh, "A medieval bronze pectoral cross: contributions to the study of the iconography of the Holy Trinity and of the Cross," *Art Bulletin* 14 (1932).

<sup>281</sup> PL 107, columns 153–294. So great therefore and of such quality are the fruits that the tree of the sacred cross brings forth, one small gift carries a man above, and the whole world to heaven is faithful to the king. (PL 107, col. 173–174).

*Quantos ergo et quales fructus lignum sanctae crucis germine suo proferat... unus stip portavit hominem suspense, et totos mundos ad coeleste dedicatus est regnum.*

The juxtaposition of tree, serpent and Christ on f. 28v of the Stuttgart Psalter would strengthen this reading. The connection between the iconography of the fall and that of the crucifixion has not, in my opinion, received sufficient attention. The crucifixion was dependent on the fall: without that Christ's sacrifice and victory were unnecessary. The serpent at the foot of the cross must be viewed in this victory context: it is not dead, but still active, however, now it is subject to God, its rule confined to God's enemies.<sup>282</sup> Important too, is the use of the symbolic serpent as a reminder that the fall was initiated by an external enemy of God, and in this way was defeated by God, God as a divine as well as human. The writings of Claudius of Turin against the adoration of the cross as liturgical and general religious practice seem to have been directed towards the idea that this emphasised the human aspect of Christ.<sup>283</sup> All this agrees with both the cross's place in the Easter liturgy and the idea that the Franks were God's new 'Chosen', those who were essential to work for God's plan and would share in the ultimate victory.

The question of the origin of the motif is, in my opinion, less complex than is sometimes thought. It is very true that the Bible texts cited by Chazelle probably added another dimension, and John 3 could even have been starting point for it. However, if we look at another Carolingian motif, we can perhaps have a clue as to why Christ's victory over death was presented in just this way. Both the illustrated psalters make use of the *super aspidem* motif to show Christ's defeat of sin and death: the lion and serpent are trampled beneath his feet, illustrating psalm 90. The use of a serpent to portray death, given the Genesis 1–3 legend, is not remarkable. However the serpent at the foot of the cross does not appear in the psalters, and the Utrecht has four crucifixion scenes, with references in two others, and the Stuttgart has five. With the growing emphasis on the role of the cross, with Christ's victory associated with it, the motif changed from the symbolic trampling of death and sin under the feet of Christ as an armed warrior that we

<sup>282</sup> Ferber describes the serpent on the cover of the Pericopes of Henry II as dead, Ferber, "Crucifixion Iconography in a Group of Carolingian Ivory Plaques." P. 323, but it is no slack and lifeless body but coils with head held up.

<sup>283</sup> Celia Chazelle, *The crucified God in the Carolingian era: theology and art of Christ's Passion* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 120–121.

find in the psalters, to the equally symbolic defeat through his death on the cross. The Carolingian Christ on the cross is not a dead Christ, but triumphant and living, a token of eternal life. The earlier crucifixions showed a living Christ, but with less emphasis on Christ as victor.<sup>284</sup> In the Utrecht Psalter a victor's laurel wreath is held above his head, perhaps the first sign of this new emphasis. The use of the *super aspidem* motif declined with the rise of the serpent at the foot of the cross. This must have been regarded as a more satisfactory symbol of Christ's victory, combining, as it did, not only Christ's victory over death, but the reminders of the reasons such a victory and sacrifice were necessary, tying together redemption and fall.<sup>285</sup>

#### 4. *Sin and Death in the Ninth Century*

Death takes two principle forms in the ninth century, a serpentine and an anthropomorphic; these can be regarded as basic types. The first can be not only a snake, but a dragon or leviathan: the latter can be divided into two types, the demonic and the human. Each psalter contains both sorts, but in the Utrecht the anthropomorphic is dominant, and then in a more human form than in the Stuttgart. The giant, obviously, has traces of both versions of this type: he is something supernatural, rough and fearsome, but not truly demonic. The Stuttgart manuscript lays the stress on the non-human type death, the snake and the demon. Death in the other two types of sources fits into the same categories. The apocalyptic death is fully anthropomorphic, with no sign of the demonic: in the Trier he is even nimbed. This death is not a negative figure, but a sign of the last days, whether of chiliastic implication or not, and as such a sign of the victory of God, the completion of his plan and the justification of the Franks. Unlike the other versions of death, he does range the world, but is confined by prophecy and is a hopeful sign to the faithful. Revelation was also part of the Easter liturgy, and in this sense the fourth horseman could be seen as an aspect of Christ victorious or simply a sign, ushering in the days of his final triumph.

<sup>284</sup> For example the Gellone Sacramentary, Paris, B.N. Ms lat. 12048, f. 143v.

<sup>285</sup> At this point it is worth looking forward to the late Anglo-Saxon period, which made plentiful use of the *super aspidem* motif. There, while the serpent at the foot of the cross was not unknown, it is relatively rare.

Both basic types of death have their links with the fall, the serpent as the instrument and the demonic as initiator. The apocalyptic death is obviously a special case, but what of the human form found in the Utrecht manuscript? Is this death mortal man, his fate after the fall? If this is so, it must represent that part of man that was condemned to eternal death since it is found in conjunction with the harrowing of hell, the victory of eternal life over eternal death and the undoing of the consequences of the fall. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say the partial undoing of the consequences since man was still subject to physical death, but this last consideration receives no attention in the miniatures. All is focussed on the eternal and the fulfilment of God's plan. This provides a fundamental link with the fall, God's original plan for mankind and man's failure. There are, then, conceptual links, but are these expressed in the miniatures? Does the view of sin as expressed in the Tournon Bibles influence the way death was visualised? The use of the demonic and serpentine deaths provides an iconographic link, but is this more than circumstantial?

It is obviously difficult to compare miniatures with such widely differing subjects, but looking at the ideas and attitudes underlying them can give some indication of the relationship between the concepts. At first glance the Utrecht Psalter seems to be very different from the other works discussed. The style, however influential later, bears little or no resemblance to that of the others, only the slightly more classical style of the San Paolo Bible evokes echoes of the earlier psalter. The apocalypses bear a strong stylistic resemblance to the Stuttgart Psalter, as to a lesser extent does the Grandval Bible. Obviously much of this can be accounted for by the very individual style of the Reims scriptorium, but the difference is both more and less than the sketchy, lively style of the Utrecht contrasted with the clarity and emphasis displayed in the other works. The effects of the layout and style have already been discussed and it is just this discursiveness and open-ended quality that distinguishes the Utrecht from the guided sequentially narrative character of the other manuscripts. Nevertheless in both iconography and underlying attitudes there are many similarities with the other works. The iconographic similarities are chiefly with the apocalypses, in that both they and the Utrecht favour an anthropomorphic death. In its general atmosphere of the final battle against the cohorts of Satan it has links not only with the apocalypses but with the serpent at the foot of the cross: death is defeated and made the servant of God, the fate and punishment of the faithless. This brings us to the fall miniatures.



They, too, show the consequences of faithlessness. All that is good comes from a caring and bounteous Lord and man forfeits that by his lack of loyalty. The Utrecht, just as the Bible frontispieces, points out the freedom of choice given to man. Man may choose which lord he will follow and then must take the consequences, life or death. The anthropomorphic aspect of death emphasises the oppositional character of the fight between good and evil, giving it an immediacy and relevancy for its intended readers. The Reims scriptorium suggests strongly the involvement of Hincmar, as do various internal factors such as the emphasis on free will—Hincmar was a fervent opponent of Gottschalk—and the concerns of orthodoxy in connection with the Eucharist and learning.<sup>286</sup> This oppositional and anthropomorphic character suggests that there was also a propaganda aspect that probably had reference to the struggles of the late 830s and 840s, hinting at evil allegiance of the king's enemies, evil in human form. Like the Tournonian Bibles, the Utrecht can be seen as a more or less 'official' work, reinforcing the message of loyalty to both temporal and divine Lord.

Another aspect of the relationship between God and man is demonstrated in the Stuttgart Psalter. The psalmist in this manuscript's illustrations must not be seen as an individual but as a generic metaphor, the symbol of all true Christians. While the Utrecht concentrates on the confrontation between the forces of good and evil, the Stuttgart shows the persecutions of the Christian at the hands of God's enemies, and God's intervention on behalf of his faithful servant. The message is one of trust in one's Lord in the face of adversity; by holding true to God the Christian need not fear death. Christ has conquered and will protect his faithful. This is a somewhat more passive picture, less that of an active warrior in God's army than that of a subject who puts his faith in his Lord and does not waver. Christ breaks down the gates of hell, defeats all attacks of death and the devil and lends this protection and invulnerability to the faithful. The forces of evil take on a stranger form, more identifiably hostile and of wicked intent, serpents and demons point to the supernatural and the unnatural. In this it seems less overtly political than the Utrecht manuscript or the Bibles. Evil in the Stuttgart does not take the form of man, although

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<sup>286</sup> Celia Chazelle, "Approaches to Early-Medieval Art: Archbishops Ebo and Hincmar of Reims and the Utrecht Psalter."

men can serve the purposes of evil and give themselves over to it, but is an outside force. The serpentine form of death makes a clear link with the Genesis story, but the estrangement of the forms of evil from the human implies more. It implies a duality of power, good and evil, and that evil comes from without. It is not inherent in the natural order; it is alien and inimical to man. It is precisely this aspect that comes to the fore in Genesis miniatures. These show harmony between God and man, the bounty of God and man's potential for a high destiny. The harmony is disturbed by an outside factor and the weakness and faithlessness of man. Adam and Eve become the symbols of flawed man and generic sin, while the psalmist in the Stuttgart Psalter is the symbol of man redeemed and faithful once more to his God.

Can it be said that the idea of what constituted sin influenced the way death was perceived? The frontispieces show exile, hard labour and banishment from the presence of God as the punishment for disloyalty. The Utrecht Psalter shows banishment and fear to be the fate of God's enemies. Both mean death. The Stuttgart Psalter and the crucifixions show that death cannot harm the faithful, that their Lord will protect them. Essential to both is the idea of loyalty, simple and unquestioning. Evil comes from without, not within. The righteous battles something outside himself: his choice is made for God and he shuns and fights evil. Sin is not something individual and specific, a temptation that takes new forms each day, but generic, a turning from God, his bounty and grace. Death is also generic, the just fate of the unrighteous, those who reject their Lord. At this point it cannot be said, despite the links and similarities between the concept of sin and the concept of death, that the one determined, or even greatly influenced the other. The close connection between the two concepts makes the similarities more than accidental, but the most that can be said at the present is that the two, as expressed in the miniatures of the time, are expressions of a common mentality, biased perhaps through the propaganda aspects, that held loyalty between man and lord as a great good, that there were mutual duties, obligations on both sides and that justice was swift and frequently violent. The emphasis in those works most closely associated with the circle of Charles the Bald is more political and social, demonstrating the propaganda aspect. As they showed sin as a political and social phenomenon, the death of the Utrecht Psalter is also social and political, banishment to death's prison. All the manuscripts are the products of a society that was threatened, from within and without, by treachery and

deceit, where the old basis of a warlord and his followers was no longer stable or unquestioned. The miniatures reflect not only the fears of such a society, but the longing for safety and harmony, and for victory. This was still a society where violence was an everyday occurrence, often considered just and good, and Christ and his Church are clothed in the metaphors of warfare, lordship and social relations. In spite of the uncertainties of the period there is no debate about what constitutes sin, no call for self-examination and basically no fear of eschatological death. There were sinners in abundance, and for them the righteous fate of eternal death awaited: for the loyal Christian there was nothing to fear. He could be confident that loyalty to his Lord would result in reward, since the true sin was betrayal.



## CHAPTER TWO

### MONASTIC REFORM AND MAN'S FATAL FLAW

#### 1. *The General Context*

The world that saw the production of the second cluster of fall and death images was very different from the court circle of Charles the Bald in many respects. The manuscripts in which this second group are found are the products of monastic reform, and while the monasteries were deeply affected by social and political developments, they display far less concern with politics and give correspondingly more attention to more personal morality. There is considerably less homogeneity in the manuscripts of this group and their context. The areas of origins are spread further across north-western Europe, with the majority coming from Anglo-Saxon England; there are several manuscripts with death images from the Ottonian Empire, and from the same area are the bronze doors of Hildesheim showing the fall. The number of French manuscripts is proportionally less, although half of the manuscripts depicting the fall are from France. Of these one has very close ties with English manuscripts in general, but differs enormously from the two Anglo-Saxon manuscripts of the fall. This is Boulogne, Bibliothèque Municipale 20, known as the Odbert Psalter and made at St. Bertin c. 999. There were close ties between Anglo-Saxon and northern French and Flemish monasteries, especially in relation to the reform movement in England, and there were connections of the various rulers, particularly Queen Emma, with St. Bertin. The churches as St. Ouen in Rouen and Ste. Geneviève in Paris appealed for help to the English king, Edgar, just as Abbot Falrad of St. Vaast asked Archbishop Æthelgar of Canterbury for aid. That St. Bertin was also involved in these appeals for help is made clear in letters written by Abbot Odbert to Æthelgar and his successor, Siric, not only mentioning promises of aid but inviting Siric to visit St. Bertin.<sup>1</sup> Earlier the English monasteries had appealed

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<sup>1</sup> Preserved in BL Ms Cotton Vespasian A.xiv, f. 159r-v, printed in M. Brett, C.N.L. Brooke and D. Whitlock, ed., *Councils and synods with other documents relating to the English Church. Part I 871-1066* (Oxford, 1986).

to their brethren across the Channel for help in supplementing their libraries, devastated by the Norse raids, now such monasteries as St. Bertin invited English illuminators to work in their scriptoria, with the resulting spread of the so-called Winchester School style. These close connections increased the mutual influence and exchange of ideas. In addition the economic ties between these areas can be demonstrated by the coinage and weights system,<sup>2</sup> and the trade in such goods as wool and wine at the fairs of St. Denis, Provins and Chalons-sur-Marne.<sup>3</sup> A fairly general background to the miniatures of the fall can be given, with special emphasis on conditions in Anglo-Saxon England that mirrors the weight given to the subject there.

### 1.1 *The Attitude to Violence*

In France the movement known as the Peace of God, initially centring on Aquitaine, was symptomatic of the way men thought. With historians' hindsight it is easy to attribute the movement to a breakdown of secular authority. Royal authority, as exemplified by the Carolingians, began to crumble even in the later ninth century, but much of the administration of the *pagus* remained. In the tenth century this too began to break up, and authority was fragmented in the hands of the various local lords. While various lords vied with each other, the poorer classes suffered from their wars and devastation. More importantly, from the political aspect, church property and lives were also threatened. Many churches and monasteries were extremely rich and as such, their lands and possessions were coveted by secular lords. It cannot be said that violence was new, but what was new was the break-up of the larger administrative units and the emergence of smaller units, frequently held by a knight or castellan, that were carved out and held by violence.<sup>4</sup>

... there were more armed and fortified men about than ever, more people to dominate in growing populations, more agrarian wealth for the taking. While violence and the arrogation of patrimonial power remained unjust, the failure of old remedies together with the accelerated diffusion

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<sup>2</sup> Pamela Nightingale, "The evolution of weight-standards and the creation of new monetary and commercial links in northern Europe from the tenth to the twelfth century," *Economic History Review* 38 New Series (1988).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 196 and 199.

<sup>4</sup> T.N. Bisson, "The 'feudal revolution'," *Past and Present* (1994).

of judicial powers in lands too vast for weakened lord-kings to master emboldened the ambitious in self-justifying and arbitrary habits...

With the absence of any central secular authority the Church increased its spiritual sanctions on those who plundered Church lands or harmed clerics. These could be specific in their protection, such as that of the council of Anse in 994, which forbade the plundering or threatening in any way of Cluny. However, more general sanctions developed to protect both Church lives and property and those of the *pauperes*. Excommunication and interdict were pronounced on those who violated the property of the helpless. To this extent, the Peace Movement could be seen as simply replacing secular with ecclesiastical authority and legal with spiritual sanctions, although it was not unknown for magnates to enforce sanctions with military strength. Nevertheless, there were other aspects of the movement that were probably more important, at least theoretically, to the late tenth and early eleventh century supporters of the movement. Adhemar of Chabannes makes it clear that the council of 994 in Limoges was called because of an epidemic of St. Anthony's Fire, the *ignis sacer*. The illness, caused by the consumption of mould-tainted flour, was seen as a punishment from God. Just as the chroniclers of the ninth century saw the floods, poor harvests and epidemics of their period as the consequence of turning from God's law, so did the people of the late tenth century ascribe the ills of their period to the impiety, and especially the violence, of their times. God brought peace and Christ's true followers would be the sons of peace, *fili pacis*. It was essential not only should physical peace prevail, but there must be peace with God and his laws. Man must turn again to God and the spiritual authority of the Church. These two aspects were seen in the respective roles of the bishops and the regular clergy. The bishops took the initiative in calling the assemblies of clergy and laity of all ranks, and pronounced the sanctions, the excommunications and interdicts, what might be considered the muscle of the movement, but it was the monks who provided the popular and spiritual element. Monks brought out the relics of saints, led the call for intercession, and gave the grounds for miracles. It may be clear now that Adhemar forged documents to press his claims for St. Martial, but the cessation of the *ignis sacer* in Limoges was put down to the saint's intervention.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Adhemar of Chabannes, quoted French Ministry of Culture website: <http://www.culture.gouv.fr/culture/limoges/present.htm>.

Le dixième abbé, Geoffroy, gouverna pendant sept ans; il mourut le 5 des ides d'octobre (11 octobre 998). Sous son abbatiat, des plaies brûlantes couvrirent le corps des Aquitains, et plus de quarante mille hommes moururent de cette épidémie. Pour cette raison, l'abbé Geoffroy et les évêques d'Aquitaine assemblés à Limoges élevèrent le corps de l'apôtre et le transportèrent au Mont-Jovis; de là ils le rapportèrent à son tombeau la veille des nones de décembre (4 décembre) et la peste de feu cessa.

In return for relief from the sickness the duke of Aquitaine and his *principes* swore to uphold peace and justice. They clearly saw the ills that beset the time as God's punishment for abandoning his ways and were prepared to show their repentance and make amends. God was a God of love, of justice, of righteousness and peace, but he was swift to chastise those of his people who erred. If royal authority was so ineffectual as to be non-existent, God, the supreme Lord, still saw that his will would be obeyed and those who defied or ignored him would feel his displeasure. It was a very explicit linking of peace and justice with God, and violence with flouting that will.

The swearing of oaths is significant. The oaths were sworn to God with those present as witness. Oaths, however, could be ambiguous, especially with the rise of the knights as a separate class from the *pau-peres*. 'The pervasive word in our texts is *fides* (faith), not *fidelitas*... *infidels* included heretics as well as violators of oaths.'<sup>6</sup> The link between oath and loyalty was also the link between loyalty to a lord and loyalty to God. However loyalties were not always clear-cut, which could be convenient for those who rebelled. For a knight or even a castellan the question of loyalty was sometimes that of choosing between one's own immediate lord or the king or other overlord. As well as expediency, the fact that one had sworn a direct oath to one's lord may have influenced choices. Violence, the seizing of another's goods, land or persons, and rebellion was wrong, but the questions of right and wrong and to whom rightful loyalty was owed were often muddled. The oath was a potent instrument, but there were always those to whom even a solemn oath to God meant little, but were prepared to exact obedience to an oath sworn by their own men. Nevertheless the oathbreaker could face fearful punishment, as the rebels of 991 discovered; not only loss of life could result, but the loss of a place in heaven. Oathbreakers were *infidels*, unfaithful to both their lord and to God, and as the rebels

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid.



against the latter, subject to excommunication and interdict. The oath in many ways crystallized the dual nature of the Peace movement. It was a means of enforcing protection for the clergy and *pauperes*, but it was also a reaffirmation of man's commitment to the laws of God and his acknowledgement that he was God's *fideles*.

The Peace of God movement was symptomatic of the erosion of royal authority, but justice was still seen not only as a royal virtue but a royal responsibility. Advice was still offered to kings such as the *Collectio canonorum* of Abbo of Fleury addressed to Hugh Capet and Robert the Pious. Among his definitions of a just king Abbo included the defence of the weak and the Church, and also the impartial implementation of justice, the appointment of just and wise administrators and councillors and the defence of the realm against its enemies. Abbo's views are of particular interest as he spans both French and Anglo-Saxon affairs, being at Ramsey between 985 and 987. Archbishop Oswald of York, who had himself studied at Fleury, asked that house for a good teacher for the new foundation of Ramsey; Abbo was sent. His relations with Oswald and Dunstan were cordial, and he was well received by Ealdorman Æthelwine, but King Æthelred was less enthusiastic.<sup>7</sup> His works written for the English and his teaching were influential and perhaps particularly pertinent in this period of uncertainty. Abbo was 'one of the most learned and ardent monastic reformers'; the support and recommendation of Oswald and Dunstan and their high regard for him must have helped the dissemination of his ideas of protection for the poor and the Church.<sup>8</sup> Abbo's own struggles with the bishop of Orleans had their counterpart in the struggles between the regular clergy and the canons in the Anglo-Saxon foundations: grants of land to monasteries were frequently disputed by the secular churches, and certainly by the noble laity, who found themselves deprived of valuable holdings. The rivalries for royal power, and in particular the tenuous position of Æthelred, must have clouded loyalties here too. While never going so far as to agree to the dethronement of Æthelred, the Church was dissatisfied with his rulership. 'In fact given a situation in which Æthelred, like many kings, had his shortcomings, Wulfstan and

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<sup>7</sup> P. Wormald, "Aethelwold and his continental counterparts: contacts, comparison, contrast," in *Bishop Aethelwold: his career and influence*, ed. B. Yorke (Woodbridge and Wolfenboro, 1988).

<sup>8</sup> M.K. Lawson, "Archbishop Wulfstan and the homiletic elements in the laws of Aethelred and Cnut," *The English Historical Review* 107 (1992).

his colleagues reacted in a similar way to their episcopal contemporaries in France.<sup>9</sup> The meeting of the *witan* was used for a council of bishops and, in a similar way to the councils in France, crowds were exhorted to believe and lead virtuous lives. The bishops ‘advised’ on both ecclesiastical and secular matters, and this advice was enacted as the decrees of the *witan*, issued in the king’s name and sworn to by the nobles. Nor were such meetings without the affective component. The council at Enham c. 1008 was held at Pentecost and Lawson sees a link with the introduction of the *Agnus Dei* penny and the alteration in the mass whereby *misere nobis* became *dona nobis pacem*.<sup>10</sup> Such measures, along with the sermons and exhortations at such meetings, imply the importance, not just of the worldly aspects of protection of property, lives and good government, but also the theological bond between these and being a true follower of God.

## 1.2 *Spirituality and Monastic Reform*

The reaction to violence can also be connected with the monastic reform movement, and especially that of Cluny and its associates, which can be regarded as the most influential not only in France, but in England, Spain and Italy as well. New emphasis was placed on the Benedictine virtues, with *patientia* becoming the chief of these. Gregory the Great had regarded *humilitas* as the fount of virtue, but by the time Odo of Cluny was writing, *patientia* was seen as essential to achieve virtue and obedience. *Patientia* was defined as bearing injustice and afflictions without complaint. In his *Collationum libri tres* Odo counsels the victims of violence and injustice to bear these as Job and Abel bore their afflictions. There were many and diverse ills of the times and different remedies were needed.<sup>11</sup> The poor and humble paid for their sins in this world, tasting the *pocula amara*,<sup>12</sup> but, by bearing all humbly and in patience, they would have their place in the next world. Nevertheless, the vocabulary of violence was also the vocabulary of monastic reform. God and his people waged war on the devil, and monks were

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 573.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 576.

<sup>11</sup> *Afflictionum vero species tam diversae sunt, quam diversos culparum modos ille medicus nobis inesse videt.* Odo of Cluny, *Collatium liber tres: liber primus*, P.L. vol. 133 c. 0523B.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., c. 0523A.

in the forefront of the fight. This was a spiritual battle fought with the weapons of prayer and ritual. The liturgy of the Cluniac houses was expanded: the Rule stipulated 40 psalms should be sung each day but these gradually increased to 170 per day. One of the chief functions of the expanded liturgy was intercession for both the living and the dead. Prayers were offered not only for the dead of the community and other faithful, but for the living community itself and for rulers and benefactors. The Office for the Dead became part of the daily liturgical routine and it is perhaps little wonder that many, including several of the Anglo-Saxon rulers, favoured a regular clergy that gave such devotion to the care of the souls of the dead. Indeed, by the early eleventh century the celebration of All Souls was introduced. This wide-ranging concern for the spiritual welfare of the dead, this increasing intercession indicates a consciousness of sin as inherent in man.

The Peace Movement saw the ills of the world as a manifestation of the sinfulness of mankind, and in particular the powerful laity, but the monastic houses were also concerned with introspection. The two cornerstones of the Benedictine Rule, prayer and work, came to stand in a new relationship to one another. The expansion of the liturgy left less and less time for work, and that work became more and more refined and increasingly in the service of ritual and the liturgy. While turning from the world in one sense, they took worldly things with them in another. Abbots were frequently skilled at acquiring land and privileges for their houses, and were not slow to accept costly gifts for their churches. Many of these gifts were dedicated to the ritual aspects of the community; robes, crosses and liturgical vessels figure often in the records of such donations. Nor were the monks themselves remiss in the creation of art and artefacts for the glory of God as expressed in the ritual of the liturgy. The Rule itself gave an impetus to this saying that 'Craftsmen present in the monastery should practise their crafts with humility, as permitted by the abbot.'<sup>13</sup> The *Canons of Edgar*, drawn up by Archbishop Wulfstan, again encourage even the secular clergy to work at crafts.<sup>14</sup> By the end of the tenth century, 'work' for monks, especially in reformed houses, had little to do with gathering the harvest.

<sup>13</sup> A.C. Meisel and M.L. del Maestro, ed., *The Rule of St. Benedict*, ch. 5.

<sup>14</sup> *And we lered that preosta gehwilec toecan lare leorninge handcræft georne* 'And we decree that priests besides scholarship will eagerly learn a handicraft. Cambridge Corpus Christi College, Ms. 201, R. Fowler, ed., *Wulfstan's Canons of Edgar* (London, New York, Toronto, 1972).

Monks were encouraged to work in scriptoria, to paint, to work as goldsmiths, to design and possibly make embroidery, all chiefly to add to the setting of the liturgy. Bernward of Hildesheim was described as excelling in painting, metalwork and the art of building; Odbert of St. Bertin was not only responsible for building the reputation of his scriptorium, but was renowned as a painter himself. Of the Anglo-Saxons, Dunstan acquired fame for his painting, metalwork and embroidery designs, while Æthelwold was the founder of the so-called Winchester School of painting. To present day ideas such magnificence and display of precious metals and jewels may smack of the worldly and to be at odds with the expressed desire to leave the world behind and seek God in all humility and poverty, but, theoretically at least, such display was for the glory of God, not the monk or his house.

In spite of the avowed spirituality of the regular clergy, they, or rather their leaders did not hold aloof from the world. They were frequently advisors to rulers and in the troubled times often *de facto* took control of situations when royal control and administration failed, as with the Peace Movement and the councils in England. In this they showed the militant side of their spirituality; whatever benefits of a worldly nature might accrue, it was still their given task to strive against the devil and bring men back to God. Man must be made conscious of his sin and deviation from God's ways and one way was to continually remind man of the fate that awaited him. There seems to have been little fear of the millennium, whenever that was calculated to be, but even so people were very conscious of living in a period that was part of God's plan for the world, a plan that they felt would reach fruition in the near future. There was a new emphasis on Heilsgeschichte and the duty to follow God. Man had abandoned God with the fall, but still, through God's love and the suffering of Christ, had the chance for redemption. In Anglo-Saxon England a preface to this history was common; the fall of Lucifer and his followers found its way not only into what could be described as theological or liturgical works, but was even mentioned in certain grants and charters. Man's creation was the result of this fall, and by turning from God again contemporary man not only sealed his own fate, he was an enemy of God and increased Christ's suffering. In this war on the devil and his works, the Christian, and above all the monk was a *miles Christi*. The regular orders attracted not only support from the knightly classes, but often knights themselves became monks, exchanging physical warfare for spiritual battle. The language of *Guthlac B*, found in the Exeter Book, shows this very clearly. Not

only does Guthlac defeat by his spiritual strength those sent to try and tempt him, but death is referred to as the 'Warrior'.<sup>15</sup> This 'Warrior' has invaded the race of men in a world that is ruled by the devil.<sup>16</sup> This is clearly seen in the New Minster Charter. Having established the fall of Lucifer and the coming of evil into the world it describes the monastic fight for the soul:<sup>17</sup>

*Abbas autem armis succintus spiritalibus monachorum cuneo hinc inde uallatus carismatum celestium rore perfusus aerias demonum expugnans uersutias, regem omnemque sui regminis clerum Christo cuius uirtute dimicant iuuante, a rabida hostium persecutione inuisibilibus solleter spiritus gladio defendens fidei scuto subtili protegens tutamine rubusto prelians triumpho miles eripiat inperterritus.*

### 1.2.1 *Dramatic and Affective Effects*

The emphasis on the liturgy, and on the emotional and dramatic aspects of it in regular life led to a number of workings of Bible stories, didactic, hagiographical and doctrinal writings in more gripping and immediate form. The poems of Junius 11 fall into this category, but they are certainly not alone, the corpus of Old English literature is filled with such examples. Many Anglo-Saxon writers used the most dramatic means possible to bring home to their readers or listeners the actuality of Christian teaching. Perhaps the most famous of these is the *Dream of the Rood*. There can scarcely be a more dramatic way of bringing home Christ's suffering to the reader than to let the cross, symbol of shame and salvation both, speak. Not only the emotion of the dreamer on beholding the cross, his consciousness that he 'synnum

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<sup>15</sup> Wiga

<sup>16</sup> *Deað in geþrong*  
*fira cynne,      feond rixade*  
*geond middangeard*

Death forced in among mankind, the fiend ruled on earth. (863–865)

<sup>17</sup> Moreover the abbot, girded with spiritual weapons, reinforced all about by battalions of monks, drenched in the dew of heavenly grace, fighting the airy wiles of the devils, and with Christ's assistance, with whose virtue they fight, this soldier, thoroughly unafraid, defending expertly with the sword of the spirit, from the rabid persecution of invisible enemies, protecting with the fine shield of faith as a means of defence, engaging in battle with robust triumph, snatches away the king and all the clergy of the kingdom. Cited Richard Gameson, *The role of art in the late Anglo-Saxon Church* (Oxford, 1995).

*fah, forwunded mid wommun*’,<sup>18</sup> but even more startlingly those of the Cross itself are the subject.<sup>19</sup>

<i>Bifode ic þa me se beorn ymbclypte</i>	<i>Ne dorste ic hwæð bugan to eaodan</i>
<i>Feallan to foldan sceatum,</i>	<i>ac ic sceolde fæste standan</i>
<i>Rod wæs ic aræred</i>	<i>Ahof ic ricne cyning</i>
<i>Heofona hlaford</i>	<i>hyldan me ne dorste</i>
<i>ðurdriþan hi me mid deorcan næglum</i>	<i>on me syndon þa dolg gesiene</i>
<i>opene inwidhlemmas</i>	<i>Ne dorste ic hira næ nigum sceððan</i>
<i>Bysmeredon hie unc butu ætgædere.</i>	<i>Eall ic was mid blode bestemed</i>
<i>begotten of þæs guman sidan</i>	<i>siddan he hæfde his gast onsended</i>

By making the cross speak, giving the scene of the crucifixion as if seen through the living wood, the full drama of the situation is given in the first person. Through the close identification of cross and Christ the reader feels as if he shares the passion. Through the dreamer’s initial acknowledgement of his sin, and his hopes of redemption and eternal life through the cross and Christ, the reader is drawn into the immediacy of the scenes described, and can identify with the dreamer. Two points are worthy of note. There is no connection made between the cross and the tree of knowledge of good and evil: the Rood states clearly it was simply a tree at the edge of a forest. The other point is that the Rood must hold firm, whatever ills befell it, whatever it suffered, it was necessary for man’s redemption that it was resolute and unwavering.

The identification of the reader with the material through dramatic means, seems to have been both a didactic strategy and a stimulus to contemplation. *The Dream of the Rood* seems particularly fitted for contemplation, but other texts have an almost threatening nature. *Body and Soul*, found in both the Vercelli and Exeter Books, shows two alternatives, the soul of the man whose body ruled in life and succumbed to earthly temptation and soul of the man whose body remained pure,

<sup>18</sup> ‘With sins stained, wounded sorely with blemishes’ (trans. Alexander M. Bruce 1999).

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. ‘I trembled when the Warrior embraced me; nor did I dare, however, to bow down to the earth, to fall to the surfaces of the earth. But I had to stand firm. As a rood I was erected; raised the powerful King, the Lord of heavens; I dared not bow myself down. They drove through me the iron-coloured and sinister nails: on me the wounds are visible, the open malicious wounds; neither dared I to injure any of them. They mocked us two both together. I was completely stained with blood, covered from the man’s side after he had released his spirit.

guided by the soul. The first soul, addressing the body it must visit after death complains:

<i>To won þinre sawle sið</i>	<i>Lyt þu geþtes</i>
<i>Sippan heo of lichoman</i>	<i>sippan wurde</i>
	<i>læded wære!<sup>20</sup></i>

Even the woes undergone by body and soul separately will pale to nothing when they are reunited on Judgement Day.

<i>Dryhten æt dome</i>	<i>Donne reþe bið</i>
<i>Þonne he unc geedbyrded</i>	<i>Ac hwæt do wit unc</i>
<i>Sculon wit þonne ærsumne</i>	<i>oþre siþe?</i>
<i>Sweylra yrmþa,</i>	<i>sippan brucan</i>
	<i>swa þu unc ær scrife!<sup>21</sup></i>

Nor does the poet spare the reader the horrors, both physical and mental, that await the individual whose earthly nature dominates. All of this contrasts with the loving words of the soul to comfort the body that was guided by God's precepts and kept itself pure:

<i>Fæstet ðu on foldan</i>	<i>ond gefyldest me</i>
<i>Godes lichoman</i>	<i>gastes drynces</i>
<i>Wære ðu on wædle</i>	<i>sealdest me wilna geniht</i>
...	
<i>Bygdest ðu þe for hæleðum</i>	<i>ond ahofo me on ecne dream</i>
...	
<i>Wolde ic þe ðonne seggan</i>	<i>Þæt ðu ne sorgode,</i>
<i>Fordan wyrt þonne ærsumne</i>	<i>sypan brucan</i>
<i>Ond unc on heofonum</i>	<i>heahþungene beom.<sup>22</sup></i>

<sup>20</sup> Little you thought  
about what the state of your soul would become  
after it had been freed from the flesh.

Original and translation from J.B. Anderson, *Two literary riddles in the Exeter Book: riddle one and the Easter riddle: a critical edition* (London, 1986).

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., verses 92–96. For the Lord will be ruthless  
at passing sentence. But what should we do for ourselves  
when he has begotten us once again?  
We shall then bear together just such griefs  
as you already ordained for us.

<sup>22</sup> You fasted on earth, and you filled me with God's body, the drink of the soul. You lived in poverty, and gave me joy I desired... You bowed before warriors, and raised me to eternal joy... Then I want to tell you not to be sorrowful, for we shall be reunited at God's judgement. Then we two will be able to enjoy together high rank. Text from the *Vercelli Book, Complete Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (My translation).

Here we see linked the need for steadfastness, evident in the *Dream of the Rood*, with bodily purity and the rejection of wealth and worldly honours. Anderson is of the opinion that the *Exeter Book* can be linked to Dunstan or at least his circle.<sup>23</sup> While such a claim can only be speculation, the general tone is such that it fits extremely well with the Benedictine reform movement. The emphasis on choosing poverty above worldly goods, on humility (theoretically an essential of the regular clergy, however powerful or even arrogant individuals may have been), points to a monastic circle in which austerity was the ideal, while the praise of the beauty of the cross, the general enjoyment of language indicate the importance of intellectual and artistic endeavour.

While Anglo-Saxon sources are particularly rich in such dramatic retellings, this love of drama was not confined to England. The plays of Hrotswitha show the same characteristics of giving hagiography a new immediacy. As in the Anglo-Saxon works much emphasis is laid on the resolution of her martyrs, and perhaps even more on virginity, but another element finds its way into the plays. While Cynewulf's Juliana steadfastly refuses to give up her virginity, despite torture and faces death with equanimity, Hrotswitha's virgins long for death. Irena welcome's her death whereby she 'shall receive the martyr's palm, and [be] adorned with the crown of virginity.' Her elder sister, Agape, says that they 'are weary of this world, and we implore Thee to break the bonds that chain our souls, and to let our bodies be consumed that we may rejoice with Thee in heaven.' They almost seem to court death and torture: and not just her young female virgins, in *Gallicanus* the deacons Paul and John 'ardently desire to die that we may the more quickly taste the joys of eternity.' Hrotswitha's martyrs are not only defiant, but often downright provocative, Agape telling Diocletian that he endangers himself and the land he rules, and when threatened with the rack, Irena, declares 'This is what we desire. We ask nothing better to suffer the most cruel tortures for the love of Christ.' Whether Hrotswitha's plays were actually staged, read aloud with various people taking the parts, or simply read, is unknown, but the didactic content is given a dramatic setting that both increases the interest and heightens the immediacy.

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<sup>23</sup> Anderson, *Two literary riddles in the Exeter Book: riddle one and the Easter riddle: a critical edition*.



Wailes has pointed out that there is a political element to Hrotswitha's work,<sup>24</sup> and while this is undoubtedly true, that element is an emphasis on the Ottonian imperial rule as a just and Christian rule. While there is a great emphasis on bodily purity, this is secondary to spiritual purity. While God protects his virgins, they make clear that rape and other violations do not affect their own essential chastity. To lose spiritual virginity they must consent and that they never do. This aspect of consent comes to the fore in *Juliana*, where Juliana's trials and martyrdom form a frame for her unmasking of a devil and his account of the wickedness he has wrought in the world. Interestingly, the devil appears to Juliana in the guise of an angel, but she mistrusts his message that God would spare her torture and bids her accede to the wishes of her betrothed and father. Juliana does not consent to accept the 'advice' given, remaining firm in her belief, and under pressure the devil confesses that he was responsible for the fall of man, the crucifixion and countless martyrdoms. He also describes the means by which he tempts the Christian.

Thus in varied forms do I pervert the mind of the righteous man. When I find him establish heart upon the will of God, then am I at once ready so that against him I bring manifold vices of the mind, cruel thoughts and secret errors. Through a multitude of snares I make sweet unto him the pleasures of sin, wicked desires of the heart, so that quickly given over unto unrighteousness, he harkeneth unto my teachings. And I grievously inflame him with sin, so that, burning, he ceaseth from prayer and walketh insolently, nor may he steadfastly remain longer in the place of prayer, for the love of his sin. So I bring hateful error unto the man whom I begrudge life and a clear belief. And he doth wilfully hearken to my teachings, and commit sin, and afterward, bereft of virtue, he slippeth away.

This demonstrates the dangers of 'hidden' sins, of the insidiousness of covert thoughts and desires, and how such eat away at belief and commitment to God. The devil may inflame, but the Christian must consent to listen. The truly resolute Christian has nothing to fear. The devil's confession makes clear that he aims at the soul, not the body—'I care more eagerly for the destruction of the spirit than of the flesh, which in a grave, hidden in the earth, shall become in the world a pleasure to the worm.' Wailes rightly points out that there is often more at stake than bodily purity, and that many of Hrotsitha's

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<sup>24</sup> Stephen L. Wailes, "Beyond virginity: flesh and spirit in the plays of Hrotsvit of Gandesheim," *Speculum* 76 (2001).

heroines are not *intacta*, indeed, Thias and Maria are prostitutes.<sup>25</sup> That other sins of the mind play a part seems highly likely, but in my opinion the message of *Thais* and *Maria* is not that they have failed to understand or to have been taught Christian ideas of love and forgiveness, but that repentance is all important. The extreme penitence of both women ensures their forgiveness. Their profession as prostitute is such an enormous sin that the drama and wonder is that they can be forgiven. Bodily impurity stands as a symbol for sin. One group are the steadfast who do not sin, the other the sinners who repent. It is noticeable that the issue of bodily purity and Christian belief is played out in the area of the female: male martyrs, such as the deacons John and Paul, are not threatened in this way. Male characters who convert to Christianity, such as Gallicanus and Callimachus, subsequently forswear their sexuality, but never follow the extreme forms of penance that the women sinners do. It is also worth noting that shortly after Hrotswitha was writing, Bernward of Hildesheim fulminated against the worldliness and sinfulness of the nuns of Gandesheim, and especially the abbess Sophia, the emperor's sister.

The Anglo-Saxon texts and the works of Hrotswitha display a love of drama and a great deal of emotional content. The drama is used in the service of a form of internalisation, in two respects, firstly the need for steadfastness in belief, spiritual integrity and repentance. The second form of internalisation is that of identification. The dramatic telling makes an emotional appeal to the reader or listener, allowing him or her to identify with the characters and the situation. The consequences of succumbing or remaining resolute are also made clear, so that the reader can share a little in the glory of the cross, the triumph of the martyrs, the joy of the faithful soul or the hope of the penitent.

### 1.2.2 *Attitudes to Sexuality*

Since the text-producing population, for the most part, was in some way connected with the Church and more particularly the regular orders, most of the attitudes to sexuality represent that part of the population and can, therefore, give a distorted view. However, given the influence of the clergy, regular and secular the distortion is not as great as it could be. To a certain extent this is also compensated for by the extensive research done on Anglo-Saxon literature, whereby the clerical influence

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<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

in decrees and acts has been shown to be highly likely.<sup>26</sup> We are in a less happy position with the two French manuscripts of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, since we can only place them against a general background of monastic reform. The Anglo-Saxon monastic attitude to sexuality has long been a topic of discussion, and research has determined that it was chiefly characterized by avoidance, as far as possible, of sexual topics. As a general indication of attitudes the various penitentials cannot be regarded as wholly reliable. While it can be claimed that they must have had some relation to the actual situation, it is difficult to avoid the idea that the writers of some penitentials at least, must have had a vivid imagination and a prurient interest in sex. The priests using the penitentials were warned not to ask leading questions lest the penitent be brought to ideas that he or she would not otherwise have had, or would dwell on perversion. It is also not easy to fully disentangle the social from the ethical or religious aspect in some areas. As well as a war on sin, many of the penances must have contributed to the general social order, including those concerned with sex. Rape, both in the sense of kidnapping, abduction or forced marriage and sexual abuse was greatly condemned, and like the provisions for killing and theft, could be seen as a crime against property and a disturbance of social and economic order. However, homosexuality and sex with animals receive even greater condemnation, while, though regarded as much lesser evils, sex between married couples at the wrong time or in the wrong position was also subject to penance. In general, although the penitentials seem today to be somewhat overly complete and even far-fetched, we must take their concerns seriously. While I think it would be a mistake to consider the individual sins as a reliable guide to actual sexual practices, the general concern and anxiety about sex displays a degree of discomfort and uncertainty about sexuality. By trying to define bad or abnormal sexual practices, they did not thereby stamp 'legitimate' sex with a seal of full approval. Chastity, both within and without marriage, was held to be attainable, and virginity the highest good.

Within the context of Anglo-Saxon works a consideration of the attitudes displayed by various prose and poetic works, and especially of the works of Ælfric, can lend understanding to the interpretation of

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<sup>26</sup> For example, Lawson, "Archbishop Wulfstan and the homiletic elements in the laws of Aethelred and Cnut."

the miniatures. Much of Anglo-Saxon literature can be characterised by an absence or playing down of sexuality, or perhaps more accurately, female sexuality. Nevertheless there are works that cannot avoid the topic of sexuality, and it is interesting to see how Ælfric and his fellow writers deal with it. Firstly much work in translation from the Latin is de-eroticised. Hagiography, and especially the lives of female saints, lays great emphasis on sexual purity. In a great many lives of female saints belief is equated with virginity: the saint strives to remain sexually unsullied for love of God. Her steadfastness lies in refusing to submit to both paganism and embrace. Unlike their Latin counterparts, the Old English hagiographical works usually omit the passages praising the beauty of their heroines: it is not their loveliness that inflames lust, but the inherent wickedness of the pagan. Descriptions of beauty are usually reserved for visions of the saint after death, transformed to a heavenly, and therefore asexual, glory. The saint's virginity is miraculously preserved, while her life is not. The Marian cult, especially in England, grew in importance with an emphasis on Mary's purity and virginity, thus making her a worthy vessel for the Redeemer. This aspect is found particularly in liturgy and private prayer: Mary's great purity made her a powerful force for intervention with her Son on behalf of the sinner. The opposition Mary-Eve is present but much less prominent, being found in non-liturgical works and homilies.<sup>27</sup>

If hagiography toned down female sexuality it was a subject that lent itself to such a treatment, as much a paean to virginity and chastity as to love of God and steadfastness in belief. The translators or re-workers of the Old Testament faced a much more difficult task. Not only the early chapters of Genesis could not avoid sexual matters, but many Old Testament stories deal with women deliberately using their sexuality, or men using their wives' sexuality to obtain their own ends. This would probably have been of less concern if the women in question had not been used as examples of the good and faithful. Magennis analyses the strategies used to make acceptable to an Anglo-Saxon audience the sexual manipulation inherent in such stories of Judith or Esther while adhering, more or less, to Scripture.<sup>28</sup> As Lees has pointed out,

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<sup>27</sup> For attitudes to Mary in the Anglo-Saxon period see Mary Clayton, *The cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England*, Cambridge studies in Anglo-Saxon England ed. Simon and Michael Lapidge Keynes, (Cambridge, 1990).

<sup>28</sup> Hugh Magennis, "'No sex please, we're Anglo-Saxon'? Attitudes to sexuality in Old English poetry and prose," *Leeds Studies in English* XXIV new series (1995).

the Anglo-Saxon culture valued restraint in both language and sexual matters, but such restraint should not be seen as ignorance of such matters.<sup>29</sup> Even *Apollonius of Tyre*, generally regarded as being far more open on matters of love and sexuality, on occasion tones down the language from the Latin, especially in respect to the encounter between Apollonius and King Arcestrates in the baths.<sup>30</sup> *Apollonius* is found in a manuscript along with the *Regularia Concordia*, various sermons and laws, so we would be justified in assuming its intent is didactic, not merely a novel to pass the time. In this case the translator's concern about possible homosexual overtones of the bath house scene are understandable, especially as Apollonius is the initiator. Not just chastity, but virginity was the ideal, and the summit of this was Mary. Much has been written on the Marian cult in this period and it is clear that the supreme Virgin was especially venerated by the reformed Benedictine houses, many of them being dedicated to her. While much of the cult, especially in respect of lay persons, centred on Mary as intercessor there were other aspects that were extremely important: the mother of God was not just a powerful voice with her Son, but she was powerful in her own right, and the legend of Theophilus was well-known and popular at the time. It is her invincible virginity that was her greatest strength, the great purity that made her chosen as the mother of God. A common simile of the time was that she was the door through which God entered the world and thus opened the gates of heaven to man. It is this respect that we see the opposition Eve-Mary: Eve closing the doors of life and heaven and these being opened again by Christ's birth. Ælfric wrote '*Ure ealde moder Eva us beleac heofen rices geat and seo halige Maria hit eft to us geopenode*'.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Clare A. Lees, "Engendering Religious Desire: Sex, Knowledge, and Christian Identity in Anglo-Saxon England," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 27 (1997).

<sup>30</sup> David Townsend, "The naked truth of the King's affections in the Old English *Apollonius of Tyre*," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, vol. 34 (2004), pp. 173–195, pp. 187–190.

<sup>31</sup> Our old mother Eve closed heaven's door to us, so holy Mary has opened it to us (my translation).

## 2. *The Basic Type of the Fall*

There is a very considerable time lag between the San Paolo Bible's Genesis frontispiece and the next surviving works Boulogne, Bibliothèque Municipale 20, the Odbert Psalter, f. 50 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11, both dating from around 1000. Two more works date from the first half of the eleventh century, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 2077 and London, British Library, Cotton Claudius B.IV, the Old English Hexateuch. There is a considerable difference in the treatment of the works; the two Anglo-Saxon works treating the fall with a fairly comprehensive cycle of miniatures. The text of both is in Old English, Junius 11 being a series of poems in the vernacular, giving a history of salvation, although only Genesis is illustrated. The Hexateuch is what is sometimes called Aelfric's translation of the first six books of the Bible. Both offer the opportunity to deal with the fall in a more extensive fashion than the French manuscripts. In the Odbert Psalter the fall is found in an historiated initial to psalm xliii, while the Paris manuscript originates from the scriptorium of Moissac and contains a uniquely illustrated treatise on the vices and virtues, consisting of a compilation from the work of Halitgar of Cambrai and Ambrosius Autpertus.<sup>32</sup> In spite of the differences in scope there are enough iconographic elements common to all to see a shift from those elements that were common to the ninth century works. Another work of the first half of the 11th century, St. Gall 342, might be thought to have connections with the fall, but Graepler-Diehl identifies the scene of the angel with a sword swooping out of a building towards two naked bodies as the Egyptian plague killing the first born.<sup>33</sup> The *titulus*, as discerned by Graepler-Diehl, would seem to support the view that it refers to the plague. Nevertheless there is some reason to think that this could be an expulsion scene. The angel seems to be driving the figures out of a gateway, not slaying them within the house of the Egyptian.<sup>34</sup> Given the context of the rest of the miniature, and the hexameter that deals with the Paschal lamb and the slaughter of the firstborn,

<sup>32</sup> Chantal Fraïsse, "Un traité des vertues et des vices illustré à Moissac dans le première moitié du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, X<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècles* 42 (1999).

<sup>33</sup> U. Graepler-Diehl, "Ein Zeichnung des 11. Jahrhunderts im Codex Sangallensis 342," in *Studien zur Buchmalerei und Goldsmiedekunst des Mittelalters*, ed. F. Dettweiler and H. Köllner K.H. Usener (Marburg an der Lahn, 1967) passant.

<sup>34</sup> My thanks to Bettina Braun of the St. Gall Stiftsbibliothek for her help in acquiring an excellent photograph of the miniature.

until there is any more clarity in respect to the *tituli* or even the two figures, Greapler-Diehl's theory must be considered the more likely of the two possibilities.

The two Anglo-Saxon works from this period have considerable narrative elements, illustrating the story of the fall, while the two French works are purely didactic in intent. In the Moissac manuscript, at the end of chapter one, there is a phrase which comes from neither Haligar nor Autpertus and would seem that it advocates visual expression as an aid to comprehension—*Et quia facilius ad intellectum per oculos via est id quod sermo discipulis visus assignet*. This is immediately above the miniature of the fall, and obviously refers to it. This clearly demonstrates the didactic intent of the makers. The illustration of the Genesis story is seen as a visual starting point for a work on vice and virtue. The fact that the miniatures of the fall illustrate or are associated with different texts in each of the works makes the isolation of the common factors forming the basic type of particular importance. It can also be of use in determining which of the individual iconographic elements are purely text-related, and which more likely to be context-related. The use of the fall as a subject to illustrate the two French manuscripts could possibly also throw some light on the way in which those texts were interpreted by contemporaries. In this the text of Hexateuch must be regarded as the most basic, being a fairly literal translation of the Latin Vulgate text. Junius 11 has strong links to the Genesis story, but the text of the poem is extremely unorthodox, containing not only such non-Biblical material as the fall of the rebel angels and Satan's role in the fall of man, but presents a far more complex psychological study of the first humans, especially Eve. The two French texts have much looser links with the Genesis story. There is an obvious connection between the illustration of the fall and a treatise on the vices and virtues, not only in the question of sin, but in the entrance of death into the world of men. The Psalter's relationship between text and illustration is rather more problematic: psalm xliii is the psalmist's plaint that he has been abandoned by God, is exiled and ashamed. Since the main body of the text concerns the fact that he—or rather the Israelites—have been given over to their enemies, the historiated initial must be read as expressing the reasons for the exile and abandonment, as reinforcing the plea for God's grace.

## 2.1 *The Construction of the Basic Type*

The very different texts of the four works give rise to considerable differences of iconography. The two English manuscripts have a strong narrative element. Of particular consequence is the inclusion of the miniatures of the fall of the rebel angels in both manuscripts. This appears twice in Junius 11, with other pages showing the demons in hell, and the Hexateuch opens with this scene. In Junius 11 this can be seen as text related, since the verses give considerable attention to the myth: in the Hexateuch it is completely extra-textual material. It is difficult to decide if an iconographic element that appears in 50% of the works of the period should be included in the basic type. There are indeed iconographic links between the two English works and the Odbert Psalter—not surprisingly as the Anglo-Saxon influence at St. Bertin is well established. The hell mouth is particularly prevalent in Anglo-Saxon art of this period and of Anglo-Saxon origin.<sup>35</sup> It is found in both English manuscripts in the scenes of Lucifer's fall and the scene of the fall in the Odbert Psalter, the initial D is held in the mouth of a dragon. In spite of this connection I am reluctant to consider the fall of Lucifer as an element of the basic type, as it is clearly linked to the text of Junius 11. The hell mouth alone is not a sufficiently close link to the dragon in the Psalter to justify regarding that as a reference to the fall of Lucifer, which can be better discussed when considering the individual manuscripts.

The prohibition on eating the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil also raises the question of whether it should be included in the basic type. It appears unambiguously in the Hexateuch, but there is no consensus as to whether it is shown in the Junius manuscript as *Genesis B* starts on page 13 in the middle of the prohibition, and various authors have felt there is something missing, but 'Neither the scribe nor the artist treats this section of the manuscript as in any way distinct from *Genesis A* despite the arguments of modern scholars.'<sup>36</sup> The number of scenes in this manuscript that are devoted to one episode, while other scenes, apparently of importance in the text, are not illustrated makes the postulation of such a scene uncertain. It is a

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<sup>35</sup> See Schmidt, *The iconography of the Mouth of Hell: eighth century Britain to the fifteenth century*.

<sup>36</sup> C.E. Karkov, *Text and picture in Anglo-Saxon England: narrative strategies in the Junius 11 manuscript* (Cambridge, 2001).



possible interpretation of the scene on p. 11, but the inclusion of the numerous animals under Adam and Eve, suggest this is the dominion over the beasts, taken out of biblical order and referring to 'And He gave them all that land to dwell in... And the creatures of His hand abode together on the earth.'<sup>37</sup> Nonetheless it has various elements that argue for the inclusion of the prohibition in this scene. It is the only creation/fall scene in which the Christ figure appears in solid colour. Furthermore he is standing on a *scabellum* within a walled city, holding a book and making a commanding gesture. Adam and Eve are without the city and each hold the leaves of a tree, which could easily be seen as being the trees of life and death. Karkov identifies them as such when they appear on p.13. In my view the miniature on p. 11 is a conflation of the scenes of the dominion over the beasts and the prohibition on eating the fruit. In view of the uncertainty as to whether this can in fact be considered as illustrating verses 235–236 (the prohibition) or 237–245 (God granting the pair paradise and withdrawing to heaven), and the fact that neither French manuscript includes them. I will not include this as one of the iconographic elements making up the basic type. Both Anglo-Saxon manuscripts illustrate naming of the beasts and the creation of Eve. Considering the highly narrative aspect of both works, the great number of illustrations and that both scenes are omitted in the two French works, together with the enormous emphasis laid by Junius 11 on the consequences of the fall, leads me to take the view that, in this case, the 50% of the manuscripts not dealing with this aspect are probably more typical.

The four scenes that appear in at least three out of four manuscripts are the temptation of Eve, the temptation of Adam, the covering of nudity and the expulsion. The basic type would then show, either as separate scenes or conflated, the two temptations, the covering of nudity and the expulsion. It is interesting that in only one work does the serpent hold a fruit in its mouth and only one shows Adam actually eating the fruit. In contrast to the ninth century, in all cases the expulsion is effected by the Christ-Logos—and here there is no doubt that it is indeed the *Christ*-Logos, as in all three miniatures he is cross-nimbed. The scenes of the fall of Lucifer, the naming of the beasts, the creation of Eve and the prohibition I regard as to a large extent dictated by

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<sup>37</sup> *He let heo þæt land buan, ... Stod his handgeweorc  
somod on sande*, Genesis B, 239–242.

texts and the general extensive iconographic cycle, and furthermore symptomatic of an Anglo-Saxon development and preoccupation. It is against the background of the more general changes and common factors that these must be viewed.

## 2.2 *Interpretation and Context*

The basic type from around 1000 is greatly condensed from those a century and a half earlier. The tendency shown in the ninth century to both reduce and conflate the number of scenes that can be regarded as having a direct connection with the fall is continued. Even the relatively profusely illustrated Hexateuch has only eight scenes, plus the fall of the rebel angels: the Moissac manuscript has three scenes, the Odbert Psalter two, and in the latter two, scenes are conflated. The Junius manuscript, it is true, has a very large number of scenes, but many deal with extra-biblical topics and text, others seem to be variations on a single scene. The previous history of creation, the ban and life in paradise are ignored in the basic type. The focus is firmly on the fall itself and its immediate consequences. In this sense the emphasis is on man, his actions and the consequence of those actions. By omitting the creation of Adam and Eve, a call is made upon the knowledge of the viewer. The humans are presented in a situation which must be seen as familiar to the viewer—that of paradise after the creation of Eve, and after the ban. Both God and the duty owed to him as the author of man's being are understood. Nevertheless the omission means that as a theological and exegetical concept the relationship between man and God, and the origins and basis for that relationship, are taken for granted, and not regarded as problematical or requiring emphasis. The omission of the earlier episodes of creation and presentation not only ignore the relationship between man and God, but at no point are we given a view of what might have been if the fall had not taken place. The divinity in man receives no recognition: his potential to fill the place of the angels or his joyful life in paradise, fulfilling God's commands have no place in the basic type. The element of choice, so strongly present in the earlier miniatures, has been, if not obliterated, at least pushed to the background. There is a degree of inevitability in the sequence of events shown, as if the basic sinfulness of man has been acknowledged, his inferiority is obvious.

The basic type's first scene is the temptation of Eve. Since her previous history is not shown, her relationship with Adam is as much taken

for granted as that of man and God. Nevertheless, there is a subtle shift in emphasis from the basic type of the ninth century. There the presentation of Eve to Adam made manifest the divine approval of the institution of marriage and indeed the need for procreation. By omitting this scene a degree of ambiguity as to whether sexuality is the sin has been introduced. This is increased by differentiation in the features of the two humans. Neither resembles God, as did the Carolingian Adam and Eve, but neither do they resemble each other: the sexual characteristics are clear—Adam's beard and Eve's breasts. Where the Carolingian basic type portrayed Adam and Eve as androgynous before the fall, in the 1000 basic type we find echoes of the earlier influential writers such as Galen—that women were 'deformed men' or at least 'imperfect men.' The fact that such differences are shown before the fall points to the fact that they were regarded as ordained.<sup>38</sup>

Indeed you ought not to think that our Creator would purposely make half the whole race imperfect and, as it were, mutilated, unless there was to be some great advantage in such mutilation.

This echoes Augustine's declaration that woman was intended to help man beget children:<sup>39</sup>

*Aut si ad hoc adiutorium gignendi filios, non est facta mulier viro, ad quod ergo adiutorium facta est? An aliquis dixerit de costa hominis Deum feminam tantum, non etiam masculum, si hoc vellet, facere potuisse? Quapropter non invenio ad quod adiutorium facta sit mulier viro, si pariendi causa subtrahitur.*

Thus, while it is clear that the exegetes felt that sexual activity in paradise, for the procreation of children, was intended to take place, the insistence on the sexual differentiation in the depiction implies that the makers were very aware of the problem of sexuality. In the expulsion scene the human pair is clothed, and the emphasis on the hiding of nudity seems to reinforce the idea that sexuality, or the awareness of sexuality, in part at least, is an element of sin.

<sup>38</sup> Galen, On the usefulness of the parts of the body, cited Alcuin Blamires, Karen Pratt and William Marx, eds., *Woman defended and woman defamed: an anthology of medieval texts* (Oxford, 1992).

<sup>39</sup> St. Augustine *Genesi ad litteram*, ix, 5. PL, 34. If woman was not made to help man beget children, in what way was she to help him? ... Surely no one would say that God could make only a woman from the rib of the man and not a man as well, if he had so wished. Consequently I cannot see in what way the woman was to be man's helper if not to bear children.

The scene of Eve's temptation shows a remarkable development from the ninth century basic type. Eve does not take the fruit from the serpent, but reaches out towards it. The serpent's mouth is open as if in speech and this is a close reference to the biblical text *sed et serpens erat callidior cunctis animantibus terrae quae fecerat Dominus Deus qui dixit ad mulierem*.<sup>40</sup> The implication being that the serpent was clever with his tongue. It is precisely this aspect that is emphasised. Eve does not follow the example of the serpent: it does not demonstrate the supposed falsity of the statement that to touch the fruit would mean death. It relies on words and persuasion. The open mouth, showing the tongue, implies speech, active and urgent speech, which contrasts with the lack of verbal response by Eve. Again the *Apocalypse of Moses*, or a derivation of it, may have played a part in this. In ch.16 the devil asks the aid of the serpent, who for unknown reasons has been cast out of paradise.<sup>41</sup> The serpent fears to tempt man in case he incurs God's wrath, but allows the devil to speak through his mouth. The serpent does not give the fruit to Eve, but persuades her to pick it, even bending the branch so that she may do so more easily. This aspect of speech is continued and emphasised as Eve describes the way she persuades Adam to eat. She called to Adam and when he came 'I opened my mouth and the devil was speaking.'<sup>42</sup> The warning here seems to be of listening to evil counsel, and in this the basic type gives its own interpretation of the power of speech and the vulnerability of those who listen indiscriminately. The role of the serpent is less active than in the ninth century works, or even the *Apocalypse of Moses*.

The emphasis on the power of speech, the urging to do wrong, rather than seeming to contradict God's word by example, increases the responsibility of Eve. It also paradoxically increases the sense of inevitability. Example is not necessary, suggestion is sufficient, arguing a basic flaw in the human makeup—or at least the basic female makeup, since the depicted circumstances of Adam's temptation remains the same: he is not subjected to either the example or the blandishments of the serpent; as in the earlier basic type, he is present at the scene of Eve's temptation, but it is to Eve the serpent addresses himself. Adam

<sup>40</sup> Genesis 3.1.

<sup>41</sup> It is possible that this reference is to one of the fallen angels who had been cast out with Lucifer, but this seems unlikely as Satan says, "I hear that thou art wiser than all the beasts".

<sup>42</sup> *Apocalypse of Moses*, xxi, 3.

simply accepts the fruit from Eve with no sign of either persuasion or reluctance. This basic flaw of credulity and listening to evil counsel, already present in the ninth century, now receives even more emphasis. At this point it is important to note a significant difference in regard to the serpent. It is no longer presented as an intruder, but as a 'given' factor: it appears with the humans, not as an outside influence in a close and harmonious relationship with God. Almost, it is aligned with them, their affinity to it and the world, rather than to God. The frailty of man is reinforced by the lack of 'divine' features in the two; this weakness, a lack of strength of mind and constancy of purpose, increases the sense that the fate of mankind is already sealed. The passivity of the humans appears greater because the prelude to the actual temptation and fall are not shown, thereby omitting the positive aspect of their interrelation with the Logos. They are presented as humans, not as divine creations; their passivity and malleability again increases the feeling that man is basically weak and sinful.

Adam's role in the fall again differs from the ninth century basic type; the emphasis is on his humanity rather than his potential divinity, his frailty rather than his strength. His passivity is increased, because he does not consume the fruit, he accepts it. In fact it may be said that Eve accepts the words and via the fruit she passes these to Adam. Here the mere acceptance is sufficient cause for the fall. Evil has not entered Adam and been internalised, not been made a part of himself due to the positive action of raising the fruit to his mouth and consuming it. Rather, evil has entered man by the more subtle and insidious way of the ear. Because the relationship with God is not considered, Adam and Eve could be regarded as autonomous and responsible for themselves. They are not shown as being instructed or cared for by a Lord: paradise is theirs to live in and, implicitly, to rule. Their failure would seem to be weakness, ineffectiveness and listening to ill counsel. This would be particularly applicable to Adam, as his position as male would imply that he should be able to control, not only the serpent—in the *Apocalypse* described as being in his domain—but also Eve. Mankind, and particularly the man, has failed as a ruler.

The covering of nudity shows an acknowledgement of guilt or failure. The immediate acknowledgement is a direct reference to the passage *et aperti sunt oculi amborum cumque cognovissent esse se nudos*.<sup>43</sup> The two are

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<sup>43</sup> Genesis, 3:7.

aware of their guilt before any confrontation with God. In this they are close to the *Apocalypse of Moses* in which Eve recognises that she is 'bare of the righteousness' in which she had been clothed and hiding her nakedness immediately on tasting the fruit, and before she gives the fruit to Adam.<sup>44</sup> That the consciousness of guilt is a direct result of their actions is clear from the change in attitude from the earlier scenes. It would seem that regret for their actions is the cause of this, rather than the fear of punishment. This interpretation is strengthened by the fact that there is no attempt to show the denial of blame. Consciousness of right and wrong would seem to be the message: even though the two do not eat and therefore do not internalise directly the knowledge, they have no need of an outside force to bring them to a realisation of their wrongdoing. This implies two things: firstly that the knowledge of good and evil is considered inherent in man, and secondly that such knowledge can be obtained by contamination. This agrees with the passage in which Eve answers the serpent—*de fructu vero ligni quod est in medio paradisi praecepit nobis Deus ne comederemus et ne tangeremus illud ne forte moriamur*<sup>45</sup>—but not with giving of the prohibition, in which eating is specified—*de ligno autem scientiae boni et mali ne comedas in quocumque enim die comederis ex eo morte morieris*.<sup>46</sup> Sin, then is a greater danger, it can be of a more passive variety, one can be contaminated by contact with sin as well as by actively making it a part of oneself.

The final scene, the expulsion, is of great importance. It is the only scene in which the Logos appears. We see nothing of God as creator or benefactor, only as executor of a sentence—we do not even see him as judge. The close relationship between man and God shown in the ninth century has vanished entirely here. It is a given that God is almighty and his power over man is unquestioned, not based on mutual agreement or on his care and benevolence towards him. God is remote from man, something already obvious in the difference in features, and with the expulsion this distance increases. The Logos is not shown as the initiator of man's being, or as the giver of good things. God is powerful and swift to act; there is no trial, only the immediate response of an angry lord to his erring underlings. The personal relationship has

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<sup>44</sup> The *Apocalypse* deals with the problem of Eve giving the fruit to Adam when she knows the consequences, by having the serpent trick her into swearing that she will give it to her husband.

<sup>45</sup> Genesis 3:3.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 2:17.

gone: man has disturbed the God-given order, broken divine law and is subject to divine wrath.

The basic type from c. 1000 gives a far more pessimistic and less balanced picture than that of 150 years previously. Here there is no depiction of divine potential, of the life man enjoyed before his fall. Just as the harmony that existed between man and God is not in evidence, neither is the harmony between Adam and Eve. The viewer is not presented with what he could interpret as a warning, or a choice—life in obedience to God's commands, or life after breaking those commands. The element of choice is almost entirely absent. It is a story the outcome of which is known, and there could be no other ending. Man's fall is almost inevitable; indeed, the story opens with the temptation. Man is alone in paradise, alone with the tempter, there is no conflict between good and evil, no alternatives offered between following a good and bounteous lord and an insinuating and evil one. With the absence of the Logos from all scenes except the expulsion, the choice has been removed. Man and the serpent inhabit the same world, they have that in common: it is almost as if by touching the fruit the essentially sinful nature of man is revealed rather than comes into being. He is revealed to himself, for the knowledge of good and evil is self-knowledge, and above all the knowledge of the evil in one's self.

There is no trial; man has no excuse and the distance between God and man is too great for understanding. There is only acceptance—acceptance of God's judgement, but also of man's failure and sinful nature. There is repentance, but little hope. The message of the basic type is just that—repentance and acceptance of man's lot. It is also a warning of contamination, of passivity, of the failure to do good rather than positive ill-doing. Weakness lays man open to sin, bad counsel and the voice of others lead man astray and he gives in to the inherent weakness and sinfulness of his existence. This basic type can almost be defined by negatives, by what is not shown. Most importantly, because sinfulness is inherent in man and he must acknowledge this, a great step towards the internalisation of sin has taken place. It is no longer solely men's actions, but his very being that is sinful, and that means he cannot control his actions. Sin has ceased to be a social and political concept and become a personal responsibility.

### 3. *Specific Manuscripts*

The four manuscripts, partially due to their differing text, but also to their differing origins and contexts, elaborate on the basic type each in its own way. The two Anglo-Saxon manuscripts place the myth of the fall in a wider context, while the two French works make specific analogies with a more abstract conception of sin and repentance. While the ideas expressed in the basic type can be said to represent part of the thought of the Cluniac monastic reform, it is notable that, in spite of the great number of Cluniac houses and those under Cluniac influence, there are only four manuscripts with illustrations of the fall, plus the Hildesheim door. Hildesheim was a centre of learning, arts and crafts, as was St. Bertin the scriptorium responsible for the Odbert Psalter. Christ Church, Canterbury, too, had a very high reputation and both Anglo-Saxon manuscripts have been attributed to it, although the attributions remain tentative. The Moissac manuscript, though, dates from before that foundation gained its reputation. The reasons for the inclusion of what was a relatively unusual subject must be sought in the individual works and the circumstances of their origin. In two of the manuscripts, the Odbert Psalter and Junius 11, the idea of the fall as the start of a history of salvation, present in the Tournon Bibles, is greatly extended. In the Moissac manuscript the fall is given as the start of sin and as a preface to the war between the virtues and the vices. The Old English Hexateuch comes closest to the Carolingian Bibles, but lacking all but the first six books of the Bible, the emphasis on Heilsgeschichte is less. The manner in which the two first named manuscripts, also the two oldest, deal with the history of salvation is very different. The Psalter can be seen as a forerunner of the depictions of the fall used in historiated initials that became so popular at the end of the eleventh and in the twelfth century. In these the story of the fall is brought back to its absolute essentials, conflation and compression being the main characteristics. Junius 11, though the illustrations only apply to Genesis, consists of four poems in the vernacular, starting with Genesis and ending with the final confrontation dialogue, *Christ and Satan*. In this the illustrations are anything but compact, nor are they evenly distributed. Of the illustrations on forty-seven pages ending with Abraham approaching Egypt, seventeen deal with the creation and fall, while three more deal with the fall of Lucifer and his angels and another is a Majestas that serves as frontispiece. The miniature in the Moissac work functions as an introduction to a moralistic tract, while



the Hexateuch has six miniatures dealing with the creation and fall of man and another with the fall of Lucifer. In spite of the difference in emphasis there are a number of very important similarities between the Hexateuch and Junius 11: both are vernacular texts, both connect the fall of Lucifer with the fall of man and both have a relatively extended picture cycle.

### 3.1 *Boulogne, BM, Ms. 20—The Odbert Psalter*

The Odbert Psalter, dated around 1000, has an inscription giving the illuminator as Abbot Odbert of St. Bertin. Viking raids on Normandy had ceased but conditions were just as turbulent, partially owing to local feuding and the struggles round the establishment of the Capetian dynasty. However, despite the power struggles, under Abbot Odbert St. Bertin was renowned, especially for its high-quality illuminated manuscripts of which the Psalter is probably the finest surviving achievement. Odbert almost certainly supervised the work and it is possible that some of the illustrations are in his own hand. This unusually large and richly illustrated work is chiefly known for the Christological cycle in the initials. It contains the Gallican version of the Psalms, and in addition a dedicatory verse, descriptions of musical instruments, various prologues, prayers and hymns and an extensive marginal gloss on the psalms. The decoration scheme seems to have altered and developed during the making of the psalter. The illustration to psalm 1, f. 11r, shows Pentecost with scenes from the life of David in the frames. While the scenes with David may be regarded as conventional for the introduction to the psalms, the personification of *Beatus vir*, the connection with Pentecost makes a particularly strong tie with the New Testament and the idea of divine inspiration. From psalm 2 to psalm 25 the illumination takes the form of marginal drawings, but with psalm 25 the Christological cycle begins. Not all psalms are illustrated, but it is noticeable that the life of Christ in a more or less chronological order, for at least the latter part, seems to be the determining factor.<sup>47</sup> Interposed between these scenes there are five Old Testament scenes, plus one of Oceanus and Gaia and a further scene of a man in a building, whose import has not as yet been deduced. Denny and Kahsnitz seem to be the only art historians

<sup>47</sup> For a full scheme of decoration see Don Denny, "The historiated initials of the Odbert Psalter," *Studies in Iconography* 14 (1995).

who have paid detailed attention to the psalter, and their chief interest is the Christological cycle and why this was introduced.<sup>48</sup> Denny is of the opinion that the original plan was to alternate scenes from the Old and New Testaments and this would seem plausible, even if this was not strictly adhered to. What is more difficult to explain is why there is such a concentration on the first chapters of Genesis. Abel's sacrifice is shown on f. 34r (psalm 28), the fall on f. 50v (psalm 43) while this is followed by the murder of Abel on f. 56r (psalm 49). There follow only two more Old Testament scenes, Samson pulling down the temple on f. 63v (psalm 58) and Solomon holding the scales of justice on f. 77r, depicting, as tradition dictates, psalm 71. The chronology of the illustrations from both Testaments is sporadic, probably having much to do with the text and traditions of the psalm illustrated. Nevertheless, the emphasis on the earliest history of man is remarkable. If we consider the three Genesis illustrations we note that the first shows man (Abel) as pleasing to God. There is no doubt that this is Abel—"die Figur is inschriftlich als 'abel' bezeichnet."<sup>49</sup> The next two scenes show the first sin and the first crime. There is a surprising emphasis on Abel and his death in relation to the fall. Why were two miniatures devoted to the Abel/Cain motif while only one was given over to the fall? Even if we accept that more Old Testament scenes were originally planned, two given over to this episode and none to, say, Noah or Moses would be cause to ask why, and whether this has anything to do with the strong thread of Heilsgeschichte.

There are various possible answers to this question and it is not unlikely that more than one factor played a role. Obviously, when presenting the history of salvation one begins with the reason salvation was necessary. The miniature of the fall would seem the obvious point, but it is possible that the story of Cain and Abel was also considered a starting-point. Early Syriac and Rabbinic works sometimes imply that 'the primordial disasters to the human race had to do not so much with the expulsion from Paradise but with Cain's crime.'<sup>50</sup> However there is little or no evidence that such works were known in the early

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<sup>48</sup> R. Kahsnitz, "Der christologische Zyklus in Odbert-Psalter," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 51 (1988).

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., p. 40.

<sup>50</sup> Serge Ruzer, "The Cave of Treasures on Swearing by Abel's Blood and Expulsion from Paradise: Two Exceptional Motifs in Context," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 9 (2001).

medieval west. A more likely source for an emphasis on the role of Cain would be Prudentius' *Hamartigenia*<sup>51</sup> in which 'the archetype for all other sins in the poem, is not Eve's (or man's) first disobedience, but fratricide, the story of Cain and Abel.'<sup>52</sup> Also current in the west were legends and exegesis over the unsatisfactory nature of Cain's sacrifice, chiefly that he withheld the best and thus turned from God.<sup>53</sup> Perhaps the makers of the Odbert Psalter had in mind two different kinds of sin and estrangement from the presence of God. Philo of Alexandria wrote:<sup>54</sup>

Accordingly God banished Adam; but Cain went forth from his presence of his own accord; Moses here showing to us the manner of each sort of absence from God, both the voluntary and the involuntary sort; but the involuntary sort as not existing in consequence of any intention on our part, will subsequently have such a remedy applied to it as the case admits of; for God will raise up another offspring in the place of Abel, whom Cain slew, a male offspring for the soul which has not turned by its own intention, by name Seth, which name being interpreted means irrigation; but the voluntary flight from God, as one that has taken place by deliberate purpose and intention, will await on irremediable punishment in all eternity, for as good deeds that are done in consequence of forethought and design, are better than unintentional ones, so also among offences those that are undesigned are of less heinousness than those that are premeditated.

In the context of Heilsgeschichte this would make sense. By making a distinction between those who are subject to sin and error, but are of good intent, and those who deliberately flout the will of God and of their own volition turn from him, the message of salvation sounds a cautionary note. Salvation is possible, but not for all, not for those who with full knowledge and intent abandon God and his law. Those who through ignorance or weakness fall into sin can hope for redemption. The two aspects are heightened by the fact that these are interspersed between scenes from the New Testament concerning the birth of Christ. Abel's sacrifice falls between the initials showing the annunciation,

<sup>51</sup> The last two lines of the Praefatio make it clear that Cain, by his act denied God, *Cain peremptor, denegans unum Deum, Cain triumphat, morte fratris allitus*, PL 59, 1012A.

<sup>52</sup> Martha A. Malamud. "Writing Original Sin," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 10 (2002).

<sup>53</sup> For example, Ambrosius Mediolanensis, *Obtulit, inquit, ex fructibus terrae, non a primis fructibus primitias Deo*, De Cain et Abel, II, ch. X, P.L. 14, 355.

<sup>54</sup> E.D. Yonge, ed., Philo of Alexandria, *On the Posterity of Cain and his exile: The Works of Philo Judaeus: The contemporary of Josephus translated from the Greek* (London, 1854–1890).

f. 32r, psalm 26 and the visitation, f. 46r, psalm 38. The reason for this could be that, according to Jerome, the birth of Cain was associated with sin and life after the expulsion.<sup>55</sup> A further expansion of this idea could be seen as a reference to the sons of Seth turning from God and going to the daughters of Cain. This would emphasise the pure nature of Christ's conception and birth and, of course his role as sacrifice. Such an idea could be expected to appeal to a monastic audience, especially in the contemporary climate of monastic reform. A further reason for the inclusion is that, to a certain extent, Abel can be seen as being presented as a prefiguration of Christ and within the scheme of Heilsgeschichte referring to Hebrews. 11. 4. *Fide plurimam hostiam Abel quam Cain obtulit Deo per quam testimonium consecutus est esse iustus testimonium perhibente muneribus eius Deo et per illam defunctus adhuc loquitur.* The miniature of the fall itself comes between psalm 41, f. 49r, the annunciation to Zaccharius, a preliminary to redemption, and f. 56r, psalm 49, the murder of Abel. This scene is followed on f. 58v by the nativity. By sandwiching the scenes of the first sin and the first crime between the announcement of the herald of the incarnation and the incarnation itself the point is made that whether man falls into sin due to defective nature or deliberately turns from God, he is in need of salvation.

The scene of the fall is contained within the initial D, and the elaborately worked letter itself shows strong signs of insular influence. (fig. 18). In the scene Eve, on the left, takes a fruit from the mouth of the serpent with her right hand, while covering her genitals with her left. Adam, on the right of the tree, is already holding a fruit in his left hand, and like Eve, covers his genitals. The light coloured serpent winds around the tree; this is cruciform in shape and has three symmetrical branches each terminating in an outsized fig leaf. The serpent's head is in the position the wound on Christ's side would be, if this were a crucifixion, and it is possible, given the Christological context, that this is a deliberate inversion: the serpent's mouth giving death in place of Christ's wound giving life. It is as if the reader is confronted with a choice between life and death for mankind. In the initial man chooses death, but the very similarity with the form of the crucifixion, the figures of Adam and Eve echoing those of Mary and John, would lead the devout eleventh century reader to contemplate the other tree/

<sup>55</sup> *Ac de Adam quidem et Eva illud dicendum, quod ante offensam in paradiso virgins fuerint; post peccatum autem, et extra paradysum, protinus nuptiae,* Jerome, *Adversos Jovinianum* I, 16.

cross. This message is reinforced by the decoration. Of particular note is the somewhat mild looking dragon, whose tail continues in a formal looped pattern, but whose mouth grips the letter itself. The head of this dragon reflects that of the serpent, and indeed could be seen as a larger version of it, offering a large fruit to the reader. The message is that man is continually subject to temptation, but the underlying similarity with a crucifixion scene subtly brings to mind the hope of redemption. The riddle in the *Exeter Book* known as *Christ III* deals with judgement day, and in it Christ speaks of being crucified again, and more severely, by the sins of the people he died to save.<sup>56</sup> Given the close ties between England and northern France, and in particular between Winchester and St. Bertin, it is not impossible that a similar idea was in circulation in St. Bertin. The shadowy idea of the cross underlying the scene of the fall and the reminder that everyone, the reader too, was subject to temptation was a means to imply that the sinner continually crucifies God.

The psalms were central to the Benedictine rule and the tenth century reform movement increased their role and the use of the psalter. The Ghent reforms were implemented in St. Bertin in the mid tenth century after Count Arnulf had brought in Gerrard of Brogne to deal with the rebellious monks. By increasing the use of the psalter in the complex liturgy of the reformed houses, the psalms became more fragmented; separate psalms being used in different parts of the liturgy. In this way their liturgical context was increased but the biblical context suffered as they were integrated into a Christo-centric liturgy. It is not surprising then that we see the visual typological translation of the illustrations. While the illustrated Carolingian psalters certainly had a Christological component, there is more often a direct translation of the text, or at least a very close connection with it. The Odbert Psalter is by no means the first work to have a Christological cycle in the initials. The Drogo Sacramentary has a cycle of twenty scenes from the life of Christ, and other works, such as the Benedictional of Aethelwold, have Christological miniature cycles.<sup>57</sup> However, the question arises as to why

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<sup>56</sup> *Christ III*, 1480–1495.

<sup>57</sup> Smeyers is of the opinion that the style of drawing in the Odbert Psalter is influenced by the Drogo Sacramentary. Maurits Smeyers, *Flemish miniatures from the 8th to the mid-16th century: the medieval world in parchment* (Leuven, 1999).

psalm 43 was chosen to be illustrated and why the fall was considered a suitable subject.

Psalm 43 was more than once illustrated, notably in the Utrecht Psalter and its Anglo-Saxon descendents; however there seems little reason to use an illustration of the fall for this particular psalm. The reason cannot be sought in exegesis as psalm 43 was rarely quoted—the *Patrologia Latina* gives only five instances of medieval authors and none of those texts are connected with the fall. The Utrecht Psalter gives a literal illustration of the text, taking separate elements of the texts such as *Exurge, quaere obdormis Domine* and giving this visual form, here by showing Christ asleep in bed. When writing of the Odbert Psalter, Smeyers points out that the illustrations seem ‘to be independent of the content of the psalms, but they can still be connected with them, due to the tradition of associating prophetic truth with these verses.’<sup>58</sup> This, however, can only apply to the Christological cycle and not to the Old Testament illustrations. If we look closely at the text we may find that in fact, there is a relationship between text and miniature. The relationship is not, at first sight obvious, but there are certain points of reference that could point to the fall as a suitable subject, especially in a monastic environment. Most of the psalm concerns the plaint of the psalmist for his people who are driven out and suffering now their God no longer favours them. *Nunc autem repulisti et confudisti nos*<sup>59</sup>... *et in gentibus dispersisti nos*.<sup>60</sup> The expulsion might be thought a more suitable scene for these verses, but the psalm also mentions the shame and sin of the psalmist—*Tota die verecundia mea contra me est, et confusio faciei meae cooperuit me. A voce exprobrantis, et obloquentis*.<sup>61</sup> The psalmist continues:<sup>62</sup>

*Haec omnia venerunt super nos, nec obliti sumus te: et inique egimus in testamento tuo  
Et non recessit retro cor nostrum: et declinasti semitas nostras a via tua.  
Quoniam humiliasti nos in loco afflictionis, et cooperuit nos umbra mortis*

The psalm contains the same elements as the fall myth: the sin and cause of the shame are not specified, but the fact that God has turned from the psalmist driving him out makes a further parallel. This is increased

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> Psalm 43, v. 10.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., v. 12.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., vv. 16–17.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., vv. 18–20 The choice of the fall as an illustration for psalm 43 could possibly have links with the ritual clamor. See also Philippe Buc, “Ritual and interpretation: the early medieval case,” *Early Medieval Europe* 9 (2000).

by the phrase *umbra mortis* with its connotations of the advent of death, and the Stuttgart Psalter had already brought the phrase into connection with the fall. The psalmist's protestations that he and his people are repentant and their pleas to be reintroduced into God's favour accords well with the Christological cycle and its message of redemption, but it is also in keeping with the tenets of monastic reform. The order of the three Genesis miniatures could almost be seen as a progression in man's descent—first Abel sacrificing to God and pleasing him, then the fall caused by ignorance and weakness, and finally Cain's crime and his deliberate rejection of God. These miniatures interspersed among those recounting the incarnation would be a reminder not only of man's fall, but of his debt to Christ and the need for continual vigilance. The theme is echoed later, f. 101r psalm 92 the initial of which shows the first temptation of Christ. The composition echoes that of the fall initial: Christ stands to the left of a tree and to the right, the devil proffers stones: Christ holds out a book, presumably exemplifying the law, his feet resting a lion and dragon, the symbol of his victory over sin and death. Here this victory is brought into connection with Christ's successful resistance to temptation, contrasting with the scene of the fall, which has as its successor the scene of the first death. The link with the fall miniature is strengthened by the dragon, in this case, significantly, an autophage. Not only does it work towards its own destruction, but it is clearly intended to be the same dragon as on f.50v and the tree seems to grow from its head. This miniature looks both forward and back, back to the temptation and fall, and forward to Christ's ultimate victory. According to much contemporary thought man was in the devil's power because he had given himself freely to a new lord by breaking God's command. By choosing to sin he was justly the devil's. In this argument, to free man from the devil's power a diabolic claim must be made unjustly, that is on an innocent man, free of all sin. By resisting temptation Christ kept himself beyond the devil's legitimate claim, and once claimed could break the hold for all mankind. This miniature anticipates the crucifixion, the harrowing of hell and the resurrection on f. 109r and, at the same time, reminds the reader why salvation was necessary.

The scene of the fall in the Odbert Psalter cannot be seen outside the complex iconographic programme of the whole work. There is a fine and detailed interplay between the scenes and their theological and moral import. The link between sin and death receives a continual but subtle emphasis, and is balanced by the scenes of redemption and

the triumph over death. The initials containing the scenes of the three temptations of Christ are followed by that of Christ being ministered to by angels, and then, tellingly, by the scene of the raising of Jarius' daughter. The scenes of the beheading of John the Baptist and the arrest of Christ are followed by one containing all the elements of the triumph over death—the crucifixion, the harrowing of hell and the resurrection, f. 109r. These, it is true, follow chronologically, but their impact is that of victory in defeat, of completion. Apocryphal sources state that John the Baptist announced to those imprisoned in hell that Christ would come to lead them from there, and among those brought forth were Adam and Eve. In the miniature on f. 109r we see the past and the future: man condemned to hell can be released. Christ's victory and resurrection is also that of man. Man's sin resulted in death and murder: Christ's death results in man's chance to regain life.

### 3.2 *Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Junius 11*

There have been a great number of studies of Junius 11 and very little agreement among them. From the first publication of the manuscript by Francis Junius in 1654, when it was presented as the work of Caedmon, it has intrigued scholars of Old English. The various problems confronting the researcher are complex and interrelated, many being rooted in the relationship between text and illustration. This is more problematical than with other visualisations of the fall, because of the extremely unorthodox text. A further complication is that the fall miniatures deal mostly with the part of the manuscript most difficult to interpret, an Old English translation—known as *Genesis B*—of a ninth century Old Saxon poem. We can regard the illustrations as being a further translation of the narrative made in the late tenth century. Various scholars have postulated an earlier illustrated exemplar, but there is no evidence of this; there are, however, certain stylistic and iconographic similarities to the Utrecht Psalter. The bulk of the text is made up of four poems in Old English, probably dating from the eighth century. These four, now known as *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Daniel* and *Christ and Satan*, give a history of salvation—a history that while, on the whole, resting on the biblical narrative, is highly selective. Since *Christ and Satan* ends with *explicit liber ii* we can assume that book 1 consisted of the Old Testament stories, and the later *Christ and Satan* dealing with the New Testament aspects was added. It is notable that no spaces were left for illustrations in this second part. Most of the



research has concentrated on *Genesis B*, but others have also dealt with the unity of the work as a history of salvation. The unity of the work presents a particular problem when dealing with the illustrations: the fall must be seen as part of this history of salvation, but only *Genesis* is illustrated. Whereas in the Odbert Psalter it is possible to see the visual links between the fall and redemption miniatures, with *Junius 11* it is impossible to even speculate, since redemption was clearly not intended to be illustrated. The miniatures dealing with the fall relate to the first 964 lines, and these deviate greatly from the biblical narrative. The narrative opens with the fall of Lucifer and the rebel angels, but this extra-biblical material in the late Anglo-Saxon period cannot be thought to be remarkable. The problem area is the interpolated translation of the ninth century Old Saxon *Genesis B*. The problems presented by the text and by the illustrations, while obviously interrelated, are not, or not always, the same. I am of the opinion that a great deal of difficulty has been caused by trying to tie the illustrations very closely to the adjacent text. I propose, therefore, to examine the illustrations as a parallel, but independent narrative before considering the particular problems such as pictorial displacement, colour typology and narrative strategies. These questions are essential to the interpretation of the narrative, and to the questions of guilt, sin and the relationship with God.

### 3.2.1 *Visual and Textual Narratives*

*Junius* and many of his successors attributed little importance to the illustrations, but the lack of consensus amongst scholars in regard to the text is notable. It is little wonder that in more recent times scholars have turned to the miniatures for insight. One of the problems with this approach is the danger that the illustrations are seen solely as an appendix to the text. The first attempt to seriously consider the illustrations as an integral part of the manuscript was Ohlgren's dissertation.<sup>63</sup> An anomaly here is that the poems are considerably older than the manuscript. The illustrations can only be a guide to the interpretation of the text in late tenth century England. Indeed, it may very well be that many of the difficulties encountered in trying to relate text and illustration find their roots in the fact that researchers try to tie the illustrations too closely to how *they* interpret the text, and

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<sup>63</sup> Thomas H. Ohlgren, "The illustrations of the Caedmon Genesis as a guide to the interpretation of the text" (Michigan, 1969).

there seems to be no more unity among these more modern scholars than those who were concerned only with the text. Since my concern is to try to understand how the story was regarded and interpreted at the time the manuscript was made, I will consider the illustrations as an independent narrative and only then see how this relates to the textual narrative. Gameson did this very briefly, but simply concluded that Junius 11 was the work of an inexperienced and somewhat inept scriptorium, and thereby contesting its attribution to Christ Church, Canterbury but giving no alternative.<sup>64</sup> Karkov took the illustrations far more seriously and provided several very valuable insights, maintaining that the artists did not make mistakes, but the placing was deliberate.<sup>65</sup> Unfortunately, not all of her conclusions are watertight. By considering the visual narrative, as far as the expulsion, in the light of what could be considered the knowledge of the Bible text and apocryphal works that would be current at the end of the tenth century, rather than on knowledge of the poem, we could hope to find an independent visual narrative, rather than one wholly dependent on the text.

The illustrations begin, conventionally enough, with a *Majestas frontispiece*, and this is followed by a picture of Christ enthroned with before him four angels, each displaying different characteristics. This is followed by Lucifer's rebellion and the fall of the rebel angels. The following two scenes show the works of creation, and the next the creation of Eve with heaven above and a ladder connecting it to paradise. The following three illustrations show Adam and Eve in paradise with trees and animals, while the Logos withdraws further with each one. Page 16 depicts the Logos in heaven and, under, the fall of the rebel angels; the following page elaborates on this, showing Christ enthroned in a mandorla and flanked by cherubim, while below, the fallen angels, now in fully demonic form, inhabit hell along with a chained Satan. The next illustration is also in two parts: below, Satan, bound hand and foot, watches as a devil makes his way out of a trapdoor in the roof of hell. Immediately above the escaping devil is a tree with a serpent wound round it. Eve looks at the serpent, holding her left arm with her right hand. Beyond Eve is another tree and the figures of both Adam and Eve pointing to the following page. Four pages later we see Eve

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<sup>64</sup> Gameson, *The role of art in the late anglo-Saxon Church*.

<sup>65</sup> Karkov, *Text and picture in Anglo-Saxon England: narrative strategies in the Junius 11 manuscript*.

holding a fruit and standing before a crowned angel. The next illustration has an angel holding out a fruit to Adam and Eve who stand on either side of him. Eve already holds a fruit and brings it to her mouth. Page 31 has two fully separated registers; in the upper the angel looks on as Eve, stooping slightly, offers the fruit to Adam who takes it with his right hand. Below, Adam and Eve, separated by a tree, fall to their knees and cover their faces while a winged devil points to them. On page 34 in the upper register Adam and Eve cover their faces with one hand and their genitals with the other: in the lower, hidden among the trees, they again cover their faces and genitals, this time with leaves. The following illustration shows the pair, still covering themselves, while the devil returns to hell, where he reports to his bound master. Next we see Adam and Eve discussing what to do and then, below, they sit apart among the trees. On page 41 the Logos, holding a book, stands before the serpent that stands on its tail, and then creeps off on its belly, as sentenced by God. Below this, the Logos stands above Adam and Eve, still cowering among the trees. Placed on a high mound a double Logos on page 44 pronounces sentence on Adam and Eve and on the following page we see the pair clothed standing before the Logos and then making their way out of paradise, Adam bearing a bag of seed and a spade, Eve with a fruit. The final scene shows the pair outside paradise while an angel with a sword stands at the door.

Reviewing these illustrations and trying to form a narrative from them has certain problems, but on the whole a fairly clear tale emerges. Ignoring the frontispiece, it would be a description of heaven before the rebellion of Lucifer, the rebellion and fall of the angels, the creation, including that of Eve, God's instructions to the pair including the dominion over the animals and the pair in paradise. The next three illustrations are more difficult to fit into the scheme, but it would appear that the intention is to put a great deal of emphasis on the distinction between God and Satan, and heaven and hell. The third of this group is in some ways quite clear, a devil is sent to paradise and in the form of a snake addresses Eve. The figures of Adam and Eve on the right of this miniature are less susceptible to explanation. The next miniature is the beginning of the deviation from conventional Biblical and apocryphal narrative, but the tenth/eleventh century reader would probably have little difficulty in identifying the angel as the tempter. Thus here we have Eve being tempted and following that, she succumbs. Adam does not accept the fruit from the tempter, but takes it from his wife, upon which the tempter is revealed as a devil.

The next sequences are relatively straightforward; the knowledge of what they have done brings Adam and Eve shame and penitence, the devil returns triumphantly to hell. The last scenes follow the Biblical narrative of judgement and expulsion.

Junius 11 stands near the beginning of a tradition of vernacular versions of Genesis, which in itself can be seen as an extension of Latin re-workings of Genesis, such as the popular and influential *De spiritalis historiae gestis* of Avitus.<sup>66</sup> The oldest known of these vernacular works is the fragment in the Vatican Library, consisting of 337 lines in Old Saxon dating from the ninth century.<sup>67</sup> From the 26 lines of the Vatican manuscript that overlap the poem in Junius 11, *Genesis B* would seem to be a translation of this. Doane comments that ‘Compared to traditional Germanic verse the diction is drastically contracted...because both the vernacular was less suited to abstract expression than was Latin, and because the poet of *Genesis* seems intentionally to avoided the language of heroic poetry.’<sup>68</sup> He goes on to say that while *Genesis B* in many ways has a similar style there is a ‘slight tendency to reform the diction towards Old English poetic usage.’<sup>69</sup> They differ from the younger vernacular versions of Genesis that have some deviations, but on the whole adhere closely to the Biblical Genesis,<sup>70</sup> while *Genesis B* is an ‘explanatory renarrativization’<sup>71</sup> of the Biblical text. According to Doane, while the Old Saxon version is rather more dependent—in those parts that do not overlap—on the Biblical text, it is still a startlingly original work with no known source.<sup>72</sup>

In considering the textual narrative it is important to remember that two leaves are missing and that *Genesis A* breaks off after a description of the rivers of paradise and *Genesis B* begins with the ban on eating the fruit of the tree of knowledge. The text opens with the pious statement that it is fitting to praise God, then continues with an account of

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<sup>66</sup> For both traditions see John Lowden, “Concerning the Cotton Genesis and Other Illustrated Manuscripts of Genesis,” *Gesta* 31 (1992).

<sup>67</sup> Palatinus Latinus Ms. 1447.

<sup>68</sup> A.N. Doane, *The Saxon Genesis. An edition of the West Saxon Genesis B and the Old Saxon Vatican Genesis* (London, 1991).

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> Lowden, “Concerning the Cotton Genesis and Other Illustrated Manuscripts of Genesis.”

<sup>71</sup> Doane, *The Saxon Genesis. An edition of the West Saxon Genesis B and the Old Saxon Vatican Genesis*.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 94.

Lucifer's rebellion and the subsequent creation of hell and the world. *Genesis B* begins in a more dramatic style. It reiterates and expands the tale of Lucifer's fall and takes it further, giving Lucifer's own account of the event and his address to his fellows in hell. He goes on to say that his greatest grief is that Adam shall inherit what should have been theirs and offers rewards to any who can bring about Adam's downfall. Another section of the poem is missing here and the known part continues with one of the devils preparing to breach the walls of hell to do Satan/Lucifer's bidding. He goes first to Adam, saying he is a messenger from God, who bids him eat from the tree of knowledge. Adam, suspicious, refuses and the tempter turns his attentions to Eve: his strategy consists chiefly of threatening her with God's anger against Adam if she does not convince him to eat the fruit. To test the good faith of the tempter, she tastes the fruit and is rewarded with a vision of God in glory. Convinced of the tempter's *bone fides*, she is able to persuade Adam to eat. The tempter then reveals himself in his true shape, and while the pair realise what they have done, he returns to hell. Adam's anger is directed at Eve and she accepts the blame, but both decide that they must humble themselves and beg God to show them how they can make amends. *Genesis B* ends here and *Genesis A* continues with the confrontation with God, the judgement on the serpent and on Adam and Eve, God's clothing of the pair and their expulsion.

Most of the studies on the text of Junius 11 have concentrated on the degree of orthodoxy shown by the poems, and in particular *Genesis B*, the poet's attitude to Adam and Eve and the degree of sympathy shown to them. In general lines, the earlier scholars saw the poet exonerating Adam and Eve, or at least excusing them from much blame.<sup>73</sup> Woolfe, presumably taking her cue from Augustine in *Genesi ad litteram*,<sup>74</sup> sees Eve not as an innocent, but prideful and ambitious,<sup>75</sup> and Satan as the 'eternal outcast' filled with illegitimate pride.<sup>76</sup> More convincing is

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<sup>73</sup> For example S. Humphreys Gurteen, *The epic of the Fall of Man* (London, 1896). C.W. Kennedy, *The Caedmon Poems* (London, 1916), B.J. Timmer, *The later Genesis* (Oxford, 1954) and J.M. Evans, "Genesis B and its background," *Review of English Studies* 14 new series (1963).

<sup>74</sup> PL 34.415.

<sup>75</sup> R. Woolfe, "The Fall of Man in Genesis B and the Mystère d'Adam," in *Studies in Old English literature in honor of Arthur G. Brodeur* (New York, 1973) pp. 187–199. Vickrey would also seem not to rule out that Eve acted out of a nascent pride. John F. Vickrey, "The Vision of Eve in Genesis B," *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies* 44 (1969).

<sup>76</sup> R. Woolfe, "The devil in Old English poetry," *Review of English Studies* IV new series (1953).

Vickrey's contention that a ninth century audience would recognize the falseness of Eve's vision and the irony of a vision of judgement being taken as a sign of approval. He also argues convincingly that they would also take Eve's failure to realise the nature of her vision as in no way exonerating her.<sup>77</sup> His thesis that *Genesis B* must be seen as an allegory of the physical sense (Eve) and the intellect (Adam) is taken further by Burchmore who gives an argument based on Erugenia for the deception of the intellect by the senses.<sup>78</sup> Various other writers have contributed other ideas, but it is a measure of the polyinterpretability of the text that there is little agreement among scholars and certainly no consensus. However, by treating the visual and textual narratives as separate elements and comparing them, it can be seen that there are fewer discrepancies than is often thought.

### 3.2.2 *Visual Strategies*

In discussing how the artist of Junius 11 told his story it is essential to consider various aspects that have been the source of much discussion. The first of these is what is often called pictorial displacement, the images that seem to relate to another part of the text than that to which they 'should' belong. Many of the problems found by scholars derive from attempts to bring the illustration exactly into line with the adjacent text. The majority of the miniatures can be seen as fitting neatly into the scheme of the text, but there are exceptions, two of them being temptation scenes. The first of the 'out of step' miniatures is that of God surrounded by angels on page 2. Ohlgren, while admitting that there is no basis in either the poem or the Bible for this, identifies it as Lucifer announcing his rebellion to God.<sup>79</sup> If we consider the purely visual source we see God enthroned with angels, something that would easily conform to the poem's opening exhortation that it is right and fit to praise God. Ohlgren transfers this sentiment to the frontispiece, which again would be out of step with the text. I would suggest that the frontispiece is not specifically linked to *Genesis*, but serves all the poems and their underlying theme of Heilsgeschichte. Certainly a *Majestas* frontispiece to an entire work would conform to tradition.

<sup>77</sup> Vickrey, "The Vision of Eve in Genesis B."

<sup>78</sup> Susan Burchmore, "Traditional exegesis and the question of guilt in the Old English *Genesis B*," *Traditio* 41 (1985).

<sup>79</sup> Ohlgren, "The illustrations of the Caedmon *Genesis* as a guide to the interpretation of the text".

The second 'out of step' miniature is that on page 20. This is an admittedly difficult miniature to interpret. The lower part, given the late tenth century context, is easy enough. Satan is bound in hell while a smaller devil places his hands between his. This could be a reference to a ritual of service. The same devil, we can presume, bursts from hell, immediately under a tree with the serpent wound round it. Eve holding her arm looks on. The difficult part is the two figures on the right, Adam and Eve, who point in that direction. Karkov sees this not so much as the temptation of Eve as a visual preface to the story of the fall. She argues this very convincingly and indeed it could be seen as an introduction to the material dealt with in *Genesis B*.<sup>80</sup> I would only add that the two pointing figures could be indicating not only the story of the fall but the entire work, going beyond man's loss to his redemption.

The second of Karkov's attempts to deal with pictorial dislocation is the temptation scene on page 24. (fig. 19) This, she maintains, is not the temptation of Eve, but the first temptation of Adam as described in the text. Karkov's argument is based on the androgynous nature of Adam and Eve in the illustrations of *Junius 11*, while admitting that Eve's nipples are 'usually more pronounced' she goes on to say that 'the artist is by no means consistent in his use of this detail.'<sup>81</sup> I would contend that, even though there are inconsistencies in the appearance of the couple—and not just the couple, the Logos' appearance varies very considerably, as does that of the tempter—the artist, unlike the majority of his Carolingian predecessors, leaves us in no doubt which is male and which is female. Other than where her breasts would be hidden by her pose on page 36, Eve always has nipples. This last instance seems odd, as Adam does have nipples, but is unmistakably male because of his beard. Adam, too, as Karkov has said, is frequently shown with nipples, but not consistently so and these being depicted in the centre of his breasts. Eve, on the other hand, has nipples that are not only more prominent, but differently placed, being drawn at the bottom of the breasts, to give an impression of full, hanging breasts in contrast to the flat male chest of Adam. Karkov deals with another instance of pictorial displacement in the scene of Noah's drunkenness, which she

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<sup>80</sup> Karkov, *Text and picture in Anglo-Saxon England: narrative strategies in the Junius 11 manuscript*.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

argues is placed at the end of the story for effect. I see no reason why the undoubtedly female figure on page 24 should be declared to be Adam, simply on the grounds of the adjacent text. Here the text has clearly influenced Karkov as she sees suggestions of the demonic in the tempter here. While one might expect that the temptation of Adam would be shown, this is by no means the only episode not illustrated that a modern reader would expect to be shown; however, we must consider what aspects were important to the late tenth century artist and his readers. A twenty-first century perception of the story, and today we tend to concentrate on the narrative aspects, can differ very considerably from that of the tenth century, which in its turn is not necessarily the same as the ninth century poet's intention. It cannot be emphasised sufficiently that the miniatures relate only to a late tenth or very early eleventh century interpretation, and that being so, the absence of illustration is as important and telling as what is represented.

One of the more intriguing problems is the use of red or brown ink for the outline drawings. Karkov maintains that this is in no sense colour typology, except for the fall of Lucifer and the rebel angels on page 3,<sup>82</sup> whereas Ohlgren considers that the usage up to the end of the fall narrative is indeed based on a colour typology. He claims that the use of red or brown ink in the drawing of the outlines of Junius 11 is used to emphasise the significance of certain aspects of the work, and that red was 'usually reserved for the Deity,'<sup>83</sup> and that the colour usage 'contrasts two modes of spiritual existence, one blessed and the other damned.'<sup>84</sup> While I am in agreement with him that colour is used to emphasise certain aspects, to my mind his division is a great over-simplification of the matter and cannot be taken as the basis for a colour typology or to support an argument for typological style in an iconographic programme in Junius 11 or other Anglo-Saxon work.<sup>85</sup> A closer analysis shows a great deal of inconsistency in the use of red or brown ink for outlines and it is certainly not clear cut that 'The colors red

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<sup>82</sup> Karkov, *Text and picture in Anglo-Saxon England: narrative strategies in the Junius 11 manuscript*.

<sup>83</sup> Ohlgren, "The illustrations of the Caedmon Genesis as a guide to the interpretation of the text".

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> D.F. Johnson, "A program of illumination in the Old English Hexateuch," in *The Old English Hexateuch, aspects and approaches*, ed. Rebecca Barnhouse and B.C. Withers (Kalamazoo, 2000).



and brown are employed by the artist to reinforce the thematic contrast between the blessed and the damned, the faithful and the faithless, the obedient and the disobedient.' I have considered only those miniatures that deal with the creation and the fall of man, but it is only for these miniatures that this 'thematic contrast' is claimed.<sup>86</sup>

All miniatures from pages 3 to 34 contain some red, all, except for page 13, red outline. From page 36 the use of red is much less: a small amount of red decoration appears on page 41, and red outline on page 44. It is also clear that red is not reserved for heaven, God and the unfallen angels. While it could be argued that on page 3 Lucifer and his followers had not yet fallen, they were still in the act of rebellion, which does not agree with assertion that red is used to denote faithfulness. Nowhere is the Logos shown in full red outline: the greatest amount of red outline is to be found on page 3, but the head and features of the Logos here are outlined in brown. In most cases the red outline of the Logos is confined to his toga, a sleeve and one hand. It is noteworthy that it precisely these features that are outlined in red when the tempter is shown in his angelic form. Altogether Lucifer, the serpent and the tempter are shown with red outline on four occasions—with the serpent having red decoration on another two. Heaven is shown in red on two occasions while the hell mouth receives subsidiary red outlines, also on two occasions; and further, the stones of hell have red outlines on page 16. While the Logos is shown with red on more occasions—seven—than Lucifer/ serpent/ the tempter, and heaven has more red than hell, the frequency of use for the 'negative' subjects precludes Ohlgren's somewhat simplistic division.

Nevertheless, the use of red has significance; the fact that brown lines have been gone over in red makes this clear. This idea is reinforced by the figures where part is drawn in red and part in brown. It is very noticeable in the figure of the Logos on page 3. There the figure is drawn in red, except for his face, but the lances in his hand are in brown. The extremely careful division of lances and hand shows that not only was this intentional, but carefully worked out. Nor would I argue with Ohlgren's conclusion that colour is used to heighten contrast, but would suggest that the colour usage is both more and less complex than Ohlgren sees it. It is more complex because, as has been shown, the 'good' are not simply depicted in red and the 'bad' or fallen

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<sup>86</sup> See appendix C for a detailed analysis.

in brown. In my view the desire of the artist to emphasise certain aspects and contrasts, to bring across his narrative in an immediate and telling way, is the reason for the choice of ink colour. It is less complex, because if we compare it with the textual narrative, we can see a pattern of vocabulary analogous to the use of red ink. In spite of Ohlgren's assertion that 'The artist...has deliberately attempted to approximate certain poetic techniques and themes in pictorial form,' he has not taken the actual vocabulary of the poems into account, perhaps because he was trying to tie the visual narrative tightly to a dominant textual narrative. There is indeed a vocabulary of contrast, when the poets, especially the author of *Genesis B*, deal with the fall of the rebel angels and the temptation and fall of man. In my opinion the use of red ink is linked to a vocabulary of light, and the instances where red is used are when the artist wants to draw attention to this aspect of the story, but unlike the poet, the artist draws attention to those aspects only when there is a contrast. If red were to be linked chiefly to God, then the Logos would be consistently shown in red. The fact that the *Majestas* on page ii is in brown ink should be sufficient to dispense with this idea. The fact that red is used very sparingly in the creation scenes is because there was no need to emphasise that God and his creation were splendid.

The first major use of red is on page 3 showing Lucifer's rebellion and fall. If Lucifer was shown in red because he was still one of the blessed, this contradicts the fact that he is shown pointing out his throne in the 'north and west' and urging his followers on. These same followers also have significant parts outlined in red. This is an act of rebellion, and thus Lucifer and his supporters already belong to the damned. Nor do the loyal angels receive much red. Clearly the use of red cannot be on the lines of saved/damned. It is not only the use of such words as 'leohte' and 'wlite,' but their context that is significant. The fall of Lucifer is recounted three times, becoming more elaborate with each retelling. In the first the rebels are described as 'crowned before with radiance and light' and being cast into a place 'enshrouded in eternal night' and become 'dusky spirits,' 'cloaked in night.' The second version of the fall of Lucifer is found in *Genesis B* and gives a fuller account and more graphic descriptions. Lucifer is described as 'radiant hued,' 'like unto the shining stars' and showered in 'heavenly light.' He found that 'his form was beautiful and bright, gleaming and fair of hue.' As a punishment for his presumption, God cast him and

his followers into 'darkness, deep under the earth,' in the 'mirk of hell' to suffer the 'never-ending watches of the night.' His followers had 'sought another home devoid of light and filled with fire—a mighty flaming death' where Satan addressed them, he 'who formerly was fairest of angels, most radiant in heaven' whom God had hurled down to 'depths of torment on that bed of death' and told to be ruler of the 'black abyss.' The story is then told through Satan's eyes: he who had been 'God's angel, radiant hued in heaven' but now, as he says, suffering 'hell, fire and darkness, bottomless and grim' in the 'black mists.' Twice Satan says God has robbed them of 'light' and then that he no longer has 'any hope of light.'

The continual emphasis of the contrast between light and dark is an essential element of the story. It is the emphasis between two states; in this sense Olghren is correct to say that it is between the blessed and the damned, but it is not a simple contrast between those who are faithful and those who rebel. Light is inherent to the angelic state, but it is given by God—God created Lucifer and made him the fairest and brightest of the angels: as a result of his rebellion God takes that light from him. Lightness and radiance are in God's gift, and the deprivation of these is the punishment for sin. There is a great deal of difference between the emphasis laid on this contrast, and that between the rebellious and loyal angels; the latter merit scarcely a mention. We are simply told that 'the angels who kept their faith with God dwelt in the heights of heaven.' The artist of the Junius manuscript reflects this emphasis by showing this contrast between darkness and radiant light. Where there is no contrast, or very little, he uses brown ink, even when depicting scenes, such as the Christ in glory on page ii, in which we may assume that light was essential. Like the poet, the artist, in the scenes in which he uses red, is making sure that the consequences of the rebellion and the changed fate of Lucifer is apparent. The same applies to page 17. The Logos may be largely shown in brown, but he is surrounded by light, as if light is emanating from him, the actuality that gives radiance, and it is the radiance that is perceived. This contrast is made the more extreme and poignant because it is how the fallen angels perceive themselves. Lucifer, in his pride, saw himself as 'gleaming and fair of hue,' and he is equally aware of his loss of light.

When the miniature on page 20 is viewed in this light, the use of red and brown becomes also a question of emphasis—the world of light that the humans enjoy before the fall is contrasted with that

of the dark world of Satan. (fig. 20) Nor would it be lost on the tenth and eleventh century reader that in this circular composition we are seeing a preview of man's fate too: he too will be bereft of light and forced into a world of death and darkness, as a result of his own faults. As Karkov says, this miniature encapsulates the events leading up to the fall of man, but it also prepares the reader for the tragic consequences, and puts before him with clarity the results of sin. The use of red and brown here is again used to emphasise what the poet will say.

The illustration on page 20 introduces a new factor into the use of red. It brings the human element into play. Up to this point the contrast has been between the state of the rebel angels before and after they fell, and their awareness of their state, whether of brightness or darkness. So much is clear from the text, and the illustrations depict not only how they were, but how they perceived themselves to be. From now on we see through human eyes, and more particularly through Eve's eyes. It has long been a source of puzzlement why Eve's vision was not illustrated: as Vickery has pointed out, it is central to man's fall. Not only is Eve convinced by this vision, but because of it she is able to convince Adam. It is possible that the miniature on page 20, while it does not give Eve's vision of God in Majesty—the vision she describes to Adam—it does give a view of paradise, as Eve saw it after tasting the apple. Then 'the heavens appeared to her more radiant, and the earth more fair, the great and mighty handiwork of God.' This would make sense of the serpent being shown in red, and in the following pages the tempter, not only being shown as an angel, but also being partially in red: she describes the tempter as a 'radiant messenger' and she can tell by his attire he is a 'herald of our Lord, the King of heaven.' The artist, then, is giving us a picture of the world as it appears to Eve. This world does exist and she does see it; she perceives it as radiant. This may be a clue as to why the vision of God in Majesty is not shown—that is not a true vision; Eve does not truly see God enthroned. The poet makes it clear time and again that Eve had no thought of rebellion, no desire to disobey God, but her 'heart and erring wisdom' were deceived. It may be said that this is the main theme of this part of the poem, that man's sin is his 'erring wisdom' of not being able to distinguish good from evil, however paradoxical this may sound in the context. The text insists that words and long arguments were used

to seduce both Adam and Eve. Eve is blackmailed and bullied by the tempter after his unsuccessful attempt to convince Adam.<sup>87</sup>

I know God's anger will be roused against you when from this journey through far-stretching space. I come again to Him, and bring this message, that ye refuse to do His bidding.

As He hath sent commandment hither from the East. He needs must come and speak with you, forsooth, nor may his minister proclaim His mission! Truly I know His wrath will be kindled against you in His heart!

But if thou, woman, wilt hearken to my words, thou mayest devise good counsel. Bethink thee in thy heart to turn away His vengeance from you both, as I shall show thee. Eat of this fruit! Then shall thine eyes grow keen, and thou shalt see afar through all the world, yea! Unto the throne of God, thy Lord and have his favour. Thou mayest rule the heart of Adam, if thou incline to do it and he doth trust thy words, if thou wilt tell him truly what law thou hast in mind, to keep God's precepts and commandments. His heart will cease from bitter strife and evil answers, as we two tell him for his good. Urge him earnestly to do thy bidding, lest ye be displeasing to the Lord your God. If thou fulfil this undertaking, thou best of Women, I will not tell our Lord what evil Adam spake against me his wicked words accusing me of falsehood, saying I am eager in transgression, a servant of the Fiend and not God's angel. But I know well the angel race, and the high courts of heaven. Long ages have I served the Lord my God with loyal heart. I am not like a devil

The use of red in the upper register of page 20 may be the artist's way of emphasising the deception played upon Eve, or even the degree of her self-deception. The world is fair, and still fairer in her eyes, including the tree and the serpent. Nor would this contradict Karkov's reading of the figures of Adam and Eve pointing to the initial A on page 21, the upper head of this zoomorphic initial echoing that of the serpent on page 20. Once the tempter's duplicity is revealed, Eve mourns, not only because she has broken God's commandment, but because 'she beheld the radiance disappear.' I think we can take it that 'radiance' refers not only to the changed appearance of the tempter, or even the fading of the heavenly vision, but also that brilliance that she had perceived in paradise. From this point the use of red in the illustrations is severely limited. The life of ease and pleasure in paradise has ended: the text makes clear that Adam already suffers from hunger

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<sup>87</sup> Ch. XII 547–587.

and thirst, and he worries what they can do without food or shelter. *Genesis B* ends with Adam bitterly regretting that he ever saw Eve, and the couple hiding, not from God, but from each other, and beseeching God to forgive them. The artist shows their world, as they now see it, shorn of its radiance and glory; only a glimpse of the glory of God as he pronounces sentence is vouchsafed the fallen pair. Just as the poet succeeds in causing the reader to identify with Adam and Eve, the artist gives added dramatic impact to his visual narrative by showing places, people and events as they appear to the protagonists.

There has been considerable discussion as to whether the tempter actually took on the form of an angel. The text is, indeed, ambiguous and it is perhaps a measure of the unacknowledged influence of the illustrations that this has often been taken to be so without any further discussion. Certainly Burchmore argues persuasively that Eve's perception was faulty.<sup>88</sup> It is indeed possible that the artist wanted to show Eve's perception as faulty, but we are seeing through her eyes and thus for us the perceived reality is that of an angel. Nor must we forget that the tempter is more than once portrayed as angel. In the *Apocalypsis Mosis* Eve tells that she saw Satan 'like an angel' when he tempted her. In the *Vita Adae et Evae* again the devil appears to Eve in the form of an angel to persuade her to break off her penance. Perhaps more significantly, in the Old English poem *Juliana*, again a subordinate devil takes the form of an angel to tempt Juliana and, when discovered, admits it was he who tempted Adam and Eve. Evans also notes that there was a 'good patristic precedent for the angelic temptation.'<sup>89</sup> According to Tatian, Justin Martyr and Irenaeus, Lucifer fell *because* he tempted man, and this may have had some influence on such a tradition. That a tradition existed is evidenced by its occurrence in later mystery plays such as those of Norwich and Coventry.<sup>90</sup> While the visual representation of the tempter as an angel is extremely rare it is not unique to Junius 11. On f.6r of *La penitence d'Adam*, Paris Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. Fr. 1837 is a miniature by the Bruges Master of 1482 showing the scene described in the *Vita*. In this the tempter takes the form of a red-robed angel. These instances are obviously much later than the Junius manuscript,

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<sup>88</sup> Burchmore, "Traditional exegesis and the question of guilt in the Old English *Genesis B*."

<sup>89</sup> Evans, "Genesis B and its background".

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

and extremely sporadic, nevertheless they are worthwhile noting as indications that such ideas were in circulation over a long period.

Another problematic miniature is that of the creation of Eve on page 9. *Genesis A* gives an account of this—that of Adam is missing—with the command to increase and multiply. However, there are elements in the illustration of the creation of Eve that do not seem to come from the text of *A*, in particular, the ladder, Michael and the angels in heaven. It is possible that these refer to Adam and Eve being like angels, or to the fact that God planned man to take the place of the fallen angels—he might people with a ‘better host, the great creation, the native seats and gleaming mansions.’ However this does not account for the ladder, reaching from paradise to heaven. The ladder is occupied by an angel in the illustration, and the *titulus* states ‘*her godes englar astigen of heouenan into paradisum.*’ Karkov takes the whole miniature to express more than the creation of Eve. It is, in her view, the return of order and stability in heaven, the ‘filling of the void created by the Fall of the rebel angels,’ a pre-figuration of the expulsion, last judgement and Jacob’s ladder, linking Adam not only to Jacob, but to the rest of *Genesis*.<sup>91</sup> Olghren sees in it a reference to Matthew 16:19 and possible references to Isaiah 40:20 and Bede’s reference to Clement’s discussion of creation. He mentions the ladder as a ‘striking detail,’ but makes no further comment on it.<sup>92</sup> In his conclusions he interprets Michael standing in the doorway as foreshadowing the ‘end of man’s spiritual exile,’ the final days being the ‘consummation toward which the entire biblical message of redemption is directed.’<sup>93</sup>

As the matter stands, the interpretation of page 9 obviously causes some difficulty. However, it is possible that an angel or angels at these scenes could have been an iconographic tradition.<sup>94</sup> This still does not account for either the number of the angels—nine including Michael and the angel on the ladder—since this is not in accordance with an angel representing the days of creation, nor does it account for the ladder or the angel’s place on it. Olson comments on the later parts of the

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 55–58.

<sup>92</sup> Olghren, “The illustrations of the Caedmon *Genesis* as a guide to the interpretation of the text”.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105.

<sup>94</sup> As in the two older Carolingian Bibles and certain works of the ‘Cotton *Genesis* Recension.’

Old English Hexateuch that the ladder is frequently used as a means of expressing communication with God, the means by which God moves from one domain, the heavenly, to the other, the earthly.<sup>95</sup> However, in this miniature neither God nor man is on the ladder. Obviously it binds heaven and paradise, the human and the angelic, but in what sense? In this the *titulus* only raises more questions. Neither Karkov nor Olghren discuss the *titulus*, and even Krapp merely records it without comment.<sup>96</sup> Nor does Stanley mention it.<sup>97</sup> At first sight it seems simple enough. A straightforward translation would be 'Here God's angels descend from heaven into paradise.'<sup>98</sup> We are then faced with question as to why the angels should descend into paradise. This discussion is not without its consequences for the interpretation of the scene. If it is to be regarded as an indication of man's original destiny to fill the place left by the fallen angels, which would seem to be more than reasonable, it does not deal with the problem raised by the *titulus*. Even if we regard the *titulus* as meaning 'ascending to heaven from paradise' why then does it talk of God's angels, and not man? What is possible is that when man is not just '*englum gelice*,' but worthy of heaven by being a new angel, he will then ascend. In this case the angel on the ladder would be man as he was intended to be, and the ladder would indicate that he must work to achieve this—he must ascend from his earthly self. This would be consistent with Michael, not barring the way but holding out his hands in greeting, and the angel on the left of the door holding it open and prominently showing the key. The door to heaven was closed to man until he was/is worthy. The key, as Karkov has pointed out, bears a strong resemblance to the key brandished by St. Peter on f. 7r of the New Minster *Librum Vitae*, possibly a reminder that the way to heaven was via the Church.<sup>99</sup> A further indication that this was the intended meaning is found in the Rule of St. Benedict itself where in chapter seven it discusses humility and the grades of humility necessary to reach heavenly perfection. There it likens the two sides of a ladder to

<sup>95</sup> Mary C. Olson, *Fair and varied forms*, ed. Francis G. Gentry, Studies in medieval history and culture (New York, London, 2003), p. 111.

<sup>96</sup> G.P. Krapp, *The Junius Manuscript, The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records* (London and New York, 1931).

<sup>97</sup> E. Stanley, G., "Notes on the text of the Old English Genesis," in *Modes of interpretation in Old English literature. Essays in honour of Stanley B. Greenfield* (Toronto, 1986).

<sup>98</sup> My thanks to Prof. Rolf Bremmer for his help in dealing with certain problems in the meaning of the *titulus*.

<sup>99</sup> London, British Library, Ms. Stowe 944.



the body and soul striving for that perfection.<sup>100</sup> The problem of this ambiguity in the *titulus* may be due to the writer, possibly slightly later, misunderstanding or not being very familiar with the Rule. It is worth remembering that Ælfric wrote his letter to the monks of Evesham so that they would understand the *Regula Concordia*, based on Benedictine Rule, by which they were supposed to live. It is clear that the same hand was not responsible for both the *tituli* and the body text. Certainly this particular *titulus* was not an instruction to the artist as it was written after the drawing was made. Under magnification it can be seen that a number of letters are written over the red frame at the top of the miniature. It is possible, given the somewhat unconventional aspects of the work that a reader, possibly less learned than the makers, tried to define the illustrations. The fact that the other *tituli* are all very straightforward and the use of them ceases as both the poem and the illustrations become more difficult, suggests that it is possible that the reader became discouraged in the attempt.

All the miniatures considered here are the work of one artist, and he seems to have developed a narrative that both lends the same dramatic force as the textual narrative, and also gives the same understanding to the dilemmas of the first pair. The miniature of the creation of Eve is a case in point. Ignoring for the present the problems of the ladder and angels, the miniature shows the creation of Eve in an intimate and immediate way. The composition is complex, not following a 'reading' or chronological order, the axis being the angel on the ladder. The eye is led naturally to the group of angels standing in the door of heaven and then follows the column down to the sleeping Adam and the Logos

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<sup>100</sup> *Unde, frateres, si summae humilitatis volumus culmen attingere et ad exaltationem illam caelestem ad quam per praesentis vitae humilitatem ascenditur volumus velociter pervenire, actibus nostris ascendentibus scala illa erigenda est quae in somnio Iacob apparuit, per quam ei descendentes et ascendentes angeli monstrabantur. Non aliud sine dubio descensus ille et ascensus a nobis intellegitur nisi exaltatione descendere et humilitate ascendere. Scala vero ipsa erecta nostra est vita in saeculo, quae humiliato corde a Domino erigatur ad caelum. Latera enim eius scalae dicimus nostrum esse corpus et animam, in qua latera diversos gradus humilitatis vel disciplinae evocatio divina ascendendo inseruit.* Thus, brethren, if we wish to reach the greatest height of humility, and quickly arrive at that heavenly exaltation to which, in the present life, ascent is made by humility, then climbing by our actions, we must erect the ladder that appeared to Jacob in his dream, by which angels ascending and descending were shown to him (cf. Gen 28:12). Without a doubt, we understand this ascending and descending to be nothing but that we descend by pride and ascend by humility. However, the erected ladder is our life in the present world, which, humble heart, is lifted up to heaven by the Lord. For we say that our body and our soul are the two sides of this ladder; and to these sides divine calling has set various degrees of humility or discipline which we must mount.

withdrawing the rib. This scene is balanced by the scene on the other side of the ladder, the animation of Eve. In both of the scenes the Logos bends towards the human, implying a closeness and concern. In particular the artist shows the relationship between Eve and the Logos as one of affection and trust. Eve looks up at her creator with adoration, her hand held up in wonder. For his part the Logos holds her hand and looks down at her: even more than in the Touronian Bibles she is shown as an independent creation of God, her relationship with her Lord not dependent on Adam, but immediate and direct. The artist already prepares for Eve's good intentions by showing her loving and worshipful attitude to God. It is even possible that the physical difference shown between the Logos in the two scenes is also preparing the way for us to see the narrative unfold through Eve's eyes. The angels in heaven and the ladder could have been referred to in the missing leaves, or that there was something that caused the artist to emphasise this link between the heavenly and earthly creations. It is also possible that the miniature is a metaphor for the words of the Benedictine Rule and its ascent of the ladder of humility, with Adam representing the soul and Eve the body.

The missing leaves seem likely to have contained part of *Genesis B*, as this part of the text begins with God's command not to eat the fruit of 'that one tree' and they must beware of that fruit. Adam and Eve bow before him and thank him 'for all, for His teachings and counsels.' This could refer to lines 196–205 of *A*, in which the humans are told to be fruitful and are given dominion over 'the salt sea, and over all the world,' but as this is immediately followed by a description of paradise, it would seem likely that a good deal of text is missing. If we assume that the artist's intention was to let us see the world as Eve saw it, this accounts for what is often seen as a strange omission. Various miniatures, those on pages 11, 13 and possibly 20, seem to be Adam and Eve with the trees of life and the knowledge of good and evil. The text goes into great detail of the differences between the two and the consequences of consuming their fruit:<sup>101</sup>

...two trees laden with fruit and clothed in increase. Almighty God, High King of heaven, had set them there that the mortal sons of men might choose of good and evil, weal and woe. Unlike was their fruit! Of the

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<sup>101</sup> Ch. XI, 460–500.

one tree the fruit was pleasant, fair and winsome, excellent and sweet. That was the tree of life. He might live for ever in the world who ate of that fruit, so that old age pressed not heavily upon him, nor grievous sickness, but he might live his life in happiness for ever, and have the favour of the King of heaven here on earth. And glory was ordained for him in heaven, when he went hence.

The other tree was dark, sunless, and full of shadows: that was the tree of death. Bitter the fruit it bore! And every man must know both good and evil; in this world abased he needs must suffer, in sweat and sorrow, who tasted of the fruit that grew upon that tree. Old age would rob him of his strength and joy and honour, and death take hold upon him. A little time might he enjoy this life, and then seek out the murky realm of flame, and be subject unto fiends. There all perils are the worst for men for ever.

On none of the pages does the artist make an attempt to differentiate between the trees. Ohlgren limits the trees to the miniature on page 20 and is obviously puzzled by the fact that there is no real difference between them, only identifying the tree of knowledge by the serpent coiled round it.<sup>102</sup> Karkov is less concerned with the lack of differentiation, being more concerned to point out, that despite the missing leaves there is no real disruption in either textual or visual narrative.<sup>103</sup> I agree with Karkov that page 13 of the manuscript shows Adam and Eve with the two trees and that, to a certain extent, the distance between the couple and God is shown by his withdrawal in a mandorla, where he is depicted, not full face but in profile. This is clearly a candidate for a representation of the two trees, as *Genesis B* begins on page 13, and the ban is given. However, if we look at the visual narrative, instead of making the one-on-one attempt to tie the miniatures precisely to the text, supplementary readings are possible. The miniature on page 11 shows the Logos within a walled city, standing on a raised platform, his right hand held up in blessing or instruction and his left holding a book. Below him are the two humans, Adam on the left, Eve on the right, separated by a tree. Both of them reach out and hold a branch of the trees beyond them and under their feet are various animals. Without question this can be regarded as man's dominion over the animals, but there could also be other references. One of these could be the biblical

<sup>102</sup> Ohlgren, "The illustrations of the Caedmon Genesis as a guide to the interpretation of the text".

<sup>103</sup> Karkov, *Text and picture in Anglo-Saxon England: narrative strategies in the Junius 11 manuscript*.

command to increase and multiply: the branch held by Adam bears a phallic-shaped cluster of fruit and that of Eve a triangular flower with a round centre. The dominion over the beasts and the command to multiply could be conflated here. However, there is more to the miniature. The Logos has already partially withdrawn, leaving the earth to man. The raised fingers and the book denote both his blessing and his laws. The architecture is possibly a reference to Augustine's city of God, but more importantly here is the fact that the wall surrounding the deity is interrupted at his feet by a thin line. Even this line is broken by the topmost leaves of the centre tree. Is this, then, the tree of life, the cosmic means by which man can ascend to heaven, carrying within it an implication of Christ's death on the cross? The miniature encapsulates the situation as God gives the world to man—man's dominion under the law of God, his tie with the earth and even with sexuality or procreation, but with his eyes firmly fixed on God and heaven, with the tree as a binding factor. The ram that rests under Adam's right foot may be regarded as an intimation of sacrifice and the reflection of future redemption that will be necessary.

The miniature on page 13 shows the couple with their attention on each other, above them the Logos is present but no longer active in their affairs. Both point to a different tree, and since the animals below them are busily eating it may be possible that their gestures indicate a discussion on the edibility of the fruit. However it may refer to the apocryphal tradition that Adam had care of the male animals and Eve of the female. What is clear in this miniature is that the two are left to their own devices—the earth is theirs and their actions and decisions are theirs alone, but they are always answerable to God. The message here is free will, under the law of God. This brings us to the question of why the artist has not made clear which tree is which. Is this because in the textual narrative doubt is sown? Is it because the difference is only visible to the spiritual eye, not the physical? If the latter is the case then we are faced with the irony of knowing that one of the trees is death, but we are no more certain of which than Adam and Eve. Once again the artist has placed us in the position of the protagonists; we see through their eyes, we share their knowledge and doubts.

*A* does not (now) include a description of the fall, so the question arises as to whether that part of *A* was already lost when the manuscript was made, whether it was given on the missing leaves or whether it was deliberately omitted in favour of the account in *B*. The question of why *B*

is interpolated can never be satisfactorily resolved. It repeats material already used in *A*, chiefly the fall of the rebel angels, but does so in a much more dramatic form and gives Lucifer's version, even his denial of any wrong doing:<sup>104</sup>

God has thrust us out into the black mists. He cannot charge upon us any sin or evil wrought against him in his realm! Yet hath he robbed us of the light and cast us into utter woe.

This unusual position has long been regarded as Milton's inspiration for book II of *Paradise Lost*. It certainly has a dramatic impact on the story; the reader is allowed a glimpse of the plans of Satan for revenge and of the feelings and motives that drive him. The illustrations can give an indication of how Lucifer's sin and punishment were viewed in the late tenth century. It has been remarked that the Anglo-Saxons were more comfortable with heroic pagan virtues or vices than with Christian gentleness.<sup>105</sup> While it is always a risky business to rely on a modern day aesthetic or social response to a picture, I think it can be safely said that any romantic ideas of Lucifer as a 'dark hero,' defiant and magnificent in defeat, is not the visual interpretation here. It is indeed doubtful that such an idea would be considered in the Middle Ages and is probably the product of Romantic readings. In no way is Lucifer, once transformed into Satan, a heroic figure. The poet uses terms such as 'thegn' and 'mead hall,' but these I think must be regarded as the terminology of the day and not an attempt to bring a heroic dimension to Lucifer's revolt. The artist is totally unambiguous here. Hell is shown as place of flames and torment and Satan as bound, held inactive and forced to work through underlings. Not only is his beauty obliterated but it is transformed into bestiality; he is shown with a short pig-like tail (page 16), snake-like locks of hair; he is wingless, except on page 20, and always naked. He is thus deprived not only of his angelic appearance, but set apart from human dignity. His followers too, are shown naked—although the tempter wears a ragged kilt as he gloats over his success—and even occasionally have genitalia; they twist and turn, tumble and fight among themselves, clearly the antithesis of the calm and dignified angels. They are numerous, often small, but frequently appearing in odd corners of hell. Satan is bound

<sup>104</sup> Ch. VIII, 390–393.

<sup>105</sup> For example, Woolfe, "The Fall of Man in Genesis B and the Mystère d'Adam."

and his powers thus limited: he is not God's rival and there is nothing of a dualistic theology here. In this sense the portrayal of Satan in the miniatures is both optimistic, he is not a mighty and supernatural power for evil, and a warning that evil can be sly and insidious, working through unexpected means on human weakness.

Nowhere in the Genesis is the serpent said to be Satan or any other devil, nevertheless such would be the assumption of any medieval audience. *B* makes clear that the tempter is not Satan, but one of his followers—indeed one of his thanes—who would 'have reward for ever, of all that we may win to our advantage, amid these flames' if he can bring about the fall of Adam and Eve—not just Adam, but Eve as well. The tempter's first attempted seduction is that of Adam, who doubts the good faith of the messenger: God need 'not send his ministers.' Then follows the successful temptation of Eve, a temptation based on fear and threat, not on any hope of aggrandisement, and the tempter's *bone fides* 'established' by the vision of God in glory. The poet makes it clear that she still believed that she was acting for the best when she asked Adam to taste the apple.<sup>106</sup>

All this she did with good intent, and knew not so many evils, such grim afflictions would come upon mankind when she was moved to hearken to the counsels of the evil herald; but she hoped to win God's favour by her words, showing such token and pledge of truth unto the man, that the mind of Adam was changed within his breast.

Nor does Adam simply accept Eve's assurances. 'Long she pled, and urged him all the day.' The unconventional approach continues when Adam and Eve realise, even without God's presence, that they have sinned and make no attempt to shift the blame—at least Eve does not—Adam is first inclined to reject her. *Genesis B* leaves the pair covering their nakedness with leaves, but 'bowed in prayer; and every morning they besought Almighty God, the gracious Lord, that he would not forget them, but would teach them how to live thenceforward in the light.'

One of the questions that arises is why is Adam's first temptation not shown? Again if we look at the visual narrative instead of trying to link each incident to the text we see on page 24 Eve standing before

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<sup>106</sup> Ch. XIII, 706–711.

the tempter holding the apple in her left hand,<sup>107</sup> and holding her left elbow in her right hand. This Garnier gives as a sign of perplexity or impotence.<sup>108</sup> The tempter holds his hands out to Eve, both with index fingers extended in a clearly rhetorical gesture. Thus, we have a dubious and uncertain Eve confronted with a persuasive tempter. If we want to link this to the text then an obvious point would be the tempter confronting Eve with Adam's supposed disobedience. What is important here is the artist's insistence on Eve's bewilderment and reluctance: she does not immediately succumb to the tempter's suggestion. This hesitation is emphasised by the illustration on page 28, because here Eve does succumb and eat, while Adam is still dubious. Eve is shown accepting an apple from the tempter and eating another: her seduction is complete. In this miniature Adam leans a little forward towards the tempter, gesturing with his right hand and indicating the disguised devil with his left. His hesitation mirrors that of Eve on page 24. It might not be 'in step' with the text, but it shows very graphically Adam's refusal to accede to the blandishments of the tempter, while Eve is more susceptible. This would accord with the idea that Eve, as an allegory of the senses, is more emotional and easily swayed. The upper register on page 31 continues this symmetry. (fig. 21) The tempter on the left, still in his angelic form, gestures approvingly toward the pair. Eve, holding the apple, pointing to Adam and bending a little in a gesture of supplication hands it to Adam, who receives it with his right hand and gestures with his extended left index finger. The composition is in two definable halves with the apple as focus and apex. It is halfway above the centre of the upper register, and the eye is led to it by the pointing fingers of the tempter and Adam and by the sharp diagonals created by the arms and the tempter's wing.

This is the crucial moment for the narrative. Adam's hand is on the apple, receiving it. In this series of three miniatures the artist has created his own narrative and that is one of enormous tension, analogous to the tension built up in the textual narrative, but independent of it. The poet can describe at length the doubts of the humans, the rhetoric

<sup>107</sup> In contradistinction to the Carolingian works we can speak of an apple here, as this fruit is specifically mentioned in the text. It would seem then that in the intervening 150 years the idea of an apple, rather than a fig as the fatal fruit had taken hold, at least in northern Europe. Whether the ninth century Old Saxon version mentions apples, I do not know, but if it does it would be consonant with delay often found between verbal and visual expression of ideas.

<sup>108</sup> F. Garnier, *Le langage de l'image au moyen âge* (Paris, 1982).

and tactics of the tempter, arousing the sympathy of his readers by stressing the good intentions of one and the evil designs of the other; nor does he omit to mention the terrible consequences of the fall. Despite the reader's knowledge of the outcome, in an acknowledged masterpiece of writing, he becomes a witness to the actual events. The artist builds a similar sort of tension by emphasising the length of time it takes to achieve the devil's ends. In the first of three miniatures he tries his wiles on Eve, and while she is shown holding the apple she has not yet eaten. We are left in suspense for four pages until on page 28 she is shown eating—but at the same time a new tension is built. Will Adam too succumb? Again we must wait, this time for three and a half pages, and then with immense visual rhetorical skill we see Adam take the fruit, but not eat it. The reader's imagination must supply that scene—the missing link between Adam reaching for the apple, and the outcome still not wholly certain, and the scene of the cowering and dismayed humans and the triumphant, crowing devil, now revealed in his true form. Again the allegorical element comes into play: the senses work on the intellect and subvert it. More than this, the artist again enhances the drama in the composition. Adam's foot points down at the triumphant devil, who again points to the fallen pair. The couple have literally fallen, they are on their knees and the eye must follow them down. The tension and drama that the artist has built up is suddenly broken off—the deed is done and its consequences are already felt. The abject position of Adam and Eve contrasts with the jubilant pose of the tempter, both parties knowing that man has fallen and failed his Lord.

It is not known for whom Junius 11 was made, and it is always easy to read too much into iconographic elements. Nevertheless the large size, the extensive (proposed) cycle of illustration, the quality of the parchment and the relative quality of the script point to a work of some importance. It is usually attributed to Christ Church, Canterbury, an attribution strengthened by the stylistic and iconographic similarities to Utrecht Psalter, which was certainly there at this period. The devil shown jeering at Adam and Eve here is recognisably derived from that manuscript. One slight variation is noticeable: the locks of the devil's hair curl upwards in a tighter, more serpentine, form than in the Utrecht Psalter. This can be seen in other illustrations, but it is particularly pronounced here. It is possible that the artist knew a slightly



older work, also probably from Christ Church, the B part of the Leofric Missal in which a devilish *Mors* is shown.<sup>109</sup> Is this a subtle reminder to the reader that man has succumbed not only to the devil, but to death, as God warned? It is possible. Whoever the intended reader was, they may have recognised the echoes of death in the triumphant devil. By choosing to illustrate the scenes he did, the artist, his advisor or patron did more than create a suspenseful visual narrative, he put the emphasis on the human struggle against insidious evil. By making Adam and Eve cautious, showing them resisting the tempter's rhetoric, he does not paint them as evil, but creates a bond between them and the reader, and makes the story a living experience. The sense of identity thus created builds an awareness of the difficult choices that man must face each day, a continuous recreation of the circumstances of the fall, making it into a visual sermon.

Most of what can be seen as the colour distinction in Junius 11 relates to the miniatures that can be associated with *B*. Is this, the artist's response to the greater dramatic impact, to the stronger contrasts, and to the expressions of thoughts and emotions given in direct speech? It seems to me that it is possible that *Genesis B* was chosen to complement the older version because it brought out aspects that the more conventional approach lacked. It is likely that the artist would then respond by not only according those aspects extra emphasis, but also enhancing and dramatising his parallel visual narrative. By highlighting the contrast between radiant light, as it was perceived, and the sombreness of the fate of the fallen, he not only draws attention to the moral lesson, but gives an idea of how self-deception can be the cause of a fall from grace. It has been commented that the educated Anglo-Saxon reader would recognize the references to the last judgement, and would indeed be aware of a degree of irony in Eve's vision,<sup>110</sup> but by making us aware of things as Eve sees them, the artist emphasises the ease by which we can be deluded, and how one can co-operate with self-delusion. The reader's knowledge of what the tempter is, of the plans for the downfall of man and of the event itself and its terrible consequences,

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<sup>109</sup> D.N. Dumville, *Liturgy and the ecclesiastical history of late Anglo-Saxon England: four studies* (Woodbridge, 1992).

<sup>110</sup> Among others by Karkov, *Text and picture in Anglo-Saxon England: narrative strategies in the Junius 11 manuscript*. Also Vickrey, "The Vision of Eve in Genesis B."

is highlighted by seeing the events through Eve's eyes, so that we have a sort of double vision, illusion and reality. There has also been a great deal written on the fact that the poet seems to absolve Adam and Eve from all blame, and indeed the poet does stress the good intentions of Eve in particular.<sup>111</sup> Whether emphasising the purity of Eve's motives is to absolve her from blame in ninth century eyes is very much a point at issue.

Evans points out that *Genesis B* is concerned with filling the hiatus left by the biblical story by supplying motivation for the actions, and, he continues, is not really concerned with the actions but the tension of human drama and dilemma in a given situation.<sup>112</sup> This, while being true to a certain extent, is not the whole story. It is above all, the story of man and how death came to him. We cannot judge it by 21st century ideas of what constitutes sin and what constitutes justice. Evans sums it up thus:<sup>113</sup>

...their [Adam and Eve] errors of judgement, not sins, and the nemesis which overtakes them is determined by causal rather than moral law... The deed... was evil, and the deed is all that matters; the motives, the moral guilt or innocence of the agents, are totally irrelevant, for the law is implacable and a certain action will be followed by certain consequences regardless of the circumstances and the characters of its perpetrators. The path to Hell is paved with good intentions.

The poet is at pains to point out that while the motive of Eve for eating the fruit and inducing Adam to eat it was selfless and pure, the consequences were the direst imaginable. These two aspects are consistently juxta-positioned, and if we take both into consideration, along with this close connection between them we see that while Adam and Eve are not condemned as evil, neither are they excused. It is true that the poet looks at the intentions of the protagonists, but this does not absolve them. We may also assume that the good intentions of the pair were relevant in the late tenth century, so relevant that the interpolated *Genesis B* was not only brought into the work, but was the mostly richly illustrated—and we can deduce this from the number of illustrations

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<sup>111</sup> Notably by Evans, "Genesis B and its background." For a counter argument that the ninth century audience would not absolve the pair see Vickrey, "The Vision of Eve in Genesis B."

<sup>112</sup> Evans, "Genesis B and its background."

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 115.

and spaces left for the other parts. The poem is also the opening to a history of salvation, the story of man's fall and his redemption. The audience of Junius 11 would have perceived the human couple to be at fault. Their failing was to rely on the senses and emotions, those aspects that today would be considered as making them human. In a late tenth century context, particularly that of monastic reform, the striving to be worthy of God, to eradicate the human failings and weaknesses was the main goal. God's plan for mankind was to replace the fallen angels, and man must strive towards this end for his God, and for himself. The miniature of the creation of Eve, assuming that the reading that man's destiny was to replace the fallen angels is correct, can be seen as a prelude to this: heaven is within man's grasp, when he is more than man and has left human weakness behind. Far from being a lenient text, *Genesis B* is a stern and ascetic work. Not great sin, but simple human failing and inadequacy are the faults, and these must be eradicated. The different fates of Lucifer and his followers and Adam and Eve make this clear. For Satan and his devils there is no redemption: they chose to sin, to rebel against the order of God. Adam and Eve were tricked by their own weakness and emotions, not by pride or ambition, not by greed or envy, but their own flawed perception of God's will. The original poem may well, as Burchmore suggests, have been written as a warning against heretics. The fact that it was written in Saxon and at a time that Christianity there was identified with, and indeed almost exclusively confined to the ruling class, gives a dimension that Burchmore did not take into account, but could well be considered a reason for such a work. Perhaps the fear was less of heresy than a relapse into paganism. There seems to have been little evidence of heresy, or fear of it in late Anglo-Saxon England, but paganism did threaten. More than that, the extremely unsettled political situation and the position of the Church, at one minute highly favoured, the next being reduced and limited, would perhaps give rise to a warning about evil counsellors. Æthelred was known as the uncounselled or ill-counselled, and not only in his reign, but in that of Edward the Confessor the depredations of the Norsemen, the sacking of abbeys and churches, the rebellious Godwins and the ills that beset the country could well have seemed the result of a lack of resolution. It is lack of resolution that brings about Adam and Eve's downfall, their failure to abide by what they know is right, and being swayed by their emotions and their senses. Monastic reform sought to bring the emotions and

senses under control, to adhere to God's word, and the problems that beset late Anglo-Saxon England could be seen as a warning for those who did not follow this path.

*Genesis B* gives a clear warning of how easy it is to fall into error, that even with the best of intentions an action may lead to disaster. Evil counsel can be disguised as good, and innocence is no protection. Only by steadfastly adhering to the word of God can man hope to abide in God's favour. It displays the importance of the word of God as it is given, and acknowledged to be given. Those who claim to speak for God, but whose words run counter to those of God are not to be trusted. Man must use his spiritual eyes to discern the truth. It is the service of the artist that he reinforces this message; by showing us the two worlds, that as it is and that as Eve, the vessel of the senses and emotions, believes it to be, he underlines and makes visible the message. Lacking the opportunities of the poet to put such things into words he developed a dramatic and effective visual language. The poet makes effective use of focalisation: his story is not a simple account, but shows us the views of Satan and Eve, interspersed with his own comments, making sure the reader knows that, despite the motives of the protagonists, disaster is to follow. The artist, by using Eve as a lens, showing us her world and events through her eyes, not only increases the dramatic potential, but brings home to the reader the analogous situation in his own life. Most scholars have been less than kind to the artist of the Junius manuscript<sup>114</sup> and it is true that the miniatures lack the grace and liveliness of the Harley Psalter or the magnificence of such works as the Benedictional of Æthelwold or the Sacramentary of Robert of Jumièges. However, the artist has created a vital visual narrative wherein the reader not only sees the story unfold in a particularly tense and dramatic fashion, but is drawn into it as if he is a participant. This last must be seen to be a particularly effective means of bringing home the message, not a sugared pill, but an immediate reminder that the faults that brought about the downfall of Adam and Eve are just those weaknesses that are present, insidious and hidden, in the reader as well, and that the temptation to which they succumbed is just as real and immediate for the contemporary.

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<sup>114</sup> For example Gameson describes his draughtsmanship as mediocre. Gameson, *The role of art in the late Anglo-Saxon Church*.

### 3.2.3 *Dating and Context*

The date and immediate context of the Junius manuscript is extremely difficult, if not impossible to determine. It is generally dated circa 1000, but has been placed, chiefly on the supposed Ringerike influence, as late as the second quarter of the eleventh century. The most recent attempt at dating is a convincingly argued article by Lockett.<sup>115</sup> Taking into account palaeographical and codicological evidence, along with developments in decorated initials and illumination, Lockett comes to the conclusion that it should be dated somewhere between 960 and 990. The emphases on steadfastness, the need to abide by God's word rather than relying on the senses and emotions that can be swayed by evil counsellors, seem to indicate the preoccupations of the reign of Æthelred. Despite the efforts to rehabilitate this king in the eyes of posterity, his contemporaries seem to have had a much less favourable view of him.<sup>116</sup> Nevertheless we must be cautious, as warning notes are sounded even in the 'golden' reign of Edgar, who was praised for upholding God's law, but criticised for introducing 'foreign' ways and foreigners to England. On his death he was praised because:<sup>117</sup>

No fleet however proud,  
No host however strong,  
Was able to win booty for itself  
In England, while that noble king  
Occupied the royal throne.

The accession of Edward in 975, according to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, began with a time of trouble, heralded by the appearance of a comet. While taking account of his youth, the *Chronicle*, says that in his reign:<sup>118</sup>

God's adversaries broke God's laws;  
...  
Hindered the monastic rule, and destroyed monasteries,  
Dispersed monks, and put to flight God's servants  
...

<sup>115</sup> L. Lockett, "An integrated re-examination of the dating of Oxford Bodleian Library, Junius 11," *Anglo-Saxon England* 31 (2002).

<sup>116</sup> In particular, Simon D. Keynes, *The diplomas of King Aethelred 'the Unready', 978–1016: a study in their use as historical evidence*, *Cambridge studies in medieval life and thought* (Cambridge, 1980).

<sup>117</sup> See 959 (Laud Chronicle) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Laud 636, London, 1986 G.N. Garmonsway, ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (London, 1986).

<sup>118</sup> 975 *ibid.*, p. 121.

Widows were robbed many a time and oft,  
 And many injustices and evil crimes  
 Flourished thereafter.  
 And ever afterwards things went from bad to worse.

After Edward's murder, things did not improve with Æthelred—his reign, too, was introduced by a 'sign', in this case 'a cloud as red as blood.'<sup>119</sup> The raids that were to be a feature of this period commenced; the death and defeat of Byrhnōth and the subsequent buying off of the Danes in 991 receives special emphasis in both versions of the *Chronicle*. Both versions, too, remark on the fact that the tribute was paid on the advice of Archbishop Sigeric, and on the treachery of ealdorman Ælfric, 'one of those in whom the king had most trust.'<sup>120</sup>

Not only was the general situation troubled and uncertain, but that within the Church was far from clear cut. In their study of the settlement of disputes in which monasteries were involved, Rosenwein, Head and Farmer came to the conclusion that disputes of this type in France were very dependent on the prevailing local political conditions for the manner in which they were approached.<sup>121</sup> Much the same considerations should be held in mind when discussing monastic roles in later Anglo-Saxon England. The reactions to Edgar's energetic support of the monastic reform movement were not always based on a bias in favour of secular clergy, but on the fact that old and new monastic establishments not only gained a great deal of power, but also land and wealth, often at the expense of the laity. In his analysis of the struggles between the secular and regular clergy, and the conflicting claims of Edward the Martyr and Æthelred to the throne, Fisher notes that contemporary sources do not link the two, and that much of the 'anti-monastic reaction' had more to do with the fear and resentment of the now powerful landowning abbeys than pro- or anti-Edward factions.<sup>122</sup> Dunstan's support of Edward and the comments of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle should be sufficient to make that clear. Nevertheless, it is questionable whether secular and Church politics were seen as so completely separate to contemporaries. Certainly in the time of

<sup>119</sup> Ibid. (Parker Chronicle) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Ms.173, 976, p. 122.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., p. 126.

<sup>121</sup> Barbara H. Rosenwein, T. Head and S. Farmer, "Monks and their enemies: a comparative approach," *Speculum* 66 (1991).

<sup>122</sup> D.J.V. Fisher, "The anti-monastic reaction in the reign of Edward the Martyr," *Cambridge Historical Journal* 10 (1952).

Cnut and Edward the Confessor the earls tended to favour 'the more worldly and pragmatic piety of secular canons over that of Benedictine monks.'<sup>123</sup> Piety, and visible piety, was central to early medieval secular life, but it is very much the question whether the generous donations made to the 'pragmatic' canons had their roots in a piety better understood by the laity than the contemplative and liturgy-orientated way of life of the regular reformed clergy. The support of the canonical foundations may very well have been a counter-balance to the might of the royally favoured monasteries, and a defence of their own lands, and more particularly their own foundations.

During the period from the accession of Edgar to the invasion of William the rivalry between the regular and secular clergy was a recurring factor. Perhaps due to the fact that most accounts that we have are clerical, and monastic at that, the emphasis lies with the regular clergy and the support, or lack of it, received from the various royal houses. Nevertheless it is clear from charters and donations that various religious institutions received active support from others than members of the royal family: whether an earl was a benefactor or a plunderer of monastic land and goods depended largely on the situation of both parties. While it seems to be true that many of the laity favoured the effectiveness of the canons and a 'personal' foundation, it is also true that the regular clergy considered itself to be more pious, holy and effective, and while there were elements of straightforward rivalry between the two it must also be considered that both parties considered themselves to be 'right.'

Of particular interest is the *Chronicle* for 995, which tells of the happenings at Christ Church, Canterbury, the probable origin of Junius 11. We are told that on the death of the abbot Sigeric, Ælfric, bishop of Winchester was appointed to succeed him by Æethred and his councillors:<sup>124</sup>

This Ælfric was a very wise man, and there was no one wiser in all England. Then went Ælfric to his archiepiscopal see, and when he arrived thither he was received by those of the clergy most distasteful to him, that is by secular clergy. And straightway [sent]...everywhere for the most learned men he knew, especially for well-informed men who knew

<sup>123</sup> Mary Frances Smith, Robin Fleming and Patricia Halpin, "Court and Piety in Late Anglo-Saxon England," *The Catholic Historical Review* 87 (2001).

<sup>124</sup> 995 (Canterbury Chronicle) London, British Library, Ms. Cotton, Domitian viii, pp. 128–131.

how to give the truest account concerning the state of things in the days of their ancestors...men of great age, both cleric and lay, told him that their fathers had told them what had been established by law immediately after St. Augustine had come to this land:

When Augustine had received the episcopal see in the city... The blessed pope sent the pallium...and in addition letters and instructions how he should consecrate bishops and in which places in Britain they should be established...and the church which had been prepared for him he ordered to be consecrated in the name of the Lord Saviour Christ and in the name of St. Mary; and he should establish there a dwelling place for himself, and for all his successors; and he should place therein men of the same regular [not secular] clergy as he was himself...and moreover that each succeeding bishop who should occupy the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury should belong to a monastic order; and that this should be for ever adhered to, by the consent and blessing of God, of St. Peter, and of all his successors...

Then was archbishop Ælfric very happy that he had so many witnesses who at that time were very influential with the king...

The king was very glad when he heard these tidings, and said to the archbishop and to the others: I think it advisable that first of all you go to Rome for your pallium, and make all this known to the pope, and then act according to his advice...When those [secular] priests heard of this, they decided to choose two of their number and send to the pope and offer him great treasure and silver, on condition that he gave them the pallium; but when they came to Rome the pope refused to do this, since they brought no letter from the king or from the nation...

The *Chronicle* goes on to tell of Ælfric's kind reception at the Pope's hands and his advice to 'fill your cathedral church with the same regular [not secular] clergy as those whom the blessed Gregory ordered Augustine to place therein.' Ælfric carried out the instructions and 'drove away the priests from the cathedral church, replacing them by monks as the pope had commanded him.' In a note Garmonsway points out that according to Plummer the document—by which I assume he means the above account—is written in a small hand on the margin of an inserted leaf. This obviously raises the question of the dating of the account and the accuracy of the contents. The Laud version merely says that Ælfric was consecrated archbishop at Christ Church in 996. It is also worth noting that the Cambridge version, ostensibly after the long account of the struggle with the secular clergy, says that Ælfric went to Rome for his pallium in 997. The account of the struggle bears all the appearance of an interpolated section, presumably as a polemic or propaganda attack on the secular clergy, and presumably



written some years later than the events recorded. This is not to dismiss the account as totally false, but the interest lies in the fact that there was evidently a power struggle between regular and secular clergy and that in all likelihood at least part of that struggle found place at Christ Church. Whether the events described actually took place, it would seem likely that the author of this particular piece would try and make it credible. It is possible that the strong element of the evil councillor claiming to speak for God, so emphatically present in both the textual and visual narratives of *Genesis B* in the Junius manuscript, refer less to a threat of heresy than to this internecine struggle between regular and secular clergy.

The account speaks of the king, Æthelred in relatively favourable terms, in the Canterbury version, and indeed the whole manuscript deals leniently with him. Cnut, as king, is largely ignored in this manuscript, while Edmund is described as valiant, but betrayed by those whom he trusted. There are, then, various elements, those of betrayal, misplaced trust and evil advice common to both the interpolated part of the Canterbury version and the *Genesis* narratives. Another common ground is the emphasis on trusting to the original source and command. As Ælfric returned, via the memories of trustworthy councillors, to the original commands received by Augustine, so should Adam and Eve have held by the original commands given by God, distrusting the advocate of innovation. While it would go too far to claim that the inclusion of *Genesis B* can be linked to the incident described in the Canterbury version, it gives an indication of the feelings current at the time.

The intended public for Junius 11 is unknown. We cannot assume that because it is written in the vernacular it was intended for a lay audience. There are numerous complaints of the lack of learning among the clergy. Whether we take Ælfric's comment that his master was unable to understand and interpret Genesis as evidence of this, or that Genesis is so difficult to understand that *even* his master had an imperfect understanding of it,<sup>125</sup> it in no way rules out a clerical, or even specifically monastic audience. The aspect of Heilsgeschichte makes it suitable for reading, perhaps in Holy Week, to a mixed audience. Hall is of the opinion that while 'the principle behind the compilation,

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<sup>125</sup> Mark Griffith, "How much Latin did Aelfric's magister know?" *Notes and Queries* ccxlv (2000).

though related to the Paschal liturgy, is to be found outside the liturgy itself.<sup>126</sup> In this I would concur; there are points of similarity, but these are more of motivation than a close tie with the liturgy itself. While it is assumed that reader/audience is knowledgeable enough to recognise a good many theological points, it clothes the well-known story in drama and immediacy. Was the audience/reader shocked by the unconventionality of *Genesis B*? There is no indication that this was so. It was a poem of no recent date, but probably written in the original Old Saxon a century and a half before the Junius manuscript was made. Since many scholars agree that Christ Church, Canterbury was the scriptorium responsible, it cannot be regarded as a marginal work, indeed there may have been more copies or similar works that have not survived. The use of pointing indicates that it was intended to be read aloud, but that would be in no way unusual.<sup>127</sup> However, it does indicate that it was not reserved for a specially learned reader in an enclosed community who could be trusted not to be led into heresy or unorthodoxy by it. Far from being shocking or dangerous, it would seem that the makers of Junius 11 were intent on bringing home the immediacy and relevancy of sin, punishment and redemption, and emphasising the danger, not of great and conscious sin, but of weakness and indecision. The emotions and the senses are revealed as the means by which man is bound to the world, losing his high destiny and being condemned to spiritual and physical death.

The hypothesis that Junius 11 was written to be read aloud within a relatively short space of time is strengthened by the form and contents of the final poems, known as *Christ and Satan*. These, too, are dramatic and immediate, bringing the incidents of *Genesis* once again before the mind of the audience. Beginning with the laments of Satan and rehearsing his ambition and rebellion, the glory and light of heaven is contrasted with the torments of the dark and windy hell. Paralleling the poet's comments in the narrative of the fall where he predicts the woes to come, the poet here continually reminds the reader that he too has a choice to make.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> J.R. Hall, "The Oldest English Epic of Redemption: The Theological Unity of MS Junius 11," *Traditio* 32 (1976).

<sup>127</sup> C.J. Thornley, "Studies in versification of the Old English manuscript Junius 11: an investigation into the function of the accents and a consideration of the poetical rhythms and their relation to sense and style" (University of London, 1950).

<sup>128</sup> *Christ and Satan*, IV, 191–192.

Wherefore let every man take thought in his heart that he may not be displeasing to the Son of God, remembering how the black fiends were undone by pride. And let us choose as our delight the Lord of hosts, the Prince of angels, and eternal joy in heaven above.

Satan has already declared that he 'may not injure any soul save those alone which He rejecteth,' and 'may not lay a hand upon those souls who from the earth in blessedness seek heaven.' The reader is urged to 'choose a home on high with Christ' and 'to be mindful of righteousness and truth.' It is the duty of 'every living man, whose heart is good, [to] resolve to banish sinful thoughts and loathsome evil.' The consequences of the choice that must be made are forcibly brought home to the reader. Once again the joys of heaven and the torments of hell are vividly described, but this time in connection with reader as well as the fallen angels. This coupling of the history of the first people with the situation of the reader is further emphasised with an account of the harrowing of hell, and here the poet puts into the mouth of Eve a second account of the fall.<sup>129</sup>

Yet Eve might not see heaven until she spake:

I only brought thy wrath upon us, Eternal Lord, when we two ate the apple through the serpent's guile, Adam and I, as we should not have done. The fiend, who now doth burn forever in his bonds, told us that we should have blessing and a holy home, and heaven to rule. And we believed the words of the Accursed, and stretched our hands unto the holy tree and plucked its shining fruit. Bitter the price we paid, when we must needs sink downward to this flaming pit, and there abide for many thousand winters, dreadfully burning.

Now I beseech Thee, Lord of heaven, by this host and the angel legions which Thou ledest hither, that I may be delivered out of hell, with all my kindred...

Eve is thus identified with mankind, both sinful and redeemed. It is notable that of those led from hell only Eve speaks, indeed Adam and the patriarchs are bundled together somewhat abruptly as 'the blessed souls, the race of Adam.' It is Eve who takes upon herself the blame for mankind's death sentence, and she is the only one who begs pardon. Her plea for mercy is also remarkable in that it is based on a kinship with Christ.<sup>130</sup>

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, VIII, 408–434.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, 435–439.

And she lifted up her hands unto the King of heaven, beseeching mercy of the Lord for Mary's sake: "Lo! Of my daughter wast Thou born, O Lord, to help mankind on earth..."

Repeating the story of the fall, and again from Eve's point of view, though now viewed in retrospect with all the consequences clear, the false advisor and the credulity of man come once again to the fore. This is all the more visible because it contrasts with the motives of pride, ambition and rebellion that moved Lucifer and his followers. The worst that can be said of Adam and Eve, in this account, is that they sought to gain their heavenly inheritance too quickly and easily. It has been suggested that the reason for Eve being, as it were, as spokeswoman for mankind, is not only her maternal connection but as a typological feature of the Church.<sup>131</sup> While the connection with Mary is clearly made, and Eve is, in the view of some medieval theologians, an analogue of the Church, coming from Adam's side as the blood came from Christ's, in the context of the poem Eve, as a symbol of the Church, seems somewhat farfetched. I suggest that Eve's speech is firstly part of the manuscript as a whole, giving unity to the tale of fall and redemption, and secondly a reminder that emotions and senses play us false and lead to sin. Eve can be regarded as an allegory of the senses, and this is again a reminder of that weakness. It is also very appropriate because of the contrast between the ultimate fate of the repentant and reluctant, almost unwitting, sinner in heaven, and that of the fallen angels, the conscious sinners for whom there is no pardon. Repentance is essential to salvation, and Eve represents all repentant sinners: she may not enter heaven until she makes her confession and shows her penitence. For this reason I agree with Carole Hough in her reading of 7 in line 406 b as having an adversative meaning, 'but' or 'yet', thus making clear that Eve's ascent was conditional on her confession and repentance.<sup>132</sup>

The immediacy of the choice before the reader is again brought home in dramatic fashion by an account of the last judgement. The righteous will enter heaven, but the sinners will undergo a period of doubt, still hoping for salvation.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>131</sup> R.E. Finnegan, *Christ and Satan: a critical edition* (Ontario, 1977).

<sup>132</sup> C. Hough, "Christ and Satan, line 406b," *Notes and Queries* (2002).

<sup>133</sup> *Christ and Satan*, XII 619–627, 643–646.

But the guilty souls that have sinned shall stand and tremble when the Son of God shall judge them by his wondrous might; they shall hope they may ascend to that fair city with the angels, as the others did. But the Eternal Lord shall speak to them, and say before them all:

Descend now quickly, ye accursed, into the house of pain. I know you not.

...Wherefore let us resolve while in the world to serve the Saviour gladly by God's grace, be mindful of the spirit's joy, and how the blessed sons of God abide on high in radiant glory.

The reader is also encouraged as, mirroring the temptation of Eve, the poem enters its concluding section with an account of the temptation of Christ. Man may have succumbed, but God made man can withstand the blandishments of the devil. Eve's claim to be Christ's ancestor could also be seen in this light: despite his humanity Christ could withstand temptation. The reader has not only an example, but an assurance that he can rise above his earthly nature.

There is a tradition of literature in the vernacular in the Anglo-Saxon world whereby example and exhortation were given dramatic or intriguing forms. In *Juliana*, the wise and virtuous heroine, unlike Eve, sees through the deceits of the devil; in the *Soul's address to the body*, from the Exeter Book, is similar in material and accent to the second part of *Christ and Satan* is dealt with, while the *Dream of the Rood* makes Christ's passion immediate and dramatic. Nor can we separate the teachings of the Church, or the idea of a sacred history, from the world as a whole, even (Latin) charters occasionally begin with a proem dealing with the fall and sacred history. The doctrine of salvation was an essential part of life, for the elite at least, whether clerical or lay, and particularly in uncertain times, the need to feel that one worked towards God's plan and one's own salvation was very real. The austerity of the moral preached in *Genesis*, and reinforced by *Christ and Satan*, the ease by which sin could enter, point to a monastic, and reformed monastic, environment. Nevertheless, a lay or mixed audience cannot be ruled out. It is quite possible that the collection of poems would be read at meals or gatherings in which lay visitors to a monastery were present. I do not think that the special emphasis on the role of Eve points to a female audience in particular. Eve, as an allegory for the senses, symbolises those weaknesses, already typified as 'feminine', that are present in both sexes. In this case Eve is not sexually seductive, ill-intentioned or in any way vicious. Nowhere does the poet or the artist accuse her of vanity, greed, ambition, pride or any of the other vices that were increasingly attributed to women.

Whatever audience was intended for the Junius manuscript, it seems clear that it is part of a tradition that was both didactic and dramatic. As far as *Genesis* is concerned it offers both an exegesis of sin and an entertainment. The oral tradition and the *scops* provided a framework of dramatic and epic poetry, and the poems of Junius 11 like many others, transformed this into a Christian context, giving a sermon and exegesis in a form that would not only appeal to a public, but would be seen as relevant to that public. The artist of *Genesis* also worked within that tradition, by not just illustrating a number of incidents from the poems, but, by building up the tension and contrasts and giving the reader the opportunity to identify with the protagonists, he provided a narrative in its own right, complementary to the textual narrative.

### 3.3 *British Library, Cotton Claudius B.IV, the Old English Hexateuch*

The second of the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, also with an Old English text, is one of a number of surviving manuscripts of a translation of the Hexateuch, six of them from the eleventh century. We are in the happy position of knowing that the translation of the first part of Genesis, up to Isaac, was the work of Ælfric and done at the request of the Eorldeman Æthelwærd. We also know that Ælfric was reluctant to undertake this work, fearing that the reader may not understand the typological and figurative meanings of the Old Testament. Not all versions of the translation are identical, but it is generally thought that Ælfric was responsible not only for the first part of Genesis, but also the second half of Numbers and the shortened version of Joshua. However, certain versions, the London manuscript among them, give a reworked version of Genesis, partially based on Ælfric and partially an independent translation.<sup>134</sup> The first three chapters of Genesis in the London manuscript, however, are the Ælfric version, and since his Preface to Genesis also appears in it, the only surviving illustrated eleventh century version, it is permissible to assume that his reservations about the advisability of the translation were taken into consideration by the compilers of this version of the Hexateuch.

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<sup>134</sup> R. Marsden, "Translation by committee? The 'anonymous' text of the Old English Hexateuch," in *The Old English Hexateuch, aspects and approaches*, ed. Rebecca Barnhouse and B.C. Withers (Kalamazoo, 2000).

The work is usually dated in the first two decades of the eleventh century; however, while much of the non-Ælfrician work possibly comes from this period, the chapters concerning the fall date from the late tenth century. Basing his argument on the transition from non-rhyming to rhyming style Clemoes dates Ælfric's contribution to around 992.<sup>135</sup> It is interesting to note that this, like Junius 11, in all probability, is a Cambridge manuscript, but most likely a product of the St. Augustine's scriptorium. It is the opinion of Clemoes that a cycle of illumination only became associated with the text after it had been in circulation for a while.<sup>136</sup> In the London work it is clear that the illumination was of great importance. The ruling for the picture was done before that of the text, and Clemoes concludes that preliminary sketches were made before the scribe went to work.<sup>137</sup> Nevertheless, he does not think that the cycle originated with this manuscript, but it was possibly one of a number copied from a St. Augustine's work, and remained there due to its unfinished state. The script is clear and even and the illumination disciplined and light, with clear blues, soft browns and crisp red outlines. It is a pity that the black and white facsimile edition gives an impression of darkness and muddled colours. It is obviously a manuscript made with great care and of high quality. There are strong decorative, almost abstract elements in the scenes of the creation and fall; the figures are flat and almost symbolic, while trees, the hair of the Logos and the folds of his robe form decorative patterns. Some of this interest in the abstract can be seen in the choice of subjects for illustration. The creation, before Adam, is dealt with somewhat perfunctorily, while each of the rivers of paradise has its own miniature, two of them apparently referring to the etymology ascribed to them by Hrabanus Maurus.

The miniature cycle deviates from the biblical narrative in that it opens with the fall of Lucifer and the rebel angels. As we have seen, that played an enormous role in Junius 11, but that role was also found in the text. The biblical text makes no mention in Genesis of Lucifer's rebellion and fall, yet this serves as a frontispiece to the Hexateuch.

<sup>135</sup> P. Clemoes, "The composition of the Old English text," in *The Old English Illustrated Hexateuch: British Museum Cotton Claudius B.IV*, ed. P. Clemoes and C.R. Dodwell, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile (Copenhagen, 1974).

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>137</sup> P. Clemoes, "The originality of the illustrations," in *The Old English Illustrated Hexateuch: British Museum Cotton Claudius B.IV*, ed. P. Clemoes and C.R. Dodwell, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile (Copenhagen, 1974).

Dodwell and Clemoes see this miniature as the first day of creation, basing their argument on Augustine and the creation of angels with light, and the separation of the good and bad angels with the separation of light and dark. While this can undoubtedly have played a role, it ignores the words of Ælfric about the creation of the angels and its exclusion in the biblical narrative. This will be discussed later, but it is clear that Ælfric found this an essential part of the story of creation, and it would be in the spirit of his work, as well the preoccupations of Anglo-Saxon England to include this scene. The extra-biblical scene on f. 2v is set in a relatively simple frame, though more ornate than those of most other scenes, and is clearly divided into two registers, linked and brought together by the feet and lower limbs of four of the fallen angels, thus emphasising the downward movement. In the centre of the upper register God is seated in a mandorla, looking to his left and his left hand outspread, as if inviting the reader to look at and consider what follows. Against a background of wave-like clouds, six angels surround the mandorla, the upper two holding it and the lower four with covered hands. In the lower register Lucifer and eight of his followers tumble head first downwards. The followers are not bestialised, but their features are coarse and blunted, their bodies twisting and unnatural, especially the one on the upper left whose right leg is bent at an impossible angle. Half of them wear ragged kilts, the other half are naked. They form a great contrast to the serene angels surrounding God's throne. The calm and permanence of the heavenly region is offset against the turbulence, change and movement in the lower register. Lucifer/Satan occupies a mandorla on the lower left, and he grasps it with both hands, perhaps a reminder of his ambitions. He is naked, with snake-like locks of hair and a tail, and there is a similarity to the figure on page 16 of the Junius manuscript. The mandorla is tilted and, in a parody of the supporting angels above, held in the jaws of a dragon. It is as if a distorting mirror has been held up to the upper register; the stable and the upright become twisted and unbalanced. It is in many ways a telling visual expression of the ideas of heavenly stability and the impermanence and change of the *sub luna*.

The following four miniatures deal with creation, and on f. 4r we find the creation of Adam. This miniature gives an intimate picture of that act. At the top left the unimbed Logos bends over a bearded Adam, and seems both to literally shape and to wake him into life. His arms are around the seated figure holding the shoulders, while Adam, arms orant, looks up at God. This scene is watched by a variety of birds



and animals. Clearly it is intended to show man as the last of God's creations, the crown of living things. The verso shows God resting on the seventh day, a gesture of blessing and a book in his covered left hand indicating the rules for the Sabbath. The miniature cycle continues to follow the biblical order on f. 5r where the Logos, now nimbed, plants a tree in paradise. Behind him to the left is a stylised plant or tree, presumably the tree of life, since the tree he is planting appears again in the miniatures of the fall. This scene is unusual in medieval art, as are the separate scenes of the four rivers of paradise. The cycle seems to be intent on following the order of the Bible very closely, or perhaps more accurately, the accepted version of the order of creation, pointing to the fall of the rebel angels as preceding creation and implying that is the reason for it. F. 6r shows Adam on the extreme left with a tree between him and the Logos who turns his head towards him and gestures towards him with his right hand, the first two fingers and the thumb outstretched. This gesture, except for the outstretched thumb, is repeated with the left hand, pointing to various animals and birds. Clemoes and Dodwell interpret this as God prohibiting the eating of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, but if this is so it is the only case I know of where the order in the Bible is followed, and the unlikelihood of this is increased by the scene f. 6v, which Clemoes and Dodwell also regard as the prohibition, but this time given to both Adam and Eve. I see no reason why the beasts should be present at the scene of the prohibition, and given the adherence to biblical chronology it is my opinion that it depicts the naming of the beasts and Adam's dominion over them. The Logos' gestures would reinforce such a reading, and perhaps a subsidiary note is added by the fact that there is no serpent among the beasts.

The verso has two scenes, that of the creation of Eve on the left and the prohibition on the right. (fig. 22) Adam lies on his left side his head resting on his hand and looking up at the nimbed Logos, who bends forward, his hands holding and shaping Eve. She comes from a hole in Adam's side, the Logos holding her waist with his right hand and her shoulder with his left. She looks up at him, hands and arms orant. The positions of the two mirror the creation of Adam. In both scenes there is a clear emphasis on the Logos as a creator: he does not just speak the word, but is an active maker. This is the first creation of Eve where we see her rise from Adam's side; this iconographic innovation is not a total break with the Carolingian tradition, but a development from it. Here, as in the Touronian Bibles, Eve is God's creation, shaped and

formed by God, from material taken from a former creation. However, the relationship between material and form has now shifted. The material that the Logos uses is not just taken, as a lifeless bone, and shaped into a new creation; something living comes from Adam and by the hand of God is formed into something related to its source, but not identical to that source. Adam, the source of the material, participates more actively: he watches closely, a willing participant in an act of creation, offering part of himself to God and to creation. Eve is not removed from Adam, but is a part of him given new form by God. She is not an entirely separate creation, but is transformed by God. This iconographic innovation is a certain turning point. While Eve was a fully independent creation in the Tournon Bibles, and also in the Junius manuscript, here we have a transitional stage between that fully independent, but secondary, creation and the female as a part of the male that is removed from him at God's word. Woman is still God's creation in the Hexateuch, but it is a derivative creation.

In the prohibition scene the nimbed Logos stands before the couple; his left hand holds a book up before them, his right he holds up before Adam's face, the two first fingers held almost at the eyes. Adam stands, with Eve behind him, arms outspread. The tree of knowledge is behind the couple. There is no ambiguity in the attitude of the Logos; his word is reinforced by the book. Indeed, the book may be seen as embodying God's word and making permanent the law he speaks. Adam's gesture seems to signify acceptance and understanding, while perhaps Eve being behind Adam denotes a less direct perception of God's command.

The fall itself is shown on f. 7v. (fig. 23) On the left is the tree around which the serpent twines. It has a triple forked tongue and the band down its back shows markings similar to those of the dragon of the hell mouth on f. 2v. The serpent coils back and forth between the multiple stems of the tree's trunk, its head emerging just below the intertwined branches and its tail reaching out and touching Eve's leg. A single branch from the intertwined mass bends down and bears both a fig leaf and a fruit. Eve picks the fruit with her right hand, her body turned towards the tree. She looks over her shoulder at Adam, her left hand raised, index finger extended as she gestures to him. He stands a little back from her, biting into the fruit held in his right hand. The composition of the miniature is uneven, all the action taking place in the left two thirds of the frame. Even though the composition is held in the left hand part, it is in two distinct halves. The tree, the serpent and Eve form a circular composition, the drooping branch of the tree

leading the eye to Eve whose long hair, in its turn, leads to her thigh bent forward and touching the serpent's tail. The eye finally follows the serpent back to the bent branch. Eve is in many ways identified with the tree, the multiple stems echoing the locks of her hair, the round crown, her head and the branch her arm and pointing finger. The serpent's mouth is open, not in speech, for it does not whisper in her ear, but apparently in gleeful malice. Eve is not being seduced, but is already part of a conspiracy of evil; the fig leaf, the only clearly formed leaf on the Tree, points as an arrow to her heart, the serpent's tail touching and holding her. Her affinity is with these. While her pointing finger and turned head lead the viewer to Adam, the eye must still make a leap to the figure, but his slightly raised left hand, as if reaching to Eve, his gaze fixed on her and the empty space on the right of the miniature give the impression that he is moving towards Eve and the tree.

This is the first of the miniatures where Eve is shown in anything like a seductive pose. While the Touronian Bibles and the Odbert Psalter presented the scene as a straightforward giving or offering, and the Junius manuscript shows a humble, even supplicating, Eve, here she turns in a more provocative manner and holds her hand up in an almost commanding gesture. The somewhat more seductive Eve is not entirely new in medieval iconography: the Louvre panel shows her with a turning body, but there she stands before Adam and turning to look back at the serpent and the tree. The slightly earlier Hildesheim doors, too, show Eve as having picked a couple of fruits and twisting round to offer them to Adam. The Hildesheim doors, of course, are remarkable, among other reasons because they are the only surviving example of a more 'public' work on the subject in this period. As such they will be discussed below. Nevertheless, the Hexateuch links Eve more closely with the serpent and the tree than either the Louvre panel or the doors. In this, as in the creation of Eve, the Hexateuch shows iconographic innovation, belying the impression that it is a fairly straightforward and orthodox depiction of the fall. Perhaps because these themes, Eve rising from Adam's side and the twisting seductive pose and the identification of Eve with temptation all became common currency later, and the well-known works of the fall tend to use these ways of expressing the scenes, one tends to forget that they represent a startling innovation, and one with implications for how the fall legend was, and is, interpreted.

The following miniatures on f. 8r show first the confrontation with a younger Logos. This Logos is cross-nimbed and his beard is less

clearly forked. He holds a *crux hastata* in both the upper and lower miniature and can be seen as Christ, thus emphasising the aspect of salvation, but also that of judgement. In the covered left hand of the Christ Logos is an open book. Law and authority confront the guilty pair. They lie, clutching cut branches to themselves, separated from the Logos by a tree. It is notable that Adam, who looks up at the Logos holds four branches, with a total of eight large leaves, while Eve, half hidden behind him, holds only one short branch with a single smallish leaf. Even this is not held before her genitals or breasts, her genitals are covered by a leaf from one of the branches held by Adam. Eve does not look at the Logos, but turns away, resting her head on her left hand. This gesture is clearly one of repentance and sorrow, but the roles played in the temptation scene are reversed. Now Eve is the secondary figure, leaving, not only the confrontation with the judging God to Adam, but also the covering of her nudity. This could, perhaps, be regarded expressing her subjection to the man and possibly even the man's duty to ensure the chaste behaviour of his womenfolk.

The lower miniature has several unusual features. The expulsion is effected by the Logos holding a *crux hastata*, which while by no means unique, is less common than by an angel. The gates of paradise would seem to be symbolised by a tree. Is this then the tree of life from which they were banned after the fall? There is no sign of the rivers, in spite of the attention these received earlier. There is again a clear distinction between Adam and Eve that is taken further than the beard and long hair of the previous miniatures: here Eve is dressed in a long, all-enveloping garment and her head is covered, while Adam is clad only in a kilt of leaves. This kilt is clearly different from the kilts worn by the fallen angels, but it still evokes an association with them, a reminder that man has also fallen, if to a lesser degree. This aspect is also present in the features of the Logos and Adam; for the first and only time there is a strong resemblance between them, a hint of the incarnation and redemption. Another unusual feature is the scene on the right of the miniature where an angel instructs the pair in agriculture. They are shown at labour, but not abandoned by God. Another unusual feature is that while Adam digs Eve holds a mattock and looks on as the angel instructs. There is no reference to childbearing or even specifically female tasks such as spinning.

The creation and fall cycle give a very different picture to that presented by Junius 11. There is no sign of persuasion or reluctance; indeed, Eve

is closely associated with both the serpent and the tree of knowledge. While a clear connection is made with the fall of Lucifer and his followers, their responsibility for man's sin is not made explicit. Despite the adherence to the biblical narrative, the use of Lucifer's fall as the frontispiece to the whole work suggests the strength of the belief in the role of the devil in both creation and fall. This implies an almost dualistic aspect to salvation that was also apparent in the Utrecht Psalter. Of particular interest is the way in which Eve is depicted. For the first time we see Eve emerging from Adam's body; she is part of him, shaped into something new by the Creator, but still unmistakeably derivative, not just a secondary creation, but a secondary human. From then on Eve's position, with one exception, is subsidiary. The announcement of the prohibition finds her behind Adam, as do the *ubi es?* scene, the expulsion and the scene of the instruction by the angel. The one scene in which she is the primary participant is that of the temptation. Here the eye is drawn to her by the weighting of the composition and her commanding gesture. She is clearly the moving force in this scene. The twisting seductive pose here contrasts with chaste garments she wears at the expulsion and with Adam's covering of her genitals in the *ubi es?* scene. Eve is closely connected with sin and sexuality. It would go too far to say that sin was equated with sexuality here, but it is clearly an essential component. F.7v makes clear that awareness of sexuality and its power was not the result of the fall, but something inherent, in Eve at least, that helped to make the fall possible. Perhaps even more than the miniatures of the Junius manuscript, can those of the Hexateuch be regarded as an allegory, where once again Adam symbolises the intellect, the natural governor of the person, which is fatally subjugated to the senses. These senses in the Hexateuch's Eve are not those human weaknesses and uncertainty of Junius 11, the quotidian sins that detract from a wholehearted commitment to God, but sexuality, greed and power. Eve is part of Adam, his lower, sensual nature, and in the single scene where she is dominant, disaster occurs. While the senses and emotions are identified with Eve in the Junius manuscript, these are not specifically and intentionally evil or vicious. In the Hexateuch the senses that are associated with Eve tend to that extreme: she symbolises not only sexuality, but love of power and possession. Her relationship with Adam also shows a clear change from earlier works. She is subordinate, standing behind Adam to hear God's word, as if it is filtered through the man: Adam covers her nakedness and again positions himself between her and God's judgement, and finally when

leaves are sufficient covering for the man, Eve is swathed from head to foot as she goes out into the world. Only at her creation does she have direct contact with God: in all other scenes Adam stands between her and her Maker. Her knowledge of God is through Adam.

While we are unusually well-informed with respect to the origins of the text, the origins of the manuscript itself are by no means so clear. Clemoes is of the opinion that in view of the vernacular text it was intended for a lay patron, but given the 'quite moderate standards of workmanship' not a very high ranking one. However, there are, in my opinion, indications that it was an expensive work; not only is the script even and well-formed, but it is profusely illustrated. The scope of the intended cycle and the care taken in the placing of the spaces for illumination do not indicate a work delegated to junior scribes and illuminators. The style of illustration, using a mixture of line drawing and full body colour, is associated with Canterbury. The claim that the use of full body colour is used to give weight to various figures and increase their importance does not apply to the miniatures of the creation and fall. In these the use of body colour seems to have been dictated by naturalism; foliage, clothing, hair and some animals are given solid colour, though it must be admitted, not totally natural colour. Nevertheless, the use of expensive pigments points to a work of considerable prestige. It is likely that one artist worked on all the miniatures, although a few of those he left unfinished may have been completed by a later artist. I am inclined to attribute the overlapping of frame and figure in some miniatures to the well-known convention of parts of figures breaking the frame to lend immediacy to the work. This was used even in Ottonian miniatures where the strong surface quality lends a degree of abstraction,<sup>138</sup> and can certainly be seen with dramatic effect, not only in the Hexateuch but other Anglo-Saxon works.<sup>139</sup> It is worth comparing the Hexateuch with a copy of *Marvels of the East* on f. 81r of which there is a figure of a nude man with two faces holding a horn.<sup>140</sup> Both manuscripts have been attributed to Canterbury at the first half of the eleventh century. It can be seen that both use full body colour, but the naked human body is simply, and

<sup>138</sup> For example Trier, Stadtsbibliothek Ms. 24 (Codex Egberti) ff. 27v and 82r.

<sup>139</sup> London, British Library, Mss. Stowe 944, Add. 33241, Cotton Vespasian A.VIII are all well-known examples.

<sup>140</sup> London, British Library, Ms. Cotton Tiberius B.V (pt. 1).

effectively, represented by the plain parchment, and the figures step out of their frames. Thus it would be better to regard both features as normal conventions of the time and place. The London Hexateuch has an ambitious programme of illustration. In all, 394 illustrations were planned, some containing multiple scenes. We know that the translation was done at the request of a layman, but in my opinion the use of the vernacular is not an argument for assuming lay usage. Ælfric himself 'interpreted' the *Regularis Concordia* rule for the monks of Evesham, and wrote his grammar to help those of the clergy who had little or no Latin. The choice of language cannot define usage. A further indication that the intended recipient of the work could be expected to have a good theological knowledge is the miniatures of the four rivers and the references to the work of Hrabanus Maurus incorporated in them. Whether the patron intended the manuscript for his own use, for a layman, cleric or community, it would still be an extremely costly work.

Illuminated manuscripts had functions beyond that of reading. We have only to look at the splendidly ornamented Benedictional of Æthelwold to see that the decorative aspect of a work was of enormous importance. Not only did illumination make costly a work for the glory of God but it displayed the wealth and influence of the donor, and the regard in which not just God, but the recipient, person or institution, was held. Particular theological ideas could be propagated, but they were not seen in isolation from the world. Indeed the Benedictional could be regarded as a good example of this. Deshman drew attention to this,<sup>141</sup> and Barbara Yorke has pointed out the political importance of the coronation of the Virgin in the Benedictional—the earliest known representation of this subject.<sup>142</sup> It is in this light that we must consider the illustrations to Genesis 1–3 and in particular the depiction of Eve on ff. 4v and 7v. The departure from the traditional iconography, as we know it, can be seen as making concrete various doctrines and opinions, in this case the band between femaleness and sin, with a particular emphasis on sexuality. This does not in any way exclude it from being made for a female audience, in fact it may even

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<sup>141</sup> Robert Deshman, "Kingship and christology in Ottonian and Anglo-Saxon art," *Frühmittelalterlichen Studien* 10 (1976).

<sup>142</sup> Barbara Yorke, "Æthelwold and the politics of the tenth century," in *Bishop Æthelwold, his career and influence*, ed. B. Yorke (Woodbridge, 1997).

be an argument in favour of the idea that it was intended to be read by women. It does indicate a strong link with the reform movement, but that is only to be expected. The reform movement was somewhat dubious about ‘unofficial’ religious settlements, or those using some local rule, especially for women. Certainly the feeling was that such groups were more prone to sexual temptation than those that lived under reformed Benedictine rule, or the Regularis Concordia. Ælfric was a pupil of Æthelwold, and was, as we have seen, very uncertain about the translation of the Old Testament, feeling that people may believe that they could live under the old law.

*Nu Bincð me, leof, Ðæt Ðæt weorc is swiðe pleolic me oðð ænigum men to underbeginne, for Ðan Ðe ic ondræde, gif sum dysig man Ðas boc ræt oððe ræden gehyrÐ, Ðæt he wille wenan, þæt he mote lybban nu on Ðære niwan æ, swa fæderas leofodon Ðære tide.*<sup>143</sup>

In this context it is worth noting that he disputes the claim of those priests who believed that they should be allowed to marry, as Peter had married.<sup>144</sup> This should also be seen in the light of his assertion in the Prefaces to *The lives of saints and Catholic homilies* that texts should be easily understandable, telling readers that he simplifies both language and text to avoid any ambiguity or confusion.<sup>145</sup> The Old Testament text was a problem for Ælfric: he sought to make things clear for his intended audience, but feared they—even a clerical audience—could misinterpret the text. It is a slight puzzle as to why Æthelwærd ordered the translation, surely not for himself, as he is known to have been a competent Latin scholar. It has been suggested that he wanted to present it to one of his female relatives, but this seems to be based on the assumption that an Old English text would be necessary for a woman. Given the knowledge of Latin among the clergy, and we have Ælfric’s own lament that it was insufficient, it is possible that such a work was intended also for the use of the less educated priests or regular clergy. We must also be aware of the fact that Ælfric assumed that the same

<sup>143</sup> Now it seems to me, beloved, that this work is very dangerous for me or for anybody to undertake, because I fear that if some silly person reads this book or hears this book read, then he will believe that he can live now in the new law as the old fathers lived in that time. Cited, M.J. Mernzer, “The preface as admonition,” in *The Old English Hexateuch, aspects and approaches*, ed. Rebecca Barnhouse and C. Withers (2000). It must be noted that ‘silly’ here is used in its old sense of innocent or ignorant, rather than the modern meaning of stupid or heedless.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., p. 25.



text would be read in different ways by different audiences: a good example of this being his version of *Judith*, which he wrote to inspire laymen to resist invasion, and nuns to chastity.<sup>146</sup> Klein notes that Ælfric, while at Cerne Abbas, which had no parish church, would have become accustomed to preaching for a mixed audience, both lay and clerical. The feeling that, as a translator, Ælfric had less control over the scriptures than other works—though the translation, and not just Ælfric's part of it, is selective, shifting attention away from 'patriarchal deceit and infidelity'.<sup>147</sup> There is, then, an emphasis on sexual temptation that would be considered appropriate to either lay or clerical audiences, male or female. Karkov is of the opinion that the 'visual genealogies' of both Anglo-Saxon manuscripts would be particularly appropriate to women, and women of very high rank.<sup>148</sup> She comments also that the illustrations of the *Hexateuch* depict the Old Testament women in a more passive role than does the *Junius* manuscript. Karkov's arguments are certainly very interesting, but cannot be regarded as proof that the *Hexateuch* was intended for a female audience. Since Anglo-Saxon rulers traced their ancestry back to Adam and Eve, the importance of descent was not only a female concern. In the tenth century and the first half of the eleventh century, the succession was frequently disputed, and while primogeniture was by no means a fixed principle, the claim to royal blood was essential to any candidature. The reform movement's concern for chastity and the political necessity for 'proved' descent could account for the new emphasis on sexuality. This could also account for the inclusion of Ælfric's Preface with its concern that life and customs *sub gratia* could not be modelled on the relations between the sexes in Genesis.

One of the more interesting facets of the illustrations of the first three chapters of Genesis is what may be regarded as the frontispiece, the fall of Lucifer and the rebel angels. This is, at least in context, extra-biblical, but was a generally accepted part of dogma.<sup>149</sup> Unlike in

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<sup>146</sup> See C.E. Karkov, "The Anglo-Saxon Genesis: text, illustration, and audience," in *The Old English Hexateuch, aspects and approaches*, ed. Rebecca Barnhouse and B.C. Withers (Kalamazoo, 2000). Also S.S. Klein, "Aelfric's sources and his gendered audiences," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 13 (1996).

<sup>147</sup> Rebecca Barnhouse, "Shaping the *Hexateuch* text for an Anglo-Saxon audience," in *The Old English Hexateuch, aspects and approaches*, ed. Rebecca Barnhouse and C. Withers (Kalamazoo, 2000).

<sup>148</sup> Karkov, "The Anglo-Saxon Genesis: text, illustration, and audience."

<sup>149</sup> The reference to Lucifer rebelling against God appears in Isaiah 14.12–16.

Junius 11 the scene on 2v of the Hexateuch cannot be said to illustrate the text, but to make visible that which was deemed to be understood. In his *Preface to Genesis* Ælfric has little to say about the angelic creation commenting merely that: *Seo boc ys gehaten Genesis, Ðat ys “Gecyndboc, for Ðam Ðe heo ys firmest boca and spricð be aelcun gecunde (ac heo ne spricð na be Ðæa engla gesceapenisse).*<sup>150</sup> In other works, however, he deals extensively with the creation and fall of the angels, often conflating an aspect of Heilsgeschichte with a strong narrative element.<sup>151</sup> In *De initio creaturæ* Ælfric gives a very selective view of Church history from the creation to last judgement, emphasising the cycle of creation, fall and redemption, but including the creation and fall of the angels. Other works deal with this in a less extensive manner. It is worth noting that the *Interrogationes* is based on Alcuin’s *Quæstiones in Genesim*, but follows it only to the Genesis XXII—roughly the same point at which his translation of the Bible books breaks off. Some of the questions and answers of *Interrogationes* seem particularly relevant to ideas of sin and redemption. Question 3 asks why Genesis reports the fall of man but not of the angels, and gives the answer that God intended to heal man’s sin, but not that of the angels. This gives rise to the important Question 4 and its answer:<sup>152</sup>

Why was the sin of the high angel unpardonable and [that] of Man pardonable?

Because the high angel, who is now the hostile devil, himself invented his sin, and Man was deceived. Also, in as much as the nature of the angel was greater in glory, so was its ruin greater, as the nature of man was weak, so was it easier to pardon.

Ælfric states clearly that man was deceived, and so his sin is forgivable, but unlike Alcuin he makes no distinction between the commission of sin and the effects of sin, and in Question 47, where it is asked what evil is, the answer is given that the devil, originally good, was made evil by sinning. By committing a sin, evil is invited and cannot be eradicated.

<sup>150</sup> That book is called Genesis, that is ‘book of origins’ because it is the first book and discusses all created things (although it does not speak of the creation of the angels).

<sup>151</sup> *De initio creaturæ, Interrogationes Sygwulfi, Exameron* and his letters to Sigeward and Wulfgeat.

<sup>152</sup> *Hwi wæs Ðæs heahenglas syn unmittsigendlic and Ðæs mannes miltsigendlic? For Ðan Ðe se heahengel, Ðe nu is hetol deofol, him sylf his synne afunde and se man wæs bescwicen, And eas swa micclum swa Ðæs engels gecynd maerre wæs on wuldre, swa hit wæs mare on forweyrde, and swa micclum swa Ðæs mannes gecynd unmihtigre wæs leohtre to miltsume.*

cated until redemption. Ælfric, interestingly, departs from Alcuin in not mentioning pride, as the cause of the angelic fall, however Lucifer's pride is dealt with in the *Examerone*.<sup>153</sup>

One angel, who was the most excellent there, considered himself, how beautiful he was and how shining in glory; he recognised his strength, that he was created mighty, and his magnificence pleased him very much. He was called 'Lucifer', that is 'Light Bearing' on account of the great brightness of his glorious appearance...

Then it did seem to him, when he was so excellent, too shameful that he should obey any lord, and he did not want to honour the one who had created him and to thank him always for that which he had given him and to be subordinate to him... He would not then have his Creator as his Lord.

Here Ælfric makes Lucifer's pride a rejection of just lordship: the angel, having recognised his own greatness, must choose between thanking the giver of that greatness—and thereby acknowledging that it is a gift and that the giver is greater than the receiver—and denying that, by refusing to acknowledge his lord. Ælfric also says that the function of the angels is the same as that of man. Since both were created with understanding they must see God and adore him. This Lucifer, despite his understanding, refuses to do; and here is an implicit warning to man. In his letter to Sigeward, Ælfric wrote *hit ys swið wolic þæt ða geworhtan gesceafta þan ne beon gihirsu þe hi gesceop and geworhte*.<sup>154</sup> Thus Ælfric stresses the obedience due to the lord who is responsible for his people's good. He points out that the devil is no creator, but a deceiver who will destroy the unwary; however, he cannot compel those who are not prepared to listen to him.<sup>155</sup> The choice between God and the devil is not simple and clear-cut; the unwary can be deceived by listening to false advice and doctrine. Only by being steadfast in belief, and clear as to God's word and law, refusing all other words, can man withstand the wiles of the tempter. In this short passage Ælfric repeats the warning couched in the dramatic form of the Junius 11 manuscript.

The connection made between the fall of man and the rebellion and fall of Lucifer is actualised, given concrete form: it is presented as

<sup>153</sup> Cited Michael Fox, "Aelfric and the creation and fall of the angels," *Anglo-Saxon England* 31 (2002), pp. 185–186.

<sup>154</sup> "It is very wicked that created beings should not be obedient to the one who created and shaped them." 27–29, cited *ibid.*, p. 200.

<sup>155</sup> Ælfric *Examerone*, 1.117–122.

a beginning, and by the positioning of the miniature before the text and the subsequent illustrations a causal connection is made. The inference is made, all be it less strongly than in Junius 11, that not only the fall, but creation is the result of this rebellion. This was very basic to Anglo-Saxon thought, and short histories of the world began with the fall of the rebel angels: the implication was that the demonic was an ever-present part of life. An example of this was Edgar's Privilege to New Minster which recounts the creation and fall of the angels and makes the creation of man dependent upon that.<sup>156</sup> Such a lengthy poem before what might be called legal or secular matter was by no means unique. The fact that Æthelwold witnessed and probably wrote the charter again testifies to the reform element in such thinking. A consequence of this line of thought is that it is man's destiny and purpose to fill those depleted ranks. To be worthy of heaven was not only a personal goal and ambition, but an essential part of God's plan. Man must endeavour to rid himself of those elements that led to his fall, those parts of his lower nature, including sensuality. While for a millennium writers had made at least some identification of sin and the lower nature with woman, the Old English Hexateuch gives us the first surviving pictorial expression of this. The connection between Eve and the fallen angels is very tenuous, but there is visual echo of the twisting, tumbling figures on f. 2v in her twisting pose on f. 7v. She is not turned upside down as they are, but still she disturbs the upright and regular order of things. Eve, serpent and tree all wind and intertwine; in particular her pose is full of movement, unstable as she reverses the roles, dominating Adam. This can be seen not only as an indication of changeability, a lack of steadfastness, but also as an indication of the earthly dominating the spiritual, instability defeating permanence and the decreed order of things.

### 3.4 *The Hildesheim Doors*

Perhaps the most famous depiction of the fall made in the decades round 1000 is not in a manuscript but on the more publicly visible bronze doors at Hildesheim. (fig. 24) These were probably intended for the monastery of St. Michael, as an inscription on the doors themselves says they were made for 'the temple of the angels.' The

<sup>156</sup> London, British Library Ms Cotton Vespasian A.viii, ff. 2v–33v.

general opinion that the iconography of the left hand door is based on a lost Tournian Bible has recently been challenged.<sup>157</sup> At first sight the similarity to the Tournian Genesis frontispieces seems obvious, the relative simplicity and the multiple registers immediately recall the ninth century miniatures. However, I think that these formal similarities are chiefly the result of the technical demands of casting such enormous works in bronze. The shape of the doors dictates the way in which the narrative is presented and the difficulties of casting could be the cause of the relative simplicity. Iconographically too, there are similarities between certain of the existing Tournian Bibles and the doors. The angel present at the creation scene in the top panel is present in both the Grandval and the Vivian Bibles; Adam's outstretched hands in the second panel are reminiscent of those in the San Paolo work. In the *ubi es?* scene the Hildesheim Adam has the same pose as in the Bamberg Bible, while that of Eve is a mirror image of that in the Grandval Bible, and the expelling angel is to be found in three of the Tournian Bibles. Nevertheless there are fundamental differences, not just in the iconography of the Genesis panel, but in its relation to the right hand door. The juxtaposition of the fall with the scenes of Christ's life, and particular the passion, make the whole Heilsgeschichte that lays the emphasis on sin and salvation in a universal sense. Particularly telling is the placing of the crucifixion next to the fall itself, so that a clear relationship between the tree of death and the tree of life (cross) is manifest. In this way the connection between the two is much clearer and emphatic than in the Tournian Bibles.

It is my opinion that the Hildesheim doors have a much closer iconographic connection with the fall miniatures from roughly the same period. As has been said, the assumption that a lost Tournian Bible was the source for the doors has been challenged, and Anglo-Saxon influences or similarities have been posited, more in particular the similarities with the Junius manuscript. Cohen and Derbes, following Tronzo, interpret the first scene at Hildesheim as the formation of Eve as Adam looks on.<sup>158</sup> This is obviously a difficult scene to interpret. The Logos bends over a figure, holding its shoulder, while a second figure watches. The difficulty is the second figure. Can Adam or Eve view

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<sup>157</sup> William Tronzo, "The Hildesheim Doors: An Iconographic Source and Its Implications," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 46 (1983). Also Adam S. Cohen and Anne Derbes, "Bernward and Eve at Hildesheim," *Gesta* XL (2001).

<sup>158</sup> Cohen and Derbes, "Bernward and Eve at Hildesheim."

their own creation? One possibility that as far as I know has not been considered is that the watching figure is man, as a soul. Claudius of Turin wrote that God created the soul, male and female, simultaneously, but created the bodies separately. Thus this scene could be the human soul watching its bodily creation. This reading is strengthened by the corresponding New Testament scene on the right hand door, the resurrection, an inversion of the Old Testament panel whereby the soul acquired flesh. Cohen and Derbes's interpretation, particularly in the light of the main argument, is still very reasonable. Their main argument is that, due to the conflict between Bernward of Hildesheim and Sophia of Gandesheim, and the former's insistence on clerical chastity, on the doors the blame for the fall is placed unequivocally on Eve.<sup>159</sup> They point out that Eve is portrayed as sexually alluring and defiant, and assert that the concentration on Eve, including their interpretation of the first scene, is a sign of this. They make an analogy with the concentration on Eve in *Genesis B* and consider it likely that Bernward was acquainted with a Saxon copy—presumably one related to the Vatican fragment. If this were truly the case, then Eve must be seen in the poem not as an unfortunate victim, but as a deliberately seductive temptress. The text does not support such a reading and the illustrations in Junius 11, as we have seen, interpret her role very differently. There are various other points which bring the Hildesheim iconography closer to that of the Odbert Psalter and Old English Hexateuch.

The juxtaposition of fall and redemption gives the same sort of emphasis that the whole miniature cycle of the Psalter displays. More importantly, the last two panels of the doors deal with the sacrifice of Cain and Abel and the murder of Abel. While these scenes have precedents—they are prominent in the Ashburnham Pentateuch, for example—the Carolingian scenes, as we have seen, were motivated by the political situation. This cannot be said either for the doors or for the Psalter; while it is by no means certain that the contemporary situation had no influence on either, they are not so overtly political as the Tournian Bibles—Cohen and Derbes' argument points out the struggle between secular and regular clerical power, simply in relation to Hildesheim and Gandesheim. We have already seen that the strong emphasis on the first chapters of *Genesis* in the cycle of miniatures in the Odbert Psalter gives a particular colouring to the need for salva-

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<sup>159</sup> Ibid.

tion, the first sin and the first crime that necessitate the incarnation. It is in just such a fashion that the two doors at Hildesheim are to be seen: the one is the counterpoint to the other. In this way the murder of Abel is complemented by the annunciation, the giving of life balancing the taking of life, and the act of God's love balancing an act of man's hatred. The confrontation of God with the guilty Adam and Eve has its counterpart in the innocent Christ before Pilate; the sacrifices of Cain and Abel have theirs in the nativity and the birth of God as sacrifice. Each of the Old Testament scenes deals with the bodily situation of man and is matched by its spiritual counterpart on the New Testament panels.

An iconographic similarity increases the links with the Psalter. There is the presence of a reptile in two of the fall scenes that Tronzo attributes to the first depiction of the devil, as opposed to the serpent.<sup>160</sup> These strange creatures appear twice in the scene of the fall itself, one hovering in a tree to the left of Adam and the other coiled by, almost under, Eve's right foot. The *ubi es?*/denial of blame/judgement scene is where this dragon-like creature appears again. Here it crouches at Eve's feet, its tail between her legs. This latter can clearly be seen as the tempter/serpent, but it is more difficult to see it in this way in the fall scene, as the serpent of the temptation is coiled round a tree to the right of Eve, a fruit in its mouth. It is possible that Tronzo is right and that the two dragons represent the devil, urging both man and woman on and using the serpent as his mouthpiece. However this does not explain why the devil and the serpent are conflated in the *ubi es?* scene, nor does it deal with the strange position of the dragon by Eve's foot. The dragon above and beyond Adam could indeed be seen as a driving force, a manipulator watching the unfolding of his plot, or even a reference to a first and unsuccessful temptation of Adam. The position in relation to Eve is more reminiscent of the judgement on the serpent, that there would be enmity between the children of Eve and those of the serpent, and that she would crush him under her heel. Such an interpretation would fit better if it were part of the *ubi es?* scene, but there the dragon/serpent is brought into connection with Eve, not just as an object of blame, but physically and psychologically they are identified. Moreover, in this latter scene the sexual connotation is clear in the way in which the dragon's tail is positioned between

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<sup>160</sup> Tronzo, "The Hildesheim Doors: An Iconographic Source and Its Implications."

Eve's legs. This is reminiscent of the way in which the serpent twines round the leg of Eve on f. 7v of the Hexateuch. Bearing this in mind, the dragons in the fall scene on the doors could bear a relationship to how Adam and Eve are tempted in different ways. The one by Adam is on a level with his head, implying that his fall is that of the mind and intellect. This would agree with the exegetes who said that Adam sinned knowingly. Those same exegetes felt that Eve's sin was the lesser, because she did not have the knowledge the man had. The dragon by the foot of Eve could then refer to an attack on her integrity by means of her lower nature, her fleshly desires. This would correspond with her twisting seductive pose and the fruit held before her breast, equating the two. The forbidden fruit is then translated into a symbol of femininity. Such a reading does not rule out a reference to the enmity between woman and the serpent. This enmity was seen as an allegory of the chaste female crushing sexual desires. Here Eve does not crush the serpent under her heel; it is close, but unscathed, implying that it was possible for Eve to withstand the tempter.

The sexual aspects of the Hildesheim Old Testament door bring it into the same area as the Hexateuch. In earlier works Adam and Eve share the blame, and fall, not through any malice, but by allowing their attention to wander from God. Of the two earlier manuscripts from the second period the Psalter puts the fall into the context of a Christological cycle. Junius 11 makes it part of a dramatic version of Heilsgeschichte, but changes the emphasis to Eve. Nevertheless the Eve of the Junius manuscript is far from seductive or malicious: she persuades Adam to eat, but from a conviction that she is doing God's will. Eve's faults are those of insufficient resolution, of mistaking the words of another for the will of God, of love of and fear for her husband. The text stresses her essentially good intentions and her earnestness. The artist of the Junius manuscript portrays her as humble and pleading as she offers the fruit to Adam. Nowhere does he show her as deliberately sexually alluring, nowhere is she shown as mischievous or delighting in the power that her sexuality gives her. The Eve of the Hexateuch and the Hildesheim doors is very different. In both she turns and teases, inviting Adam to follow her, as if the breaking of the prohibition is a game, a rule to be taken lightly. These Eves enjoy their power and do not think of the consequences, even if they are not actively malicious. Even so, there is the hint that Eve is already the devil's creature in the physical connection with the serpent. These two works are the first surviving examples of the visual expression of not just 'female'



weakness being the downfall of man, but that femaleness and above all female sexuality is evil.

### 3.5 *Paris, BN Ms. lat. 2077*

The youngest of the manuscripts from this period is a miscellany, the last part of which consists of an account of the struggle between the virtues and the vices. This differs in various ways from the better-known *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, being compiled from the works of two Carolingian authors, Halitgar and Ambrosius Autpertus. Generally speaking, it takes alternating passages from Autpertus' *De conflictu vitiorum et virtutum* and the first five books of Halitgar's Penitential. In this version the vices and virtues do not physically battle, but debate. This must have been a relatively well-known version, as there is a further manuscript that contains a similar compilation made at St. Martial, Limoges. Lat. 2077, however, is the only one illustrated.<sup>161</sup> This was obviously not done in conformity to the rest of the works in the miscellany, as only this, the last from ff. 162–174, is really illustrated and that, given its length, relatively profusely with ten miniatures. It was made in Moissac, probably in the early 1040s and before the Moissac scriptorium acquired its later prestige.<sup>162</sup> This is evident from the simple line drawings, with very small areas of wash, the extreme simplicity of both the drawings and compositions and the general lack of both background and ornamentation. It was made at a time when Moissac, having gone through a very difficult period, had just, or was just about to, ally itself to the Cluniac reform movement. The illumination of this part of the manuscript may have been part of the attempt to ally itself with a reform movement that laid particular emphasis on the creation of beautiful objects. Against this may be connected with the fact that Cluny and her sister houses concentrated, for the most part, on objects connected with the liturgy. However, the illumination falls short of the standards of many of the other reformed houses and may have been an early attempt at an ambitious illustration cycle that was regarded

<sup>161</sup> While Fraïsse states that only the final section is illustrated, it should be noted that there are several decorated initials, and on f. 55v there are two drawings in the lower margin, both executed in sepia ink, and what appear to be practice drawings on other folios. Fraïsse, "Un traité des vertues et des vices illustré à Moissac dans le première moitié du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle."

<sup>162</sup> J. Dufour, *La bibliothèque et le scriptorium de Moissac* (Geneva and Paris, 1972), p. 120.

as a practice for the scriptorium. The likelihood of this is increased by the practice drawings and the fact that the artist evidently felt more at home with purely decorative elements, rather than figures.

The work is set up in accordance with a strict scheme in which each pair of vice and virtue are allotted three chapters, the first from Autpertus and then two from Halitgar. It is perhaps a measure of the influence and popularity of Halitgar's Penitential that the 'traité moissagais est déterminé avant tout par l'oeuvre d'Halitgar'.<sup>163</sup> The text and images are fully integrated and the artist has clearly read and understood the text. Each illustration takes up about half a page and is placed adjacent to the text to which it refers. They display some of the traits of Anglo-Saxon art and in particular that of Junius 11, although the figures are sturdier and less elongated. There is also a strong resemblance to that work in the treatment of the devil-like vices. The peaked hair and wild beards probably ultimately derive from Carolingian sources, whether direct or indirect. While it is possible that Junius 11 had the Utrecht Psalter as a source, it is more likely that the Moissac manuscript had other Carolingian sources. One of the chief reasons for this supposition is the similarities to the Stuttgart Psalter, in particular the large hands with their expressive gestures and the frequently violent motion, that appears to be suspended, the figures frozen in time.

There are two miniatures that can be considered frontispieces to the work, one of the fall on f. 162v and a general introduction to the text on f. 163r. There is a clue as to the function of the illustrations given in two phrases at the end of chapter I that can be attributed to neither Halitgar of Autpertus, possibly Bede, *Sed quid facilius ad intellect tu[um] per oculos via est: id quod sermo de scripsit vivus ad signe*. Fraïsse declares that 'Ces phrases constituent de précieux témoignages sur les fondements théorétiques d'illustration des textes au moyen âge'.<sup>164</sup> While there is undoubtedly a great deal of truth in this statement, the practice of illustration sometimes shows deviation from the text illustrated. This is the case with the miniature on f. 162v that gives a different emphasis to the nature of sin to that in the text. However, such deviations, sometimes probably unconscious, can give an indication of changes in

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<sup>163</sup> Fraïsse, "Un traité des vertues et des vices illustré à Moissac dans le première moitié du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle", p. 223.

<sup>164</sup> Ibid., p. 224.

ways of thought, especially when, as here, two or more centuries have past since the text was written. This does not mean that the eleventh century copyists thought that the text was wrong, out-of-date or irrelevant, but that their own times and views coloured how they thought about the matters handled.

The miniature of the fall is the first of the miniatures and can be regarded as introducing the idea of sin as a generic concept before the more specific handling of vice and virtue that follows. (fig. 25) It is clear that the 'frontispiece' miniatures have received more treatment than the other miniatures, having partial body colour. It is, of course, the question as to whether this took place at the time the manuscript was made, or whether they are later additions: I am inclined to think that it was part of the original scheme. This partial colouration was not unknown and is indeed to be found in Junius 11. Again certain portions of the miniatures appear to have been emphasised in brown ink. It is possible that it was intended to colour the whole cycle, but for some reason this was not completed. The rest of the miniatures are executed in light brown ink, as is much of f. 162v, whereas the text is in much darker ink. It is also clear that rubrication took place after the text was written, but was always intended. I would suggest that a start was made on the full-page miniature on f. 163r—the only one of the cycle and the true opening of the text. Certainly the colourist did not work in a systematic fashion. The three angels at the top left have received fairly extensive colour, as have the attributes of *Superbia* and various weapons. The colourist then turned his attention to the half page miniature on the verso of the previous folio, one that might be considered very appropriate, but has no direct connection with the text. He filled in a yellow nimbus for the Logos and gave him a yellow orb, filled in one of the leaves of the tree green and darkened the hair and beard of the expulsion scene.

Generally speaking, the frame of the fall miniature is made up of tiny, nervous zigzagging lines, and seems to have been drawn after the figures; in the two cases where the drawing overlaps the frame, the uppermost fig leaf and Adam's toes at the bottom left, there is no sign of the frame under. The composition is unusual. Adam and Eve are on the left, Eve twisting to hand Adam a fruit with her left hand while reaching for another from the mouth of the serpent wound round the tree. The tree is central, and to the right the Logos expels Adam and Eve, the latter only half visible as the Logos seems to literally push the pair out of the frame. The nervous line characteristic of the frame is

seen again in parts of the miniature itself in the base of the tree, Eve's hair on the left, the nimbus of the Logos and to a lesser extent in the features and clothing, especially those of the right-hand figures. The Logos' clothing, while there is an attempt at fluttering drapery, is drawn with the same smooth and confident lines as most of the picture. While the drawing is somewhat crude there are several features of iconographic interest. It is possible that the artist conflated two miniatures, which might account for the slightly odd composition, which seems to have been cut off on the right. The crowded right half of the composition contrasts with the space of the left half. The contrasts do not stop there, and while it is possible that the contrast between the spaciousness of the pre-lapsarian left half with the crowded post-lapsarian right half is an accident of composition, some of the contrast between light and dark can only be intentional. The darkened hair here must be seen as deliberate—this is in heavy dark brown. In the figure of Adam on the left, the actual temptation scene, one can see that a start has been made to outline Adams hair and face in red, and both figures are fair haired and Adam's beard is also fair. There is no sign of red on the hair or faces of the expulsion figures. The resemblance to the Logos is striking, the more so because the resemblance vanishes in the right hand half. The right hand figures of Adam and Eve are differentiated but have no primary sexual characteristics, though the position of Eve's arms would preclude her breasts being visible.

The intrusion of sexuality that was apparent in the Hexateuch and the Hildesheim doors can be seen here, but with a different emphasis and different means. While Eve's pose has something of the twisting stance of the two earlier works, it is less explicitly provocative; nor is Eve bound to the serpent and the tree as she is in the Hexateuch. She both takes and offers the fruit, but her close association with sin is not present here. The sexual nature attributed to the fall here is in the detail of Eve's hand as she offers the fruit to Adam. The gesture with which she offers the fruit is not natural, holding it between her index and middle fingers. Such a gesture can be seen as a reference to the sexual act, and is thus more explicit than the earlier works. Eve is the initiator, offering sexual favour, which Adam receives with an eagerly open hand. Can the ovoid shape made by Eve's hand and the serpent's mouth with the fruit in the centre be seen as a reference to the female sexual organ? This would imply that sexuality was transmitted from the serpent to Eve and then to Adam. This would not be beyond the bounds of possibility given the apocryphal ideas of sexual intercourse

between Eve and the serpent. However, unlike the position of Eve's fingers, this could simply be the usual taking of the fruit from the serpent's mouth, and reading a sexual construction here could be going too far. While the position of Eve's hand and fingers is extraordinary, it is not completely unique: I have found only one other instance of a similar gesture and that is f.165v of the same manuscript. It could therefore be thought to be an idiosyncrasy of the artist. However, it is found nowhere else in the manuscript, and the context of the gesture gives rise to doubt as to whether this is simply to be seen as one person handing something to another. On f. 165v *Timor* hands a coin to a beggar using his first and middle fingers, this is not precisely as Eve hands the fruit to Adam. Here the coin is at the tips of the fingers, as if dropping negligently from them. The issue is further confused by the fact that this miniature seems to reverse the text: *Faciente tehele mosina[m] nefeciat sinistra tua qu[o]d/faciat dextra tua*. *Timor* stands holding a scroll and talking to another figure. His left hand, tucked under his right arm holds the coin out. The text continues a little further with the words *pater/tuus qui vid[et] inabscondito redd[et] tibi*. It is possible that the reversal of the hands is a comment on (sexual) hypocrisy. However, neither gesture can be regarded as unequivocally indicating sexual sin.

If there is the element of sexuality as an important component of the fall miniature, this does not come from the text, and is modified by looking at the opening ff. 162v/163r as a whole. The fall is matched by the miniature on the opposite side of the opening that shows the vices under the leadership of *Superbia*. This is a direct reference to the first chapter of Halitgar's Penitential that reads *Paradisi gaudiis postquam expulsum est genus humanum octo criminaliei in filios Adae originatiter dominantur vitia. Ipsa namque vitiurum regina Superbia... Radix quipped cuncti mali superbia est*. Here clearly the fall is linked to the vicious nature of post-lapsarian man, and by stating that pride, the queen of the vices, is the root of all evil it gives a name to the sin by which Adam and Eve fell. The miniature on f. 162v, however, gives no indication that pride is the cause of the downfall. Given the opening it is almost as if, with the expulsion, the Logos removes them from certainty and light, placing them in a world of uncertainty where vice exists. The didactic/narrative effect gives a causal relationship, but the message is somewhat ambiguous. Any sexuality in Eve's gesture is not echoed on the other side of the opening. I suggest that it is possible that the increasingly closer link between sin and female sexuality coloured the way in which the artist dealt with his theme.

Looking at the opening as a whole, the right-hand side of the fall miniature takes on the function of showing man now in the uncertain world where he must choose between sin and virtue; he steps from one world to the next. This is in some ways moderately hopeful. The virtues are there to counterbalance the vices and the Logos stands on the right-hand side of the miniature, forming a link between post-lapsarian man and paradise. The Logos is cross-nimbed and bearded, and, as has been said, bears a strong resemblance to the pre-lapsarian Adam. This can be seen as an expression of man being made in God's likeness, while the post-lapsarian Adam loses this likeness, having let sin into his existence. The object held by the Logos in his left hand is puzzling. In the majority of cases where the expulsion is effected by the Logos, not an angel, the Christ figure holds a *crux hastata*, a scroll or book as tokens of either might and law, or as an intimation of redemption. In the Moissac manuscript the figure holds what appears to be a fairly large ball. It is possibly an orb, even though undecorated, displaying God's lordship over the world, outside heaven and paradise. Another explanation is that it is the fruit of life, that which is forbidden now to the couple and will only be given to their descendents with Christ's death on the Cross. That it is so much bigger than the fruit given by the serpent and Eve would be an indication of its limitless power, and that true life can triumph over death.

#### 4. *The Attitude to Sin c. 1000*

Considering the diversity of texts and the geographical spread of the manuscripts the conclusions concerning the general iconography are relatively limited. However, there are certain elements that can be regarded as common. The basic type regarded in isolation gives a somewhat pessimistic view: the fall is shown as almost inevitable; man's potential, and even his pre-lapsarian existence, count for nothing. If, instead of looking at the basic type in isolation, we consider the message of the manuscripts as a whole the situation is somewhat different. The emphasis is on Heilsgeschichte, on the cycle of sin, repentance and redemption. In two of the manuscripts this is quite explicit, while in the Moissac manuscript the emphasis on the virtues and the fact that Halitgar's Penitential was used point to the importance of choice and repentance. The characters, especially Adam, are more passive, and the deity less conspicuous than in the earlier works. An important

new note is sounded by the emotional and dramatic appeal made to the reader/viewer replacing the almost impartial narrative effect of the ninth century frontispieces. Man's fallen nature is a given: he still has a choice, but that is not just to accept God as his Lord and obey him in all things, but also to fight his own nature, to conquer the weakness of his own humanity. The fruit is not given to Eve by the serpent, but she is persuaded to pick it. Adam does not eat the fruit, but simply accepts it. Eve's role is, therefore, more active, her connection with sin more direct, and this is emphasised by a degree of overt sexuality. In two, possibly three, of the manuscripts the motivation for the fall plays an important role; instead of the straightforward narrative of a choice made, the reasons for the choice, and even the reasons why it was the wrong choice are displayed.

Obviously the large iconographical cycles of the two Anglo-Saxon manuscripts offer more in the way of information than the initial in the Odbert Psalter and the miniature in the Moissac manuscript. Nevertheless it is interesting to consider the developments in the period that stretched over roughly half a century. It is difficult to determine whether Junius 11 or the Psalter is the older work, but in terms of iconographic development I shall consider the Psalter as the first of the works. While it is true it foreshadows the complex initials of the later eleventh and twelfth centuries, it is in many ways the closest to the ninth century works, despite its extreme compression. This is the one miniature in which motivation does not play a part; it is a straightforward depiction of the fall as a fact. An important element is the covering of nudity, which implies that a certain weight was given to that aspect when the choice was made what would be depicted. In view of the increasing emphasis on sexuality it is perhaps easy to over-emphasise this point. The decision could have been greatly influenced by technical reasons. The amount of space in an initial is limited and complexity of composition extremely difficult. As it is, the three episodes of the two temptations and the covering are all adequately shown in a very small space. However, this is not an inevitable choice. In fact the temptation of Adam is truncated: Eve does not offer the fruit to him; he already holds it. The choice before the artist/designer wanting to show all three scenes was either to have Eve accept the fruit and hand it to Adam, thereby not leaving a hand free for the leaves, or to have Eve hand the fruit to Adam, while the pair covered their nudity, or the choice that was in fact made. By choosing to depict the pair holding leaves before their genitalia and Eve just after she has accepted the fruit, the

artist/designer has emphasised the more active role of Eve and the sexual element. Nevertheless, the dominant consideration is the place of the miniature within the scheme of the iconographic cycle of the manuscript as a whole. It is an essential part, together with the other Genesis initials, of this cycle. The whole meaning of the Christological cycle is based on the need for redemption, and it is just these initials that demonstrate that need. The mirroring of Christ's sacrifice in the fall initial, and the fall in the first temptation of Christ underline this interdependence.

Junius 11 is an extremely complex and difficult work and has many unique features, but even so there are trends that can be seen. Like the Psalter, if the manuscript is taken as a whole, there is a great emphasis on redemption and Christ's sacrifice. Even if we consider only the visual narrative, there is a great degree of preoccupation with motivation. The miniatures, showing events through Eve's eyes, give a picture with which the reader could identify. Eve again plays an active role, but here as a victim not only of the devil/serpent, but of her own self-deception. Eve is the weakness in mankind, the senses and emotions that can be deceived, even while intending nothing but good. Irresolution, doubt, the willingness to listen to dubious counsel are Eve's downfall. Her inability to perceive the truth, her inclination to follow the dictates of emotion rather than stern knowledge and reason are her faults. Eve is the flaw in human nature. Adam's sin is that he allows the arguments of the senses to overrule his better judgement. In seeing Eve as an allegory of the senses and emotions she is in no way depicted as a symbol of sensuality or sexuality. In neither text nor illustration does Eve use her body or try to inflame Adam's desire to get him to accede to her request. Eve, the female element in mankind, is that weakness that holds him back from achieving heavenly status: it is through the female that sin can gain a foothold, but sin is not equated, or even associated with sexuality.

The Hildersheim doors are contemporaneous with the two older manuscripts and share their emphasis on the cycle of sin and redemption. The doors form a new departure by depicting Eve's temptation of Adam as based on sexuality. The consciousness of sexuality here is not the result of the fall, but an essential element leading to it. Just as Eve in the Junius manuscript is the means by which sin can enter the world, Eve is the instrument here, but not simply as human weakness, deceived by the senses and emotions, but driven by sexuality and her enjoyment of the power it gives her. It is this theme that is picked up



and enlarged by the Old English Hexateuch. The creation of Eve in this manuscript is a transitional stage between the earlier depictions of an independent but secondary creation, and the later derivative of the male, coming forth from him at the word of God. Even more than the Hildersheim doors, does the Hexateuch associate Eve with sin. Like them it depicts her as sexually aware, consciously alluring, but it binds her, quite literally, with the serpent and the tree of knowledge of good and evil. In the miniature of the fall in the Hexateuch sin, sexuality and femaleness are bound together forming a magnet for and a danger to man. The youngest of the manuscripts of this period again probably displays the role that sexuality played in the thinking about sin, and again Eve is the initiator. It would be an exaggeration to say that sexuality had become equated with sin, but it was clearly playing a more prominent role. Sin was no longer a simple matter of choice between following one master or another, but of choosing to fight against the lower nature in ones self, of denying the senses, controlling the emotions and of ensuring that the intellect and soul ruled the body. In a certain sense sexuality, or female sexuality, began to be a symbol not only for all that was human weakness, but also for the attraction of such weakness. Man's potential, the divinity in him, was no longer to the fore: he had relinquished that with the fall, and the artists at the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh centuries concentrated on his human nature, that part of himself that must be overcome and could only be done so by the grace and help of God. Certainly the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts see evil as the work of the devil that plays upon the weakness and imperfections of men, but at the same time it is clear that man owes his existence—as does the world—to the rebellion of Lucifer. Man can replace the fallen angels, but only with God's grace and help: his conscience is the battleground where his lower and higher natures find their conflict. The devil and sin appeal to his senses, while God appeals to his intellect and deep knowledge of what is right. If man can vanquish the control of the senses over his life he can vanquish sin and the devil. In the fight for man's soul both parties continue their struggle, but both appeal, not to the simple fealty owed to a lord, but to the desire and appetites of man himself, whether of the body or the soul. Both enemy and ally are found within man himself in his longings that reflect both sides of his nature. At the same time there is the beginning of a gendered approach to sin. Femaleness and sexuality are equated, and Adam's susceptibility to Eve's sensuality is not only that of the intellect weakened

by the senses, but of man seduced by woman. While the male-female sexual relationship is used as a metaphor it prepares the way for the identification of (sexual) sin with women.

The spread of manuscripts with fall miniatures in this period is curious. Obviously we have no way of knowing how many have been lost to us, but it is surely significant that there are two extensive cycles from late Anglo-Saxon England and none from the Ottonian Empire, despite the relatively large number of manuscripts from that area. The only example from the east Frankish lands that we have is the Hildersheim doors. Cohen and Derbes have argued very cogently that the choice of subject matter was related to a power struggle between Hildersheim and Gandersheim. Anglo-Saxon England was also subject to power-struggles, divided loyalties and disaster that was put down to ill counsel and indecision, as well as the contention between secular and regular clergy. It is possible that against a background such as this, the need to make the right choice, in most cases seen as a conservative one, between loyalty to a sworn lord and new counsel, people tended to look again at the choices made by their first parents. We know too little about the circumstances surrounding the making of the manuscripts to say if this was a conscious factor, but it is a point worth bearing in mind.

Without doubt we can say that the monastic reform movement played a large role in shaping the way the iconography developed. Not only were all five works the products of reformed houses, but they emphasise those aspects of life desired by such houses. In this sense they are as much propaganda as the ninth century works. They breathe the sense of identification, of drama so characteristic of Cluniac reform, but also preach the austerity expected of the monk, and desired of the Christian. This, too, is consistent with the new element of sexuality in the works, in a world where, above all, the reformers were preaching clerical chastity and virginity. The monk should be dead to the world, and concentrate on God alone, all else was a distraction. Love of God should be the emotion that moved him, made him humble and praise God. The monk should be the opposite of Lucifer, rejoicing not in his own powers, but recognising and praising God. In this ideal, the senses were a hindrance; he must learn to deny them, with God's help, put them from him and be worthy of heaven. Desiring God and loving God were no longer enough, the enemy was no longer without, but within, and it was this enemy that must be conquered.

### 5. *Death in the Late Tenth and Early Eleventh Centuries*

It is interesting to note that the occurrences of visual personifications of death, just as representations of the fall, tend to be found in clusters in the early Middle Ages. These clusters, too, tend to coincide with the fall clusters. The serpent at the foot of the cross and the *super aspidem* motif continued to be used, but there is a hiatus from the late ninth century until the late tenth century in the other forms. With the re-emergence of death images, the basic forms found in the ninth century continue into this period, and there are various developments both in form and context indicating a shift in attitude. While death remains the eschatological death, the functions this figure fulfils show a marked change: in some cases the basic types have a tendency to cross the ninth century boundaries between anthropomorphic and serpentine and between relatively human and demonic.

The period of the second cluster of manuscripts containing images of death is almost identical to that of the fall manuscripts and can also be divided into two groups. Once again Anglo-Saxon art provides a number of images, while the second major geographical area is the Ottonian Empire. A startling new development comes from a scriptorium in the Loire Valley, but this seems to be unique in that precise form. The images from the two main geographical and political areas show distinct differences in both form and attitude, giving rise to the question as to what in their background differed to such an extent as to cause these discrepancies.

The human type figure is to be found as both the apocalyptic death and, in a new development, at the foot of the cross. The apocalyptic death shows little change from that of the younger of the two Carolingian manuscripts considered, but the new context of the defeated death under the cross has two variants, both clearly emphasising the human and powerless characteristics of the figure. In no case is the fully human type death threatening or powerful: his clothing is both contemporary and modest; he is no warrior and carries neither effective weapons nor armour. In two cases that can be regarded as borderline human/demonic he is supernaturally large, coarse and frightening and, unlike the fully human type, he displays the implied nudity of the giant of the Utrecht Psalter. These are the only cases in which he fulfils his gaoler function and displays ferocity. These are to be found in the last judgement scene in BL Stowe 944, f. 6v, and psalm 1 in

the Harley Psalter, f. 1v.<sup>165</sup> If we consider the transformation of death at the foot of the cross, then the fully human type is more common than the borderline human/demonic. The new basic human type can therefore be seen as an unthreatening figure.

The fully demonic version of the anthropomorphic basic type seems to stem rather from the giant of the Utrecht Psalter rather than from the demonic figures of the Stuttgart. The basic figure has serpentine locks of hair, wings, beard and dragons round his head. Like the demons of the Utrecht he wears a kilt and is generally hairy, scaly or in some way deformed. Despite the clear descent from giants of the Utrecht there is a move away from the gaoler function towards that of hunter. This cannot be said for the serpentine type; whether as a dragon or a serpent this is very much the defeated death. It is still found at the foot of the cross, but more and more frequently in scenes of the harrowing of hell, showing it trampled under the feet of Christ. From the tenth century, Anglo-Saxon art made use of the hell mouth, a practise that spread rapidly to mainland Europe, even finding its way eventually into Russian icons. The figure of the death in these scenes gradually loses importance and eventually becomes incorporated into the hell mouth itself. The serpent at the foot of the cross begins to give way to a human figure. At the end of this period we are left with two types of anthropomorphic death, the unthreatening human and the ferocious demonic type.

The cross movements between the types, the absorption of certain representations and the growth of new ones makes charting the changes extremely complex to deal with either chronologically or thematically. The geographical area of origin of individual manuscripts appears to have been of great influence, a factor that is made visible by the use of basic types.

### 5.1 *The Serpentine Death*

While the influence of the Utrecht Psalter is undeniable, particularly on Anglo-Saxon art,<sup>166</sup> the iconography of death in the succeeding period, initially at least, follows the conceptual traditions of the Stuttgart

<sup>165</sup> London, BL Ms Harley 603, f. 1v.

<sup>166</sup> Zarnecki sees the influence on the Winchester School as so great as to be almost decisive. G. Zarnecki, *The monastic achievement*, (London, 1972).

Psalter more closely. Snakes, dragons and demons feature largely as the representations of death in the works of the following three centuries. While many of these images were stylistically similar to the Utrecht, the type of image found in that work was, to a large extent, absorbed into the demonic and infernal.

A powerful symbol that arose in Anglo-Saxon England but has little or no literary tradition is that of the hell mouth.<sup>167</sup> It was a visual symbol, making its first appearance in manuscript art and finding its ultimate expression in medieval theatre. In the mouth of hell various representations of death were conflated to make a new and vivid image. This image was so gripping, so appropriate to the feelings of the beholder that it spread from England to the rest of Europe and became the dominant visual method of portraying hell. Probably the earliest surviving image is an ivory plaque from the late eighth or early ninth century, which combines the ascension with the harrowing of hell and the doomed within hell.<sup>168</sup> The first aspect of the hell mouth was that of the Old Testament *Sheol* or pit, graphically shown in the Utrecht, but taking on a new implication, that of something living. While the mouth of hell itself never became popular as a literary figure, it had some precedents in the idea of sin and death being a ravenous beast. Caesarius of Arles described the mouth of the pit as being similar to the sensation of being swallowed and being cut off from the sight of God, something that accords with the concept of death in the Utrecht Psalter. Perhaps one of the most interesting ideas that could have contributed to the formation of the hell mouth was a fifth century sermon by Peter Chrysologus in which the close links between sin, death and hell acquire dramatic expression:<sup>169</sup>

O sin, you cruel beast—a beast not content to vent your fury against the human race from merely one head. We have seen this beast, brethren, devouring with a triple mouth all the highly precious sprouts of the human family. Yes brethren, with a mouth that is triple: as sin this beast captures, as death it devours, and as hell it swallows down.

<sup>167</sup> There is a strong literary tradition of swallowing, biting and regurgitating within hell, but the actual entrances to hell are not described as mouths, but usually as caves or volcanoes.

<sup>168</sup> London, Victoria and Albert Museum, no. 253–1867.

<sup>169</sup> G.E. Gans, ed., *Saint Peter Chrysologus selected sermons, and Saint Vallerian, homilies*, (New York, 1953).

The multiple hell mouth later became a feature of many depictions of hell, sometimes taking the form of three or even four equal mouths, sometimes mouths within a mouth and sometimes heads or mouths on a mouth.

The whale or leviathan, as described in the *Carmen de Jona*, was an obvious source for the hell mouth, and Jerome's commentary on Jonah strengthens the view expressed by Caesarius. Jerome saw Jonah as being swallowed not by a huge fish, but by death and hell. According to Openshaw the lion, along with the dragon, was the source of the hell mouth in the eleventh century Tiberius Psalter.<sup>170</sup> She cites a prayer to St. Michael, first found in the ninth century Book of Cerne, ff. 56r–57v, but apparently current at Winchester in the eleventh century.<sup>171</sup> The gates of death and the shadow of death, as a building, were incorporated into the hell mouth. If the zoomorphic figures lent themselves to apocalyptic applications, or scenes of the last judgement, the architectural figures found a niche in the scenes of the harrowing of hell. The hell mouth was often shown in conjunction with a death image, the dragon being perhaps the most common form of this. However the serpents and dragons, trampled under the feet of the victorious Christ leading the fathers from hell, became smaller and less significant. The mouth gradually took over and absorbed the various images from which it sprang, until they lost their original connotations and became images of hell.

### 5.1.1 *The super aspidem Motif*

The image of Christ trampling on a lion and serpent or dragon was found among the earlier ninth century manuscripts, but in the Carolingian Empire was to a large extent superseded by a serpent at the

<sup>170</sup> F. 14r.

<sup>171</sup> *Te ergo supplico et deprecor sancte michael archangele qui ad animas accipiendas accepisti postestatem ut animam meam suscipere digneris quando de corpore meo erit egressa et libera eam de potestate inimici ut pertransire possit portas infernorum et vias tenebrarum ut non se deponat leo vel draco qui consequutus est animas in inferno recipere et ad aeterna tormenta perducere.* (From the eleventh century manuscript, Oxford, Bod. Lib., MS. Douce 296, f. 122v) Therefore I beseech and entreat you, St. Michael, the archangel, who knows those of the accepted souls to be received, find my soul worthy when it leaves my body and free it from the power of the enemy, so that it avoids the gates of Hell and the ways of shadows and that the lion and dragon who usually receive souls in Hell and lead them to eternal torment Cited Kathleen M. Openshaw, "The battle between Christ and Satan in the Tiberius Psalter," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 57 (1989).

foot of the cross. This motif was never as popular in Anglo-Saxon art and the preference for versions of the *super aspidem* motif remained. A very early example is to be found in the eighth century Durham *Cassiodorus*.<sup>172</sup> This depicts a standing nimbed figure bearing a lance and a disc with the *titulus* 'David'. The interesting point is that he stands upon a two-headed serpent. Openshaw sees this as an early example of the use of the psalter as a defence against sin, and the identification of David as a typological Christ in the fight against evil.<sup>173</sup> More recently this view has been challenged by reference to the text in which Cassiodorus' commentary claims that the use of the name David denotes Christ.<sup>174</sup> While this may seem a relatively slight difference, it does have consequences for the interpretation of the serpent under David's feet. If David is to be seen as a typological Christ, and to follow Openshaw's argument, the one who fights and defeats sin, then the serpent is a 'clever allusion to the Devil.' However, it must be remembered that this is a double-headed serpent, and the triumphant Christ tramples not only on sin, but on the wages of sin, death. If Cochran is right in her reading that the miniature refers to Cassiodorus' assertion that the name David means Christ, then this would seem to be a unique version of the more conventional *super aspidem* motif, that in a very graphic manner combines the elements of sin and death with the symbolism of the serpent, in much the same way as the miniature on f.28v of the Stuttgart Psalter.

Obviously the *super aspidem* motif goes back a considerable time in Insular art, and while it is sometimes found as an independent scene, such as in the Crowland Psalter,<sup>175</sup> it tended to be conflated with scenes of the harrowing of hell and the hell mouth. The Tiberius Psalter is a good example of such a conflation. (fig. 26) This was made probably in the second quarter of the eleventh century at Winchester and not only displays the stylistic tendencies of the Winchester School, but the absorption of numerous themes in the scene of the harrowing of hell. Not only is the hell mouth shown as the gaping maw of a great beast, but echoing the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, the doors of hell have been burst

<sup>172</sup> Durham, Cathedral Library Ms B.II.30, f. 172v.

<sup>173</sup> Openshaw, "The battle between Christ and Satan in the Tiberius Psalter."

<sup>174</sup> Laura Cochran, "'The wine in the vines and the foliage in the roots': Representations of David in the Durham Cassiodorus" (paper presented at the East/South/West/North. Encounters in the Medieval World, Providence, 2004).

<sup>175</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library Ms Douce 296.

open. According to *Nicodemus*, Christ trampled death underfoot when he broke down the doors of hell: in the Tiberius Psalter Christ is standing directly on a demonic figure, but considering the fact that it is bound, this would appear to be Satan. Another point that would indicate this is the strong resemblance to the Satan of the temptation miniature on f. 10v; the lack of wings and smaller size of the figure in the harrowing scene would be accounted for by the difference between the battle of wills between two protagonists taking place at the temptation, and the defeat of one of them in the harrowing. The lack of wings and diminished size show the extent of Satan's defeat and lack of power. The influence of the Utrecht Psalter is very clear, not only stylistically, but in the pose of the cross-nimbed Christ. This is not the warrior storming the infernal gates; those lie open behind him, but the loving Lord who raises the fathers from hell. Nevertheless, despite the virtually identical poses, there is a stronger sense of hierarchy than in the Utrecht, due to the enormous discrepancy in size between Christ and the figures he releases. These figures, with two exceptions, are in contemporary dress. The two exceptions are naked, and clearly represent Adam and Eve. Unlike the majority of harrowing scenes the two do not stand together, closest to Christ, as he raises them first. Here one figure indeed stands immediately before Christ, but the second stands at the back of the group, furthest from the Redeemer. This is an indication that the second figure is Eve, although neither figure has either primary or secondary sexual characteristics: it is a reference to the versions and adaptations of *Nicodemus* such as *Christ and Satan* in which Eve cannot leave hell until she takes upon herself the blame for the fall.

Outside the context of the harrowing of hell the same motif of Christ trampling on death can be seen in Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 610. This tenth century German work is known as the Worms Missal and contains two full-page miniatures. That on f. 55v precedes the *Misse pro defunctoris* on f. 56r and shows Christ, cross-nimbed and enthroned with at his feet a chained and manacled death. This is a demonic dark figure, with wild peaked hair. Christ pierces his eye with a *crux hastata* held in his right hand while with his left he holds the chain that binds him. The question is whether this is a form of symbolism in an extension of the ninth century death as the captive of God, or whether there is a conflation with the bound Satan. There is no doubt that death is intended. Not only does the miniature precede the Mass for the dead, but there is a verse under it that makes the identification explicit. *Hic residues solio Christus iam victor in alto / Mortem calce perimit, colligate alque fodit/*



*Dumque salutiferam vult Mors extinguere vitam/Infelix homo deperit illa sua.* The emphasis of the verse seems to be on Christ's victory over death: it is his redeeming face that saves man. There is no sense that man must work for his salvation, indeed he has no place in the miniature at all. Considering this point it seems likely that there is no real conflation of death and Satan here, although the idea of the chained devil may have influenced the iconography.

#### 5.1.2 *The Serpent at the Foot of the Cross*

The serpent at the foot of the cross is one of the motifs that show the most changes, crossing the boundaries between types. A number of manuscripts of the second half of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century continue the Carolingian theme of the serpent or dragon at the foot of the cross with little change in essentials.<sup>176</sup> Of particular interest in this group is Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Ms 5573. This shows a strong tendency towards the idea of the cross not only as the defeat of death, but also the way to eternal life. It is a 'green cross' consisting of two logs with the sawn-off ends of branches shown on them, and from these sawn-off branches spring blade-shaped leaves. At the foot of the cross the twisted and knotted form of a mottled snake with a light underbelly lies, its head pointed upwards and its mouth open. These aspects, taken in conjunction with the freely bleeding wounds borne by Christ, point to an interpretation of this crucifixion being a relatively early version of eternal life springing from Christ's death on the cross. However, other persons or articles begin to appear at the foot of the cross.

The importance of the role of the Church, and the Eucharist in particular, is demonstrable in the number of miniatures that show a chalice at the foot of the cross, sometimes seemingly used as a *suppedaneum*. This is a variation of the figure, usually Ecclesia, catching the blood flowing from the wound on Christ's side. In this case life replaces death. Death, however, takes on a new and more immediate form with the placing of Adam at the foot of the cross. This must not be confused with the resurrection of the dead shown in many crucifixion scenes, although it is sometimes conflated with it, and is probably one of the iconographic sources for the transformation of death into Adam. Death entered the

<sup>176</sup> For example Kassel, Landesbibliothek and Ms Theo. Fol. 60, Leipzig Staatsbibliothek, Ms. 190.

world through Adam's transgression: there was a tradition that Adam was buried at Golgotha, the site of the crucifixion.<sup>177</sup> Syrian artists began the tradition of showing Adam's skull at the base of the cross, and this usage spread through the Eastern Church and by the ninth century was certainly common practice in Byzantine art. Rome never accepted the tradition but that did not prevent artists using the motif, either as a skull or an entombed corpse. Its spread in Western Europe was slower, reaching Spain towards the end of the tenth century, but taking until the twelfth and thirteenth to become established. The crucifixion in the Fulda Sacramentary, circa 975, Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek, Theol. 231, f. 60r, shows this transition stage very clearly. While Adam and Eve, with their (symbolic) descendants rise from their graves, the snake twines around the base of the cross.

Interestingly, at least one miniature shows Adam and Eve, the chalice and the serpent.<sup>178</sup> (fig. 27) This dates from the end of the period now under discussion c. 1050 and originated in the scriptorium of Echternach. It has, stylistically at least, much in common with other Ottonian products, being fairly symmetrical with the decorative and surface qualities very apparent. Although 'busier' and fuller than many Ottonian works it has much of the stillness and timelessness that invite contemplation. The deep blue background is possibly intended to represent the darkness that fell during the crucifixion. Many Ottonian crucifixions, despite their surface quality and sense of being outside time and space, have a strong narrative element, often showing the division of garments, Stephaton and Longinus and the leg-breakers. In this case we can see a strong link between the text of Matthew 27.45–52 wherein the sky is darkened and the graves gave up their dead. The two 'risen' can be identified as Adam and Eve by various elements, not only the Golgotha connection and the fact that they are male and female. Nudity often indicates Adam and Eve, but nudity in Ottonian art is very rare indeed and the lack of it here cannot be regarded as a contraindication. The fact that Mary and John stand upon the mounds from which they rise points to a hierarchical contrast. The Eve/ Mary opposition is well known, and is here emphasised, not by Eve's nudity, but by her flowing locks, set against the chastely covered head of Mary. The youthful, beardless John, to whom virginity is traditionally

<sup>177</sup> Mark 15, 22.

<sup>178</sup> London, BL, Ms Egerton 608.

attributed, is set above the bearded and experienced Adam: the serpent winding around the base of the processional type cross is another reminder of the fall and the coming of death that was its result. The serpent's head reaches the bottom of the chalice into which blood from Christ's wounded feet streams. The whole miniature encapsulates the story of the redemption from the fall via Christ's sacrifice to the hope of eternal life symbolised by the (Eucharist) cup. The first sin is undone by Christ's death: just as Christ tramples sin and death in the form of the serpent, so the two other virgins trample the first sinners. This juxtaposition throws some light on the idea of sin: here there is clearly a sexual connotation, but it cannot be regarded as an indication that sexuality was the only or even the chief sin of the fall. Steadfastness is attributed to John and Mary, as is lack of pride or hubris. Nevertheless this is an optimistic miniature. The consequences of the first sin are undone, and the chalice indicates that redemption is there for those who rise above their sinful nature.

Adam, as a skull or corpse, represented man doomed to die, or even death itself, as Christ represented life. It was yet another development of the *super aspidum* motif, but one that brought death closer to man. By identifying Adam, the common ancestor of all, with death, death was made physical and human. Perhaps the most startling example of the transition by which Adam became identified with death is Angers, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms 24, f. 7v. (fig. 28) This tenth century manuscript originates from the Val de Loire, but is not expressly attributed to Fleury. Nevertheless, I think it can be assumed that the manuscript was made in a flourishing period of monastic reform. The work has strong similarities to Ottonian manuscripts in the content, but not the style or treatment. Just as many Ottonian manuscripts have a strong narrative thread in the passion miniatures, the Angers work crams a great many events and scenes into a single opening, ff. 7v, 8r. Not only does it show the crowded events of the crucifixion and deposition—again frequently found in Ottonian manuscripts—the *tituli* make sure there is no possibility of mistaking what is represented. The similarity with Ottonian works ends with the subject matter. The style is far removed from the still and calm effect of the scriptoria of Echternach or Reichenau. The figures leap and prance, the soldiers tug hard at the clothing, the leg-breakers swing their clubs with energy, and even Mary and John seem to quiver with life. The colouration is sober and limited, contrasting with the rich colours and plentiful gold found in so many Ottonian works.

It shows Christ's triumph over death in a most emphatic fashion. The leaves and buds found on the 'green cross' of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts appear here as small fleur-de-lys on the arms and top of the cross, but these burst into large acanthus leaves in the deposition scene on f. 8r, indicating that with Christ's death the cross has become the tree of life. The triumph is shown also by the banners bearing a cross that wave on the arms of the cross, flanking the bearded, open-eyed and living Christ. The cross is a processional type, that is the lower part tapers as did the crosses carried in church processions and were then fixed into a holder on the altar. This cross is fixed into the ground, but instead of being above a dark hole with a skull denoting Adam's grave—and this would be a very early instance of this in Frankish lands—it seems to bore through a severed head. Linking the head to the bleeding feet of Christ is a serpent. By showing Adam's head, rather than his skull, his role has changed. It is no longer simply a geographical particular, however important that may be in denoting the centre of the world and the significance of the crucifixion; it shows Adam as mortal man, the snake symbolising both his sin and his death. Sin and death are crushed by the weight of redemption. This is not Adam rising from the dead or brought from hell by a victorious Christ, but man before the redemption, condemned to eternal death. Adam stands for unredeemed man who must die spiritually. It is the necessity for this spiritual death that is defeated here.

## 5.2 *The Anthropomorphic Death*

The Angers manuscript brought a very human aspect to death, making it close and identifiably human. Nevertheless, it is a unique work; to my knowledge no other work with such a detail remains to us. The human death was a minority figure in this period. The only true successors to the giant of the Utrecht have certain supernatural traits. The Harley Psalter is the oldest of the so-called 'copies' of the Utrecht, being started at Christ Church, Canterbury, circa 1010.<sup>179</sup> Work continued on it for about 120 years, but it was never completed. The illustrations clearly had priority, being completed, per folio, before the scribes set to work. There are various theories as to why it was made, to conserve the possibly fading Utrecht and to provide a more easily

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<sup>179</sup> London, BL Ms Harley 603.

readable version,<sup>180</sup> or to provide a learned person with a tool for meditation and contemplation.<sup>181</sup> Noel is of the opinion that Æthelnoth was the intended recipient, someone who was familiar with and admired the Utrecht Psalter, someone to whom the psalms were so familiar that the illustrations would provide a point of departure for contemplation.

The illustration to psalm 1 on f. 1v follows closely that of the Utrecht Psalter, both in style, iconography and treatment, but is set in a border. (fig. 29) The pit of hell and the figure of death fall partially outside this frame, which is an interesting departure, perhaps to emphasise the fate of the proud, above in the top right. The demons at the pit have lost their wings and their features are coarsened. The death of the Harley is still an anthropomorphic giant, and in pose and function faithfully reproduces its model. However there are some differences. He devours one of the unrighteous, rather than simply holding him prisoner in hell. This increases his role as punisher and brings to it a demonic aspect. Not just eternal death and the absence of God is punishment, but pain and fear as well. Death in the Utrecht Psalter has wild locks of hair, which in the Harley have been made into five very definite and horn-like peaks. The hairs on the arm are more pronounced and give an effect of fur. The rather odd arrangement of the arms in the Utrecht whereby death's right arm seems to be brought round towards the left and ends in a clumsy hand has been altered in the Harley: here only the left arm is visible and ends in a strange curling flipper. In fact we can say the Harley death is taking the first steps towards the demonic.

A second version of the giant is to be found in the New Minster *Liber Vitae*<sup>182</sup> in last judgement scene that spans an opening, ff. 6v, 7r. (fig. 30) This manuscript was made at Winchester, New Minster, about 1031 and contains not only the last judgement opening but a scene on f.6r. of Cnut and his wife Ælfifu donating a cross to the altar of the abbey.<sup>183</sup> The last judgement scene is a line drawing with touches of red and green, possibly unfinished, considering the blank spaces on f. 6v. In fact it is probably incorrect to call this a last judgement scene. There

<sup>180</sup> Alexander, *Medieval illuminators and their methods of work*. The Harley uses the Romanum version of the psalms, then current at Canterbury.

<sup>181</sup> W. Noel, *The Harley Psalter* (Cambridge, 1995).

<sup>182</sup> London, BL, Stowe 944, f. 7r.

<sup>183</sup> Ælfifu was Norman by birth, and she is sometimes known by her Norman name of Emma, as in *Economium Emma*.

is indeed a *majestas* on the f. 7r, but this is no Christ in judgement, nor is there of any sign of the resurrection of the dead. On f. 6v an angel ushers a group of men after a second nimbed group, also led by an angel. They are clearly being led to the scene immediately opposite where St. Peter, holding an immense key, invites them to enter the open door of the heavenly city. It is within these gates and walls that Christ in majesty is adored by those already there. Under the groups on the left hand side of the opening two nimbed men contemplate the scene played out on the right. On the far right a small group is held chained by a devil. This devil is a direct descendent of the Carolingian demons; spiky hair and ragged kilt characterise him, though his body and features are coarser than those of the Utrecht Psalter. He holds a book in his left hand and with his right seizes the arm of a soul. In this he is frustrated by St. Peter who hits him full in the face with his great key and takes the soul's other arm. On the extreme left an angel holds a book, obviously the counterpart to that held by the devil. In the lowest register we find a scene of hell, and that is where we find the giant. This scene displays both the gates of hell and the hell mouth, perhaps in recognition of the different levels of hell.<sup>184</sup> An angel locks the gates, which could indeed be a reference to the last judgement, but possibly is better interpreted as the final fate of the godless, just as heaven was the final destination of the blessed, whatever interim places they might inhabit. Two figures fall into the hell mouth, a third tries to fling himself away while the giant forces two more figures towards the maw. The giant is not fully human, not only is he very large and wearing the ragged kilt so characteristic of the demonic, but he appears to have a spur on his right heel. His function is still that of the giant in the Utrecht: he, no less than the damned, is a denizen of hell, in this case locked there by the angel. His work is to ensure that the damned enter the hell mouth. Even more clearly is this a separate function of death, rather than the devil. The sinner is given over to eternal death and, as a consequence, must suffer the torments of hell. Here again death is defeated and confined by God, but must also serve him as gaoler for those who rejected salvation.

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<sup>184</sup> For the different levels of both heaven/paradise and hell see Ananya Jahanara Kabir, *Paradise, death and Doomsday in Anglo-Saxon literature*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, ed. Simon Keynes and Andy Orchard (Cambridge, 2001).

The New Minster *Liber Vitae* was begun by the monk Ælsige, presumably at the direction of his abbot Ælfwine, and shows the close connection between the abbey and the crown. New Minster had always had strong royal connections, being founded in 901 by Edward the Elder, with Edmund's church being built in the early 940s. Its connection with the reform movement is obvious in its re-founding by Æthelwold in 964 and the part it played in the spread of Cluniac ideas in England. The *Liber Vitae* shows the royal connection continued under the Danish kings, the most telling being the miniature on f.6r showing the donation of a cross to the altar of New Minster by Cnut and his wife, Ælfgifu, the widow of Æthelred the Unready. Much later sources credit Cnut himself with having placed a crown on the head of a crucifix at Winchester. Raw is inclined to credit the story, as the earliest pictures of crowned crucifixes date from the time of Cnut.<sup>185</sup> The miniature on f. 6r shows a very particular relationship between the royal couple, the monastery and God. The monastery is represented by the monks under the arches at the bottom of the page, each one gazing at the scene above. Standing on a dome that holds the altar, the king and queen present the cross, Cnut actually placing it upon the altar. This is the central point of the miniature, being not only the middle point of the composition but in strong body colour, gold, red and dark green. Heaven's approval is shown by two angels who place a veil over Ælfgifu's head and a crown on that of Cnut. Their names and titles are given—*Ælfgifu Regina, Cnut Rex*,—implying not only divine approval of their action but of their rulership. Above, seated in a mandorla, is Christ flanked by Mary and St. Peter. St. Peter is shown as a tonsured monk, both here and on f. 7r. This is a clear indication of the role the monasteries played in salvation—the key to heaven was in the hands of the regular (reformed) rather than the secular clergy. In this respect it is notable that books play an extremely prominent role in all three miniatures. In the miniature on f. 6v the central monk, presumably Abbot Ælfwine, holds a book and behind him stands an angel: this is most likely the *Liber Vitae* itself. Christ holds an open book on his knee, the ultimate *Liber Vitae* of all those blessed and redeemed. Mary too, holds a book in her right hand, and while she is frequently shown

<sup>185</sup> Barbara C. Raw, *Anglo-Saxon crucifixion iconography and the art of the monastic revival*, Cambridge studies in Anglo-Saxon England ed. Simon and Michael Lapidge Keynes, (Cambridge, 1990).

with a book, a reference to the apocryphal story that she was studying the word of God when the annunciation took place; in this context it could represent the names of those for whom she would intervene. The cult of Mary was particularly strong in Anglo-Saxon England, and her powers as mediatrix were held to be very great.<sup>186</sup> On f. 7r both an angel and the devil hold books that they use to argue the fate of the soul in dispute. Such emphasis on books in the miniatures is in accordance with the purpose of the work—to record those faithful here on earth, the members of the community and their patrons and benefactors, in an earthly version of the heavenly book. Perhaps the emphasis on this aspect is an indication that salvation was not for all, but only those who devoted their lives to God and those who supported them. Heaven must be earned, but a record of the deeds and gifts of the faithful was a further insurance.

### 5.2.1 *The Uta Codex*

While the Anglo-Saxon human type death was developing increasingly demonic traits, becoming more frightening and bestial, the role of gaoler was submerged in a vision of the defeated death that opened new prospects of heaven. Circa 1020 the scriptorium at Regensburg produced the Uta Codex, Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm. 13601, with an extraordinary miniature of the crucifixion on f. 3v. (fig. 31) This has to be linked to the illustration on the opposite page of Bishop Erhard at celebrating Mass, linking the divine and the symbolic sacrifice, the continuing nature of redemption and the role of the Church therein. Christ's triumph is splendidly portrayed, but there is a great emphasis on how the Christian soul can share in this triumph. The manuscript has an unusual form because it was not really suitable either for liturgical use or for private study and meditation.<sup>187</sup> There is little doubt that it was intended for the abbess of the female foundation of Niedermunster, and this is confirmed by the hexameter accompanying a miniature on f. 2r of the Virgin and Child blessing a woman in religious dress who offers a book with the distinctive format of the Uta Codex. There is also a monogram which points to the Abbess Uta. The crucifixion itself is a full-page miniature and one in which death plays a prominent role.

<sup>186</sup> See for Mary's powers Kate Koppelman, "Devotional Ambivalence: The Virgin Mary as 'Empresse of Helle'," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 18 (2001).

<sup>187</sup> G. Swarzenski, *Die Regensburger Buchmalerei des x und xi Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1900).



There are several death themes combined or transformed here. Christ, robed as a priest and crowned as a king, stands on a *suppedaneum* that is the centre of the illustration, linking two mandorlae. The upper one of these surrounds Christ while the second encloses the lower part of the cross and the figures labelled as *Vita* and *Mors*. *Mors* tumbles out of the mandorla, attacked by a lion-headed bud that springs from the cross. The serpent at the foot of the cross has been transformed here into a fully human figure. Nor can we interpret this death as a derivative of the Golgatha legend, as, not only is the figure at the foot of the cross but in no sense buried under it, but he is set against the female figure representing life. Indeed, the whole miniature is centred on the idea of life, of which the defeat of death is obviously an essential part. Christ's death on the cross is the essence of life and the cross becomes the symbol of eternal life and the means to obtain this, the cosmological tree of life. The theme was not new: 'a long series of important Christian writers from the early third century to the late twelfth are unanimous in their view that the Cross, whether as a tree or a ladder, provides for the soul at death an ascent to heaven.'<sup>188</sup> The crucifixion miniature displays the same richness and ornamentation that are characteristic of the manuscript. The medallions surrounding the two mandorlae have both narrative and symbolic significance showing a fine and balanced harmony between all the disparate elements, sun and moon, Ecclesia and Synagoga, life and death. Narratively speaking, the veiling of the sun and moon, the tearing of the veil of the temple and the graves giving up their dead are all elements of the crucifixion story, but acquire a deep symbolic significance here. On the side of life, the dead are resurrected and Church and sun stand, while the 'negative' elements, moon, Synagoga, the temple, symbolising the old law, are linked to death, and like him are fallen and defeated.

This is a celebration of the defeat of death and the victory of the new Christian life. Nevertheless, this celebration is not fully adversarial, Ecclesia is triumphant and under her the dead are raised, but here this is a new growth, coming from Synagoga and the temple, the new law replacing the old. Just as the old law meant death for mankind, so the new means life for the righteous. The positive and negative elements are brought into harmony. This harmony is made explicit by the four

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<sup>188</sup> E.S. Greenhill, "The child in the tree: a study of the cosmological tree in the Christian tradition," *Traditio* 10 (1954).

diagrams under the arms of the cross. These give the four 'perfect' musical and numerical harmonies, but also bind together the 'positive' triumphant elements with the 'negative' defeated elements—'Mors', 'Mundus', 'Infernus' and 'Pintespilon' (squaring the circle). The figure of Christ, both King and Priest, seems less a crucified body and more like a director bringing all the elements together, reaching out to both positive and negative, past and future. The defeated death, falling and wounded by his own weapons, is brought into the cosmic harmony.<sup>189</sup>

The figure of death itself has nothing of the demonic, being clad as a man, but of the lowest class, his jaw is bound up as that of a corpse, his skin has greenish tinge and he carries a sickle and lance, both broken, the latter appearing to wound him. Death defeated is a corpse, deprived of life and power. This is made explicit by the *tituli* in the border of the mandorla. By 'Mors' is written '*Mors devicta peris qui Christum vincere gestis*'<sup>190</sup> and by 'Vita' '*Spirat post Dominum sanctorum vita per aevum*'.<sup>191</sup> Between 'Mors' and the cross is the *titulus* '*Crux est destructo mortis*'<sup>192</sup> and between 'Vita' and the cross '*Crux est vita repatio vitae*'.<sup>193</sup> The well-known attributes of death, the sickle and the spear make their appearance for the first time, as far as is known, in western art. The sickle was an attribute of Saturn in his capacity as god of the harvest, but due to the dual nature ascribed to him he was also associated with castration, old age and death and he was portrayed thus in early medieval works.<sup>194</sup> It was no very great step then to transfer the sickle to death, particularly as there was already a literary tradition dating back to the first century Greek apocryphal *Testament of Abraham* that refers to 'the sickle of death.'<sup>195</sup> Nor must we forget the reaping Christ and angels of Revelation, for while these are associated with the end of time apocalyptic expectations were not dead. Moreover the words introducing the reaping angels are particularly appropriate to the themes of life and harmony of the miniature: *Beati mortui qui in d[om]ino*

<sup>189</sup> For an analysis of the Crucifixion and its harmonic elements see Adam S. Cohen, *The Uta Codex: art, philosophy and reform in eleventh century Germany* (University Park, Pa., 2000) ch. 4.

<sup>190</sup> Death who attempted to defeat Christ is conquered.

<sup>191</sup> Following after the Lord the lives of the saints are eternal.

<sup>192</sup> The Cross is the destruction of Death.

<sup>193</sup> The Cross is life, restoring Life.

<sup>194</sup> For example the Leiden Aratea (Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS. Cod.Voss. Lat.q. 79, f. 93v).

<sup>195</sup> Jordan, "The iconography of Death in western art to 1350".

*morunt[ur]/Amodo ici dicit sp[iri]tus—ut requies/cant a laborib[us] suis—Opera enim il/lorum secuntur illos.*<sup>196</sup> As far as I know, no one has put forward a theory to account for the lance, but the similarity of the pose and position of *Mors* in the Uta and the figure of Longinus in the crucifixion in the Rabbula Gospels, suggests that there may be some connection made between death and the Christ's final deathblow. This would again agree with the theme of Christ triumphant over death. The cross as a symbol of this victory is made clear by the *titulus* mentioned above, but also vividly portrayed in the miniature itself. The cross's attack on death via the golden lion's head reinforces the message. It is possible that the hybrid (both tree and animal) was suggested by a word play found at the end of the chapter on the hydra in *Physiologus* version B, '*O mors, ero mors tua; morsus tuus ero, infernus.*'<sup>197</sup>

The crucifixion shows not only death defeated, but death brought into harmony with the cosmos, a part of the scheme of things. This implies a fundamental shift in the view of death. The ninth century psalters showed death as the enemy of God and, once defeated, the servant of God as the gaoler of the unrighteous. A slightly earlier manuscript than the Uta Codex, the Leofric Missal that will be dealt with later, gives another view—death defeated by Christ, but still the enemy of man. If the Uta Codex brings death into harmony with God's purpose, then death must have some positive connotation. It is this positive connotation that is innovative in the portrayal of death. The eschatological death is unmasked: the giants and demons of the Carolingian works are shown to be powerless, not only in the face of Christ victory, but holding no sway over those who follow the way of the cross. It does not only depict the defeat of death and the establishment of harmony, it gives instructions as to how the individual Christian can partake in this double victory. The Greek fathers Christianised platonic thought and used this as a basis for their speculation on the symbolism of the cross. Using the definition of *caritas* given by St. Paul in the Epistle to the Ephesians (3.17–19)—'*in latitudo et longitudo et sublimitis et profundum*'<sup>198</sup>—this was used to define the dimensions of the cross. However these dimensions

<sup>196</sup> Blessed are the dead who from now on die in the Lord. 'Yes' said the Spirit 'they will rest from their labours for their deeds follow them. Latin text taken from Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, bibl. 140, f. 36r.

<sup>197</sup> O Death, I will be your Death; I shall be your devourer, Hell. J. Voisenet, *Bestiaire chretien: l'imaginaire animale des auteurs du haut moyen age (v–xi s.)* (Toulouse, 1994).

<sup>198</sup> Greenhill, "The child in the tree: a study of the cosmological tree in the Christian tradition."

referred not only to the cross, but also to God, and in particular to Christ on the cross, reaching out to embrace the world. In this connection the hexameter on f. 2r is interesting, the word *pignore* implying both guarantor and that given as security. The prayer is addressed to Mary in her capacity of the progenitor of Christ, both the assurance of divine happiness and the means by which it is possible. A further concept was added—the cross as the instrument whereby the soul could rise to heaven. It is not surprising then, that the instructions as to how this could be achieved are given by means of *tituli* on the cross itself. Above Christ's arms are the words *Latitudo sanct[a]e crucis bona op[er]a a caritatis latu[m] m[andatum] tuum nimis*.<sup>199</sup> Along the upright of the Cross is written *Longitudo sanct[a]e crucis p[er]severantia bonor[um] op[er]u[m] qui p[er]severat usque i[n] finem salvus erit*.<sup>200</sup> At the Cross's base are the words *Quam i[n]comprehensibilia iudicia eius p[ro]fundum*.<sup>201</sup> Above Christ's head the last part of the instructions—*Spes remunerat[i]o bonor[um] op[er]u[m]*.<sup>202</sup> The idea of judgement is brought into connection with the Christian duty of *caritas* and the miniature makes plain that this is necessary in both senses. Love of God, shown in the devoted gaze of *Vita* and *Ecclesia*, is the spur to love one's fellow man and undertake the good works advocated in the *tituli*. The spiritual works of *caritas*, the prayers for the souls of others, was long a feature of texts dealing with the duties of the Christian and more especially the (regular) cleric. For the first time we see this brought into a pictorial form as a general idea, not just the intervention for a particular patron. The prayers for the souls of others had a double function, also lifting those praying closer to God. It is the word *spes*, which gives a clue as to how death functions within the cosmic harmony. The individual must work for eternal life: it is not his by virtue of baptism or of choosing the 'right side,' it is something to be earned, or lost. Death has not lost the eschatological significance, in that sense the unrighteous still suffer eternal death because they do not partake of Christ's victory, but a new element has been added. The way to eternal life is through physical death; those who 'persevere to the end' have the hope of true life. The lack of any

<sup>199</sup> The width of the holy Cross is the good works of charity, your command is too wide to measure.

<sup>200</sup> The length of the holy Cross is persevering in good works, who perseveres until the end will be saved.

<sup>201</sup> How incomprehensible are the depths of his judgement.

<sup>202</sup> Hope is the reward of good works.

threatening quality on the part of *Mors* and his broken weapons indicate that the reader was thought to be fully capable of following the way of the cross. Here again there is no indication that this reward of life is to be granted immediately at physical death, but at that point one can *hope* for life. The literary sources give a less conservative picture, but one that oddly enough has its roots in a liturgical innovation. Sometime between 1024 and 1033 Cluny began to commemorate all the dead on November 2nd, an innovation which was quickly copied throughout Europe. According to Jotsuald, writing shortly after the death of Odilo in 1049, the innovation was due to a monk of Cluny being begged to ask that his monastery pray for the souls in torment in a volcano in Sicily—one of the ‘entrances to hell.’ If they would:<sup>203</sup>

multiply their prayers, vigils, and alms for the repose of souls enduring punishment, in order that there might be more joy in heaven, and that the devil might be vanquished and thwarted.

One of the most immediate impressions of the crucifixion in the Uta Codex is of optimism, richness and majesty. The gold background, the imperial purple of Christ's robe, the fine robes of ‘*Vita*’, ‘*Ecclesia*’ and even ‘*Synagoga*’ and the enamel like colours on the background all add to the impression. The emphasis in the Carolingian period was the study of the continuous gospel text. ‘It surely represents a shift from a theological to a liturgical emphasis, from book art as the handmaiden of biblical study to illumination as the enhancement of ceremony in Ottonian society.’<sup>204</sup> The Carolingians needed a didactic purpose in picturing Christ. This was in part due to the iconoclasm controversy of the eighth century and in part to the adoptionism controversy. The divinity of Christ had to be emphasised and thus depictions of his earthly life had to be treated with great circumspection. The Ottonians overcame these restraints and brought forth a Christ-centred art. The emphasis given by the monastic reform movements of the tenth century to communal life, the liturgy and the creation of beautiful artefacts was one that encouraged this movement towards the depiction of Christ, a movement that grew and drew strength from the active imperial support of reformed foundations.

Regensburg held an important position, both politically and geographically. It was on the Danube trade route to Byzantium, and

<sup>203</sup> Cited Le Goff, *La naissance du Purgatoire*.

<sup>204</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 79.

Regensburg art showed Byzantine iconographic tendencies.<sup>205</sup> It was the principal ecclesiastical centre of Bavaria, Henry II's former duchy, and he had been educated at St. Emmeram, a key house in the spread of the Gorze reform movement. It would appear that the women's convent of Niedermunster was not so easy to reform. Judith, mother of Henry II, was closely connected with the foundation, and was praised by Henry the Wrangler, for her efforts to reform the house but these seem to have failed. Niedermunster was not a Benedictine foundation but subject to a rule promulgated in Aachen in 816. Its members came from noble, even royal houses and the rule did not impose a strict regime on them. The noble ladies led only a semi-cloistered life, being free to own property, live in their own quarters and to travel. Nor were their vows fully binding: they could leave the order to marry. The house itself was part of a former palace complex, and by the end of the tenth century its members were all of the upper nobility and not inclined to follow the strict Benedictine Rule desired by Bishop Wolfgang. Wolfgang had already brought in Ramwold to reform St. Emmeram and it would seem that Uta was brought from Swabia to fulfil the same function for Niedermunster.<sup>206</sup> It is not known how much influence Uta had on the iconographical scheme of the *Codex*. Swarzenski seems inclined to think that it could have been great, and she seems to have been a lady of great force of character. However, since Swarzenski wrote, Bischoff has discovered the man behind the iconography. He was a monk named Hartwic who had studied the liberal arts under Bishop Fulbert of Chartres, one of the leading teachers of the early eleventh century. He brought back to Regensburg not just learning, but a wealth of manuscripts on rhetoric, music, arithmetic and other liberal arts.<sup>207</sup>

Hartwic is a good example of the importance of relations between France and Germany in cultural life... The Uta Crucifixion represents a convergence of northern French cathedral school learning, by 1020 more advanced than anything in the empire, with the imperial concept of world order and world rule.

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<sup>205</sup> In the Reichenau crucifixions Christ is clean-shaven, but in the Uta Codex he is bearded in the Byzantine style. As I understand it the Byzantine influence was not confined to style and iconography, but included the concept of rulership as well—in this case an even closer association of the emperor with Christ.

<sup>206</sup> Adam S. Cohen, "The art of reform in a Bavarian nunnery around 1000," *Speculum: A Journal of Mediaeval Studies* 74 (1999).

<sup>207</sup> H. Mayr-Harting, *Ottoman book illumination*, vols. 1+2 (London, 1991).

It is very likely that the Codex was made towards the end of Uta's life and after her considerable success in imposing strict Benedictine rule to her house, and expresses the reform ideal of strict devotion to God and good works, allied with the love of beautiful liturgical artefacts.

### 5.3 *The Apocalyptic Death*

When considering the apocalyptic death in this period, the question arises of whether to include the St. Server *Beatus*. This is undoubtedly one of the most important works of the period, and one that belongs, geographically speaking, to north-western Europe. However, it belongs to a very different tradition, and however similar the roots of that tradition are, it is closely derived from the Spanish works, rather than the Carolingian apocalypses of Trier and Valenciennes. This study is concerned with how images, as metaphors, change and develop to meet the needs of the time. Such changes can be small and gradual, or spectacular, but they are all connected to their tradition. To try to integrate the St. Server *Beatus* into the more northern tradition would distort the view of the changes in that tradition.

#### 5.3.1 *The Bamberg Apocalypse*

Other than the St. Server manuscript, only one other apocalypse of this period remains from north-western Europe, Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Bibl. 140. There is little iconographic difference to be found between the depiction of the fourth horseman in this and in the Valenciennes manuscript. The riders are all shown on separate pages (ff. 14r, 14v, 15r, 15v), filling half a page, with text above. The figures are unambiguously human and typical of Ottonian art, somewhat static, large eyed, and presented against a flat gold background. Each of the four horsemen is shown as a young man, with nothing either demonic or angelic about him. The dress, too, is contemporary, without any warlike accoutrements. The illustrations deviate from the text in as far as both the first and the third rider are offered crowns, the first, gold, the third, silver.<sup>208</sup>

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<sup>208</sup> Harnischfeger interprets this as the soul weighing and balancing, seeking victory over its egotistical self and the crown as its victory. Harnischfeger gives a psychological interpretation of the horsemen as steps in a voyage of discovery that each consciousness must make. With the fourth horseman the human consciousness has arrived, purified at its dying thought, free from sorrow, desire and instinct. In my opinion this interpretation is completely anachronistic. E. Harnischfeger, *Die Bamberger Apocalypse* (Stuttgart, 1981).

As in the earlier manuscript death is not followed by *Infernus*. (fig. 32) Each of the other three horsemen has the designated attribute, the first rider even spanning his bow, though pointing it toward the ground. As in the earlier manuscripts the riders move from left to right but the vigour and action shown by the Carolingian figures is here replaced by a timeless serenity. The composition is simple to the point of austerity and the circular guidance found in the earlier manuscripts is completely lacking. The lack of any supernatural element is compensated for by the surface quality of the miniatures, transposing them out of the worldly sphere without background or distraction. Despite the simple composition the contemplative component is high. Each of the riders gazes at the Lamb with the book, almost as if in dialogue, thereby inviting the reader to consider the text above. The isolation of the riders, not only on separate pages, but held within distinct frames, emphasises the need to consider each rider and his symbolic and theological meaning. Despite the separation, a degree of unity is given by the green 'ground' upon which the horses stand, the gold background and the narrow purple frames. Each horseman is seen as an aspect, but without referral to the others. This point is emphasised by the changing colour of the Lamb. As each new seal is opened then another stage in the final history of the world is revealed.

Despite the number of serpentine creatures in the manuscript, none of them can be regarded as death; they are all clearly fairly close to the textual beasts. The Carolingian giant gaoler has his descendent in Satan, bound in hell and in the angel/demon who binds him. Not only is the function similar, but the large figure, naked and with six waving locks, is a cross between the giant and demons of the Utrecht Psalter, and the demonic death of the Stuttgart Psalter. The miniature of the last judgement in the Bamberg Apocalypse has a figure that may possibly be a version of the giant gaoler. (fig. 33) Next to the chained Satan a slightly smaller creature, also naked and with hair in peaks, hauls the damned into hell. This is very similar to the figure that releases Satan after his thousand-year bondage. The text speaks of Satan and death being thrown into the bottomless pit, so it is possible that this figure was intended to be seen as death. If this is so then it is a very different death from the rider on the pale horse: it is both a fearsome and defeated figure. It is clearly a very different concept: the horseman is a sign of the triumph of God and his Church while this is closer to the death of the Utrecht Psalter, an enemy of God, and in this case allied not only with Satan, but the Antichrist.



The Bamberg Apocalypse has strong links with its Carolingian predecessors, and like them, has no commentary.<sup>209</sup> It is an extremely rich manuscript in the Ottonian imperial tradition made at Reichenau, almost certainly for the emperor Otto III. There is some debate over the dating, Mütherich opting on stylistic grounds for a later date, while Mayr-Harting and Klein assign it to 1001–2. Mayr-Harting's argument is based chiefly on the ruler portrait on f. 59v. This shows the ruler as a *Jünglingstypus*, that is, beardless. Otto III was still a youth when he came fully into his rule as Emperor; Henry II was nearing thirty at his coronation in 1002, and seen as a mature man. The portraits of Otto, with one exception, always show him beardless. The portraits of Henry nearly always show him as bearded. Mayr-Harting concludes that they represent two very different ruler types. He brings this into relation with Christ types. 'In fact Otto III is always represented as Christ in the western tradition, young and beardless, Henry II as the bearded Christ of the Byzantine tradition.'<sup>210</sup> The official dating by the Bamberger Staatsbibliothek favours an early date based on comparisons to other manuscripts of the Liuthard group, especially Bamberg Staatsbibliothek Msc. Lit. 5, dated at 1001. Both Otto and Henry had a strong interest in apocalyptic themes; Otto wore a cloak at his coronation embroidered with scenes from the Apocalypse, and Henry's coronation cloak had 'in its whole theme a suggestion of apocalypticism about it.'<sup>211</sup>

Given the time in which the Apocalypse was made it is very possible that the general atmosphere, especially at court, was more than tinged with apocalyptic expectations. The year 1000 may have come and gone, but calculation of both years and calendar knew considerable variations and there was a fairly widespread belief among those of chiliastic inclinations to see 1030 or 1033 as the crucial date, being a thousand years after Christ began his ministry or died on the cross. It must be remembered that the manuscript contained not only the Apocalypse text and miniatures but also a gospel lectionary and five miniatures depicting crucial events in the redemption—the nativity with the annunciation to the shepherds, the crucifixion, entombment, the

<sup>209</sup> Klein sees a strong influence of the second family of Carolingian Apocalypses that he thinks were based on a northern example, possibly going back to those mentioned by Bede. P. Klein, "The Apocalypse in medieval art," in *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. R.K. Emmerson and B. McGinn (Ithaca and London, 1992).

<sup>210</sup> Mayr-Harting, *Ottonian book illumination*, p. 217.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 219.

three Marys at the tomb, the ascension and Pentecost. Between the two parts there is the ruler portrait: opposite, (f. 60r) the defeat of the vices by the virtues is shown. This miniature is somewhat enigmatic. Not only do the tall, stately—and clothed—virtues hold down the smaller naked figures of the vices with lances, but there are only four of these and each is accompanied by a male figure. The virtues hold each of these male figures by the arm in a curiously compelling gesture. *Tituli* above the registers give some clue as to the identity of both the virtues, and less securely, the men. The figures of the upper register are less easily identifiable than those of the lower. The virtues have no distinguishing features, being female forms, clad in long white robes, three with a rose coloured mantle and one with a purple mantle. The men of the upper register are both white-bearded and have the green skin tone found in other miniatures of the manuscript, and seems to signify an Old Testament prophet, as only Elias and Enoch on f. 27v have the same green skin. Above the upper register is the *titulus* *IUSSA D[E]I CO[M]PLENS MUNDO SIS CORPORE SPLENDENS*. These figures have been identified as obedience with Abraham and chastity with Moses, who holds a book.<sup>212</sup> The lower register shows a youthful David, with crown and *fleur-de-lys* sceptre, in the grip of penitence, and the half naked Job, covered in sores, being held by patience. The *titulus* reads *POENITIA ET CULPAE. QUID SIT PATIENTIA DISCO*. The message is clearly to encourage the reader to obedience and penitence.

According to an inscription on the now lost original cover of the manuscript, but reported in an eighteenth century source, it was a donation from Henry and his wife, Cunigunda—*HENRIC ET KUNIGUNT HAEC TIBI MUNERA PROMUNT*. Since the manuscript was in the possession of the abbey of St. Stephan, Bamberg, it is considered extremely likely that it was gift from the Emperor and Empress and the inauguration of the abbey in 1020. These factors, taken in conjunction with the particular Christocentric orientation of the imperial court, indicate something beyond a belief in the coming of the last phase of Heilsgeschichte. The tradition of the last emperor whose rule would be the final culmination of both the Roman and Christian Empire, given popularity by Adso, can be seen to play a considerable role

<sup>212</sup> Gude Sukale-Redlefsen, *Die Bamberger Apokalyps* [CD-Rom facsimile edition] (2002).

here.<sup>213</sup> The ruler portrait has a number of elements that strengthen this interpretation. The ruler, most probably Otto III is seated on a cushioned throne and dressed Roman style in robe and toga in red and purple, richly decorated. He holds a long golden rod in his right hand, and in his left a white orb with a red cross: he is flanked by Peter and Paul, who place a crown on his head.<sup>214</sup> The significance of this scene is emphasised by the *titulus* above it: *UTERE TERRENO CAELESTI POSTEA REGNO*. The lower register shows four crowned women offering bowls of fruit and cornucopias and is accompanied by the *titulus* *DISTINCT[A]E GENTES FAMULANT[UR] DONA FERENTES*. This taken in conjunction with the Roman trappings, the crossed orb and the sign of heavenly approval in the actions of the two saints would seem to indicate the idea of the last emperor. The central position of the ruler portrait, its implications of power over the lands governed and its association with the rule of goodness and virtue link together the two halves of the manuscript and identify the ruler as the champion of the redemption set forth in the lectionary and the last just ruler of apocalyptic tradition.

There is little doubt that the Bamberg Apocalypse is a manuscript with strong links to the imperial court, a court whose connections with art were, if anything, stronger in the Ottonian period than in the Carolingian. It was a peripatetic court, taking with it works of art and drawing scholars and artists who created works for the court and its favoured foundations. It was a court that commissioned art and religious art in particular. Important here is the identification of the Emperor with God's rule. The Ottonian Emperors saw themselves as the true heirs of Charlemagne, and on them was incumbent the defence and promotion of Christianity. Not only that, but especially through the mother of Otto III, the Byzantine princess Theophanu, they brought together

<sup>213</sup> PL 101.1295 *Tradunt namque doctores nostri quod unus ex regibus Francorum Romanum imperium ex integro tenebit, qui in nouissimo tempore erit; et ipse erit maximus et omnium regum ultimus, qui postquam regnum suum fideiter gubernauit, ad ultimum Hierosolimam ueniet, et in monte Oliueti sceptrum et coronam suam deponet. Hic erit finis et consummatio Romanorum et Christianorum imperii*. Indeed our learned men maintain that one of the kings of the Franks will once more hold the Roman Empire, who will be in the last times and will be the greatest and last of kings, who having governed his realm faithfully will go at last to Jerusalem and on the Mount of Olives will lay down his sceptre and crown. This will be the end and consummation of the Roman and Christian empires.

<sup>214</sup> Sukale-Redlefsen, *Die Bamberger Apokalyps*.

elements of both eastern and western churches. While the Carolingian rulers had identified with the Old Testament rulers, the Ottonians took Christ as their model. While representations of *Christus Rex et Sacardos* were to be found in other areas, notably in Anglo-Saxon art,<sup>215</sup> the Uta Codex is the only example known to me of a crucifixion showing Christ as both King and Priest. This close tie between salvation and ruler takes a new emphasis with Christ, rather than God the Father, as a ruler. Such an idea was one aspect of looking forward to the end of time. In this manuscript we see various aspects brought together, the account of the end itself, the lectionary and its miniatures dealing with the redemption and the role of the emperor in the fulfilment of God's plan. With this in mind, it must be seen as a hopeful manuscript. God's plan shall be realised and the truly faithful can only rejoice; there will be trials and horror with the coming of the end, but for those who truly keep faith with Christ this is a prelude to the final triumph. It must be remembered that the Bamberg Apocalypse contains the oldest surviving fully worked out depiction of the last judgement, including the apostles, the saved, the damned, the angels blowing trumpets and the resurrection of the dead. The last judgement was what the true follower of Christ desired, that which he and the world had been working towards, Christ's final triumph and the undoing of the damage caused by the fall, the ultimate defeat of Satan. In this respect it is little wonder that death is seen more as a sign of the last things than as either a powerful enemy or frightening scourge.

#### 5.4 *The Demonic Death*

There was a tendency to 'demonise' the anthropomorphic death, and the giant in Anglo-Saxon England began to show not just supernatural size and strength, but inhuman characteristics. Truly demonic is a late tenth century miniature, again of Anglo-Saxon origin. For so far as I have been able to determine, the first illustration clearly labelled '*Mors*' in the manuscript art of north-western Europe is to be found in the Leofric Missal. It is one of three illustrations in the late tenth century '*B*' part of the manuscript that contains an Anglo-Saxon kalendar, Paschal Tables and the *Sphaera Apulei*. These latter are illustrated by

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<sup>215</sup> See also Robert Deshman, "The Leofric Missal and tenth century English art," *Anglo-Saxon England* 6 (1977).

two figures labelled 'Vita' and 'Mors' The *Sphaera Apulei* were a medico-magical instrument, found in purely medical treatises but also in missals, as priests used them to determine when it was necessary to administer the extreme unction.<sup>216</sup> The *Sphaera*, in one form or another had, even in the tenth century, a long history. They worked on the principle of the significance of numbers. The total of the numerical values of the letters of the patient's name would be added to the day of the lunar month in which he fell ill and divided by thirty. The result would be found either among the 'death numbers' or the 'life numbers'. These spheres were widely used and the oldest preserved example, a fourth century Greek version, is to be found in Leiden. It is related to, but not the same as, the Graeco-Egyptian Sphere of Petosiris. From about the sixth century the *Sphaera* were translated into Latin, which led to complications as to what numerical values should be given to the Latin letters, which, unlike the Greek did not all function as numerals. Why the compilers of the Missal should have decided to enliven the tables with illustrations is unknown.<sup>217</sup> If we consider the emphasis given by the Anglo-Saxon monastic reform movement to the artistic and the emotional it is possible to imagine that this graphic way of illustrating life and death was one that recommended itself to the scribes and artists of the time. It was not a popular concept, however. As far as we know there are only two other illustrated versions. A version more or less contemporary with the Leofric Missal (St. Gall Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 752, f. 82) has merely the usual circle with the 'life numbers' in the upper half and the 'death numbers' in the lower.<sup>218</sup>

Just as with the Uta Codex *Vita* and *Mors* cannot be considered in isolation. They are two sides of the same coin, the ultimate destiny of the soul. What is new in the Missal—for it must be remembered that it is several decades older than the Codex—is that the destiny of the soul

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<sup>216</sup> The *Sphaera* were used not only to work out whether a patient would live or die, but also for finding lost objects and determining the outcome of a proposed course of action. The 'lucky' and 'unlucky' numbers vary according to the manuscript, as do the values given to the Roman letters. Henry Sigerist, "The spheres of life and death in early medieval manuscripts," *Bulletin of the history of medicine. Organ of the American Association of Medicine and the Johns Hopkins Institute of the history of medicine* 11 (1924). Sigerist does not mention the Leofric version.

<sup>217</sup> Verse instructions above *Vita* suggest that this was intended for an illustrated version.

<sup>218</sup> *Et si superiori convenerit parti numerus, vitalis erit. Si inferiori parti moriturum dicis.* And if the number belongs to those of the upper part he will live. If to the lower part death is declared.

is considered *before* the last judgement. Its fate will be pronounced at the end of time, but its future will be decided at the moment of physical death. Thus the two figures representing life and death have a double function. They symbolise the eternal *and* the fate of the individual soul, but that fate is determined at the moment of death so that that moment becomes of importance. If the patient is going to live, then he has the chance to work for his soul's salvation; if he is going to die then the best that the Church can do for him is to receive his confession and penitence, and administer the rituals for the dying believer. It is important to remember that although the soul could do nothing to improve itself and its position in regard to salvation after physical death, there is no necessity to imagine a first judgement or purgation immediately after physical death.

The figures of *Vita* and *Mors* reinforce the view that we are still primarily dealing with the eschatological fate of the soul. The identification of Christ with life is found in other manuscripts of roughly the same period. The opening of the gospel of St. John in the Gospel book of Bernwald of Hildersheim (Hildersheim, Cathedral Treasury, f. 174r) shows a cross-nimbed Christ in majesty. In his right hand he holds a medallion with the Lamb, as symbol of his sacrifice, and in his left hand a scroll bearing the word '*Vita*', the result of his sacrifice.<sup>219</sup> While there is no verbal identification with Christ in the Missal, there can be little doubt that the figure, even without a nimbus, represents Christ. The nimbus was not an invariable attribute of Christ in this period, perhaps the best-known unnimbed Christ is to be found in the Oxford Gregory the Great's *Pastoral Care*.<sup>220</sup> The figure in the Leofric Missal makes a gesture of blessing, holds a *crux hastata* and is garbed as a priest and crowned in the style of *Christus Rex*, a relative innovation of this period. The crown can be seen as the crown of life. The *Mors* figure combines elements of the demons of both the Stuttgart and Utrecht Psalters with the giant of the latter. (fig. 34) It is fully demonic, semi-naked, with a hairy chest, goats' ears, wings and spurs on the knees and heels. Glowing red horns rise up from its head and six dragons flare out from it in an infernal nimbus. It is not confined to hell, but in the context of the *Sphaera* a constant danger to all men.

<sup>219</sup> Deshman relates this image to God the Father, endowed with the attributes of the Son.

<sup>220</sup> Oxford, St. John's College Ms 28, f. 2r.

The comfort of baptism and the assurance of salvation are removed with this figure: it is one that stalks the world and is a constant reminder that man must examine his soul and prepare for his physical death, lest he be condemned to eternal death.

The reptiles around the head of death are usually called serpents, but in fact are dragons, and very similar to that of the death dragon in the harrowing miniature of the Tiberius Psalter. They have been the subject of much speculation. The generally held theory about the iconographic source of the Leofric death had its origins in an article by Heimann in 1966 in which she suggested that it was a conflation of the devils in the Utrecht Psalter and an Egyptian Coptic model.<sup>221</sup> Her point of departure was two Coptic texts that describe the six sons of death. The first of these, *The Book of the resurrection of Christ* by the Pseudo-Bartholomeus, dates from the fifth century and tells how Abbadon tries to gain power over the dead body of Christ, in which attempt Abbadon's sons take the form of snakes. It is worth noting that this is another form of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, in which the emphasis is on the power and glory of God and his forgiveness of man, receiving Adam and Eve into heaven with great honour. This latter part, which to my mind is essential to understanding the part played by Death's sons, is ignored by Heimann. The second text from about 900 tells of the six powers of death that bring sickness to mankind and steal the souls of men. For iconographic evidence she turns to an article by Barb in which he discusses a reproduction of a lost Byzantine amulet.<sup>222</sup> On one side are various scenes of the miracles of Christ and of Christ performing a marriage; on the other side there is a frontal naked figure with lion masks on his knees, he has four wings and a nimbus. In each hand he holds two scorpions and he tramples two crocodiles underfoot. A magic formula in Greek against a female demon is written under the figure.<sup>223</sup> The figure was known in the old Egyptian magic as Horus of the crocodiles and here Barb identifies it with Christ without giving his sources but presumably basing it on the entry in *Physiologus*.<sup>224</sup>

<sup>221</sup> Heimann, "Three illustrations from the Bury St. Edmunds Psalter and their prototypes. Notes on the iconography of some Anglo-Saxon drawings."

<sup>222</sup> A.A. Barb, "Three elusive amulets," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 27 (1964).

<sup>223</sup> Sissinnos Bisinnos, tread down the abominable [female] one that she should not have strength anymore. The Seal of Solomon has annihilated thee. Michael, Gabriel, Uriel, Raphael fetter thee.

<sup>224</sup> Voisenet, *Bestiaire chretien: l'imaginaire animale des auteurs du haut moyen age (v-xi s.)*.

Ainsi la mort et l'enfer ont l'aspect du crocodile, qui hait Dieu notre sauveur, aussi notre seigneur Jésus-Christ, quand il assumait notre chair terrestre, descendit en enfer et, détruisant tous ses viscères, il fit sortir tous ceux qui, dévorés par l'enfer, étaient retenus par lui dans la mort...

I have examined the photograph accompanying Barb's article both with a magnifying glass and by computer enhancement and I can find no trace of snakes coming from the head of the Horus figure. In passing Barb mentions that on some steles and intaglios the figure of Horus is conflated with that of Bes-Pantheos and that elements of this figure were sometimes used in medieval pictures of Satan, but he gives no examples. In a footnote Barb mentions that Drexler says that the figures of Christ and Horus were sometimes combined in early Christian iconography, but the implication is that this is Coptic iconography. Heimann accompanies her text with a photograph of a statue of Bes-Pantheon, which does indeed seem to have a headdress with writhing forms. She gives no indication of how either the amulet or the statue, or any similar object came to be known and copied in an Anglo-Saxon scriptorium. In view of the identification of Horus with Christ and the trampling of a death symbol, the amulet seems to have more in common with the *super aspidum* motif, and seems a strange choice of exemplar for a representation of death. The contents of two texts mentioned by Heimann could more easily be known in Western Europe than the physical representations. Here we come across the difficulty of two different views of death. In the earlier text death is the enemy of Christ and makes an attempt to stop the resurrection and his own defeat. In the second, death has already been defeated by Christ, but makes war on man in a way very similar to that described in *Revelation* 12. The death in the Leofric Missal falls into the second of these categories—death as the threat to man, and more importantly, man as an individual. Oddly, there does not seem to have been any other theory of the iconographic origins of the Leofric *Mors* put forward. Indeed Deshman has expanded on the theory by postulating an old non-Christian, possibly Egyptian manuscript, as the exemplar for both the Leofric Missal and the Tiberius Psalter. His arguments are based on the different attributes of the *Vita* figures—the *Mors* figures he feels are too similar to require comment. He denies any influence of the Utrecht Psalter on the Missal. 'The similarities between the Missal and Psalter are rather vague and boil down to little more than



a general energy of line and pose.<sup>225</sup> He states his opinion that the Utrecht Psalter was greatly influenced by the retouching of Anglo-Saxon artists at Canterbury.

Like Heimann, Deshman gives no indication of how or when his postulated pagan manuscript arrived in an Anglo-Saxon scriptorium, or as to why only three manuscripts from one corner of Europe have illustrated *Sphaera*.<sup>226</sup> These theories are unsatisfactory, not only because there is no indication as to how the iconographic exemplars reached England, but also because the status and function of death is confused. If we accept Heimann's theory, which somehow sees a reversal of roles between Christ/Horus and death/crocodile, death is still the enemy of God, whereas in the *Sphaera* the intended victim is man. Deshman gives no indication of what he thinks his original pagan manuscript was like, but presumably it would resemble the depiction on the amulet and so the same objections would apply. Given the turn taken by the monastic reform movement in England, with the urge to decorate and illustrate, and its fondness for the strange and demonic, I felt it worthwhile to investigate the possibility that the illustrated *Sphaera* were an Anglo-Saxon innovation. I decided to look at other aspects of the Missal to see if there were any indications that could point to another influence closer to home.

The manuscript was edited and described by F.E. Warren in 1883. He described it as being a compilation of three different manuscripts, *A*, the missal itself, an early tenth century Lotharingian work, *B*, a late tenth century collection of a kalendar, Paschal and other tables, and *C* a mixture of masses, manumissions and other writings of the tenth and eleventh centuries written in Anglo-Caroline script. He was of the opinion that Leofric brought the missal back to England when he returned in 1042 and there added the kalendar and later the masses. *B* he attributed to Glastonbury chiefly on the grounds of the mention of two Glastonbury saints in the kalendar. Later research has shown that Warren's reconstruction of the history of the manuscript to be impossible. *C* was never a discrete part, but written in the blank spaces of *A*

<sup>225</sup> Ibid., p. 157.

<sup>226</sup> It has been brought to my attention that there is possibly a Breton manuscript in which the *Sphaera* are illustrated, but I have not had the opportunity to verify this.

and *B*. A good many of these are found in *A*. Palaeographic evidence suggests that the earliest of the interpolations dates from circa 920, thus *A* must have been in England from about that time. At the moment it is not possible to say if *A* and *B* were joined before or after reaching Exeter. Recent research has thrown grave doubts on the Glastonbury attribution of *B*. Dumville points out that if all kalendar attributions were based on the mention of saints associated with a certain place, then most would be attributed to Rome.<sup>227</sup> After examining palaeographic evidence and making a comparative analysis of various kalendars he comes to the convincing conclusion that:<sup>228</sup>

The customary and confident attribution of the 'Leofric B' kalendar to Glastonbury rest essentially on reiteration for more than a century: ... The very mention of Glastonbury in a kalendarial commemoration may be taken to imply that the text did not originate there (where it would be unnecessary to specify the location). New work on the palaeography and contents of the 'Leofric Missal' would seem to suggest that its tenth-century elements were executed at Canterbury. Study of the earlier tenth-century kalendar in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 27 (S.C. 5139) has shown that its closest relatives are the kalendars of 'Leofric B' and the 'Missal of Robert of Jumièges': all three books have disputed origins, but an attribution which runs consistently through the group is that to Canterbury. The possibility must at least be considered that the kalendar represented by 'Leofric B', Bosworth and the surrounding group, be attributed to Canterbury, perhaps ca. 969. At Canterbury in Dunstan's time the cultus of Glastonbury would naturally be of interest, indeed importance.

If, as then seems likely, the *B* part of the Missal was a Canterbury manuscript, what could have been of influence in the Canterbury, probably Christ Church, scriptorium? An obvious answer is the Utrecht Psalter, which was certainly there at the beginning of the eleventh century, but most authorities think that it arrived considerably before. Alexander suggests that Dunstan may have brought it from mainland Europe when he returned from exile.<sup>229</sup> Noel suggests that it might have arrived with the marriage of Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, to Æthelwulf of Wessex in 856,<sup>230</sup> and Zarnacki says it was at Christ

<sup>227</sup> Dumville, *Liturgy and the ecclesiastical history of late Anglo-Saxon England: four studies*.

<sup>228</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 65.

<sup>229</sup> Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and their Methods of Work*, p. 76.

<sup>230</sup> W. Noel, "The Utrecht Psalter in England: continuity and experiment," in *The Utrecht Psalter in medieval art: picturing the psalms of David*, ed. Kurt Van der Horst, W. Noel, and W.C.M. Wusterfeld ('t Goy, 1996).

Church 'by the tenth century.'<sup>231</sup> Even if it was not in Christ Church, the known links between the Anglo-Saxon and Frankish clergy and laity make it virtually certain that it was wellknown. Heimann has already postulated the Psalter or a derivative as an iconographical source for the basic figure of *Mors*. Stylistically it owes a great deal to the Utrecht or an emulation of that style, a cross between the bearded giants or giants' heads and those demons that force the ungodly to the pit of hell or fight the heavenly hosts.<sup>232</sup> Conceptually it is closer to the demonic death figures of the Stuttgart Psalter, and the relation between death and damnation is clear and explicit. The most innovative aspect is the addition of six serpents to the head, but again perhaps the Utrecht can provide an answer.

The idea of Medusa-like locks could well come from the demons in the Utrecht, which often have six locks of waving hair and more particularly the demon behind the seat of the unrighteous in the illustration to psalm 1. This figure not only holds serpents, but they sprout from his head. It is also worth considering a manuscript that can definitely be attributed to Christ Church, the Harley Psalter. On f.17v is a figure that is based on the composition in the Utrecht, but holds more drama.<sup>233</sup> The resemblance to the Leofric *Mors* is great, the six snakes issue from this figure's head; under magnification their open mouths can be seen very clearly. As far as I know this resemblance between the two figures has not been remarked before. Nor do I think it necessary to look to North Africa and Egyptian examples to suggest an origin for figures with serpentine locks. Medusa is an obvious source for such a legend among the classically orientated Carolingian court, but visual sources could also have played a role. We know that many more late-antique sources were available to the Carolingians—we have their copies of original manuscripts that have been lost to us. The examples of the heads of Bacchus found in places such as Vaison-la-Romaine show hair that twines and twists, and while it can only be speculation, I would suggest that such heads would be a more readily available visual source and Bacchus readily transposable into a demon. Whatever the origins of the serpent-like locks of the demons, the dragons around the head of *Mors* in the Leofric have a far closer connection to the creature behind the

<sup>231</sup> Zarnacki, *The Monastic Achievement*, p. 126.

<sup>232</sup> The Leofric *Mors* is made more demonic by the addition of claws and spurs.

<sup>233</sup> See Kathleen M. Openshaw, "Weapons in the Daily Battle: Images of the Conquest of Evil in the Early Medieval Psalter," *Art Bulletin* 75 (1993).

throne of the unrighteous in the illustration to psalm 1 in the Utrecht. However the leaning towards the demonic in Anglo-Saxon art and the stimulus of another manuscript is not really sufficient to account for this iconographic innovation of providing death with seven heads. Some theological, liturgical or scriptural basis must be sought. The concept of a Satan/*Mors* figure with an additional six heads could have its origin in the seven-headed beast of *Revelation*, an iconographically established figure in western art. This is important for the interpretation of the *Mors* figure because this implies a different function to the creatures that battle with Christ. The seven-headed Beast makes war on the children of the Woman Clothed in the Sun (Christians).<sup>234</sup> This is consistent with a death that stalks the Christian soul: salvation is possible; death is defeated by Christ but can still capture the individual soul which then shares in the eternal death. This view of the Leofric *Mors* is consistent with the function of the *Sphaera* and draws on sources that were more likely to be familiar to the Anglo-Saxon illuminator.

There is no certainty as to how the *B* part of the Leofric Missal was used when it was first made. It is a discrete work and its date is relatively easy to determine. Two decennovenal paschal cycles for 969–987 and 988–1006 are included; considering these, the list of marginal obits and the list of the six ages of the world on ff. 55v–56r, we can make a reasonable estimate of the date as being in the last three decades of the tenth century. The last line of the six ages reads ‘*A natiuitate Domini usque ad aduentum Anticristi anni. DCCCCXCIX.*’<sup>235</sup> Dumville concludes:<sup>236</sup>

If we assume the scribe to have been aware of the meaning of the last line, we may take it that this text was copied before A.D. 999. On all the evidence, we may date ‘Leofric B’ in the period 979 × 999, and probably 979 × 987.

What happened to the manuscript after it was finished is uncertain. It may have led an independent existence for a time. A series of manumissions granted around the area of Tavistock beginning about the year 1000 imply that it could have been at the abbey there, but that is by no means certain. Another possibility is that it may have been

<sup>234</sup> Revelation, 12: 3, 17.

<sup>235</sup> From the birth of the Lord through to the coming of the Anti-Christ the years 999.

<sup>236</sup> Dumville, *Liturgy and the ecclesiastical history of late Anglo-Saxon England: four studies*.

immediately added to the missal itself, Leofric *A*, at Canterbury and that Bishop Leofric acquired it when he was appointed to the see of Devon and Cornwall in 1046.<sup>237</sup> There is not a great deal known about Leofric. He was, according to a twelfth century chronicle, 'Brytonicus', that is Breton, Welsh or Cornish, and William of Malmesbury says that he received his education in Lotharingia. This would account for his devotion to the Rule of St. Chrodegang in an area where the Benedictine Rule was the norm.<sup>238</sup> He seems to have been acquainted with Edward the Confessor and to have supported the reform movement. After his appointment to Exeter he seems to have withdrawn from politics to a great extent and even managed to retain his office after the Norman invasion of 1066. His see was a poor one, carved from the much larger see of Sherborne, and in 1046 had two seats at Crediton and St. Germanus. Leofric, with papal permission, moved his second seat to the abbey of St. Peter in Exeter, which then changed to the Rule of Chrodegang. One thing is clear. Leofric was a bibliophile and was horrified at the state of the learning and the library at Exeter; he set about collecting as many books as possible. We have no information about burial practice or the visiting of the sick in Leofric's time, although it is known that St. Peter's was regarded as the mother church for burials in Exeter.<sup>239</sup> Since it was a poor diocese it is more than likely that the cathedral strove to control burial rights as much as possible, at least for the wealthy.<sup>240</sup> However, it seems unlikely that even when visiting the wealthy sick a priest would take the missal with him so that he could consult the *Sphaera*. It is likely that the *A* and *B* parts were joined by the time Leofric took up his office, and the Missal was not

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<sup>237</sup> Dumville puts the Leofric as the oldest of the Canterbury pontificals and its first user as Aethelhelm or Wulfhelm. He says that each manuscript seems to have been associated with a particular person and that at least from the time of Dunstan each archbishop received a new pontifical, especially created for him. There seems to have been a policy of dispersing the manuscripts that otherwise would have built up by giving them to 'bishops of lesser, or less wealthy sees.'

<sup>238</sup> Chrodegang was an important cleric at the court of Pippin the Short and he drew up his Rule in 755. This was not very different from the Benedictine Rule and became general in the Frankish kingdoms, but also in some English areas. It laid a great deal of emphasis on learning, preaching and care of the sick. Chrodegang himself was compared to a good doctor of medicine. A.S. Napier, ed., *The Old English Rule of St. Chrodegang together with the Latin original* (London, 1916). In particular chapters 69, 77, and 81.

<sup>239</sup> I am indebted to Prof. Nicholas Orme of Exeter University for this information.

<sup>240</sup> J. Barrow, "Urban cemetery location in the high Middle Ages," in *Death in towns*, ed. S. Basset (Leicester, 1992).

a small book to be easily transported. It was the custom of the time to place the missal on the altar and it would not be lightly removed from there, being so integral a part of the divine office.<sup>241</sup> Even if the tables were not joined to the main missal it is extremely unlikely that they would be taken out of the cathedral precincts. *B* is a work of high quality and the three examples of artwork (ff. 49v, 50r, the *Sphaera*, and 58r, the *Dextra Domini*) add to its value. Such a work would be too valuable to risk outside the community. We also know that Leofric forbade in the strongest terms the removal of books from the library; his *maledicta* were unusually long and severe.<sup>242</sup> If the *Sphaera* were not, as seems to have been assumed, taken on sick visits the question arises as to whether they were actually consulted, and if so, how. It is always possible that a more conventional version of the *Sphaera* would be taken out, but the wear on the illustration points to the fact that the tables in the Missal were frequently consulted. I would suggest that the *Sphaera* were consulted before the *viaticum*—which must always be ready for use—was taken by the priest.<sup>243</sup> Presumably a neighbour, relative, servant or friend would ask for the last rites for the sick and would be able to supply the details necessary to consult the *Sphaera*. In this case it is more than likely the informant would see the illustrations—a sharp reminder that someone stood not only at the point of physical death but also that at that point he had reached the stage in his spiritual life by which he would ultimately be judged.

The *Sphaera* have to be seen against the background of the Anglo-Saxon version of Cluniac monastic reform, but it is also important

<sup>241</sup> Nor could another missal take its place, as no other missal appears in the known works in the Exeter Cathedral library of the time.

<sup>242</sup> For example: *Hunc librum dat leofricus episcopus ecclesiae Sancti Petri Apostoli in exonia ad sedem suam episcopalem pro remedio animae suae, ad utilitatem successorum suorum. Siquis, autem illium inde abstulerit, perpetue maledictione subiaceat. Fiat.* Leofric bishop of the church of St. Peter the Apostle in Exeter gave this book to the seat of his bishopric for the salvation of his soul, and the use of his successors. Thus if any other removes he lies under a perpetual curse. So done. Cited. L.J. Lloyd, "Leofric as bibliophile," in *Leofric of Exeter. Essays in commemoration of the foundation of Exeter Cathedral Library in A.D. 1072*, ed. F. Barlow et alia (Exeter, 1972).

<sup>243</sup> I have been unable to trace any work giving details of whether taking a copy of the *Sphaera*, assuming one was available, on sick visits was usual practise. Very few works on medieval medicine mention the *Sphaera* and then only to explain the calculations. The assertion that priests took them when visiting the sick seems to rest on a statement by Sigerist that does not seem to have been either confirmed or questioned. My suggestion is based on the unlikelihood of valuable books, and above all the indispensable missal, being removed from the church.

to see what theological influences were prevalent at the time. I would like to consider two collections of texts, both in use at Exeter at the time of Leofric and his immediate successors. The first of these is another part of the Missal, generally known as *Leofric C* which consists of 'a heterogeneous collection of Masses, Manumissions, historical statements, etc, written in England partly in the tenth, partly in the eleventh centuries.'<sup>244</sup> These were for the most part written on spaces left in *Leofric A* and *B*. On f. 228r we find the votive mass for use in time of unexpected or untimely death. In its title is the word 'absit', which in medieval Latin can be interpreted as 'God forbid' or 'Preserve the God-fearing from such a fate'. It begins with well-known words '*Deus, qui non mortem sed penitentiam desideras peccatorum...*'<sup>245</sup> F. 238v contains the *Missa vivorum et defunctorum*, which emphasises the role of God as the Lord beyond time and this world—'*Omnipotens, semperiterne deus, qui vivorum dominiaris et mortuorum ... cui soli cognitis est numerus electorum in superna felicitate locandus ... atque mortuorum fidelium remissio omnium peccatorum.*'<sup>246</sup> Clearly God is all-knowing and all-powerful, merciful but absolute in his power. There is no suggestion that judgement would follow on physical death, or that there is any way of knowing the fate of any individual. Nor can the living alter the fate of the deceased. Death is still clearly the eternal eschatological death.

The votive masses are a liturgical source and it is little wonder that they express a conservative view. While theologians could, and did, debate matters of judgement and purgation, views were diverse and no one opinion was dominant. In the relationship between God and his congregation the essence of belief had to be preserved and protected. Controversy and debate had no part in the divine office. It is worth looking, therefore, at another source that was not connected with the liturgy, but was a form of study and meditation often used in monastic communities, the riddle.<sup>247</sup> The *Exeter Riddle Book* (Exeter Cathedral Library, Ms. 3501) is probably the most important source of Anglo-Saxon verse. It was part of Leofric's legacy to the cathedral

<sup>244</sup> F.E. Warren, ed., *The Leofric Missal* (1883), p. xxvi.

<sup>245</sup> God, who does not desire the death, but the repentance of sinners...

<sup>246</sup> Almighty and eternal God, who is the Lord of the living and the dead... who is the only who knows the number of the elect who will find place in the highest bliss... and forgive them all the sins of the faithful dead.

<sup>247</sup> There seems to have been less conservatism in non-liturgical writings and thus these may give an indication of ideas that were current but had not received general or official acceptance.

and was possibly made at Crediton.<sup>248</sup> I use the critical edition by J.B. Anderson. The riddle was used as a form of religious exercise and meditation, and in the two riddles analysed by Anderson the relative interests of body and soul are considered along with the fate of both after physical death as well as their ultimate fate. Anderson links the *Riddle Book* to Dunstan and his circle:<sup>249</sup>

Without straining for proof where only conjecture is possible, one can nevertheless imagine how contriving hidden wisdom from diverse old and new poetry might have engaged a peculiar genius like Dunstan's own. . . . In short, the secretly joined poems of *Riddle 1* and *The Easter Riddle* . . . might be suspected to fit more than just the general spirit of Dunstan's times. In *Riddle 1* and *The Easter Riddle* the Exeter Book scribe could have been at work on a relatively fresh work, copying poems arranged into spiritual lessons by Dunstan himself or, at the very least, by someone from Dunstan's time and circle, a contemporary Benedictine with a mind as learned and agile as his own.

What Anderson calls *Riddle 1* is in fact three riddles, but he considers that they should be seen as a whole. They are a parable in reverse comparing the *visibilia* of a life wasted in this world with the *invisibilia* of the unending grief of the damned. He also considers that these three riddles have a communal answer—'eternal Death, which is prefigured in violent feuds on earth and foreshadowed in the mutual hatred of the feuding body and soul.'<sup>250</sup> The *Easter Riddle* follows the course of the Easter liturgy—the Church's mourning at the separation from her Lord, her reconciliation to and acceptance of her lot and the final promise of glory. By examining these riddles we may gain a clue to ideas that were in circulation in reformed monastic circles in the late tenth and earlier part of the eleventh century. The riddles address problems of belief and behaviour, the struggle not only between good and evil, but between the soul's effort to follow God and the hindrance to this end formed by the body and the weakness and desires of the flesh. Like *Christ and Satan* in Junius 11, the question of judgement looms large.

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<sup>248</sup> The riddles seem to be of varying ages and an exemplar from Glastonbury has been postulated by P.W. Conner, "A contextual study of the Old English Exeter Book" (University of Maryland, 1975) footnote p. 15.

<sup>249</sup> Anderson, *Two literary riddles in the Exeter Book: riddle one and the Easter riddle: a critical edition*, pp. 14–15.

<sup>250</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xv.



In *Riddle 1* that part called the *Soul's address* gives a warning to the reader to consider his ultimate fate:<sup>251</sup>

In truth, of this every man has need,  
himself to reflect on the state of his soul,  
how dark it will be when his death comes  
and sunders the siblings which were once joined,  
body and soul!

Time and again the reader is urged to contemplate what will happen to both body and soul after physical death. The idea that body and soul have different fates after death is called into question; clearly the bond between flesh and spirit is not wholly severed at death. Whether the tie of the soul to the rotting body is considered factual or whether this is a metaphor for sorrow and regret is a grey area, but considering the series as a whole, I am inclined to favour the idea of metaphor.<sup>252</sup>

Little you thought  
about what the state of your soul would become  
after it had been freed from the flesh!

And:<sup>253</sup>

but here your plundered bones must abide  
torn from their sinews, and your soul must

<sup>251</sup> *The Soul's address* verses 1–8.

<i>Huru ðæs behfaþ</i>	<i>hæleþ æghwylc</i>
<i>Þæt he his sawle sið</i>	<i>syfþa bewitige</i>
<i>hu þæt bið deoplic</i>	<i>þonne se deað cymeð</i>
<i>asundrað þa sibbe,</i>	<i>þa þe ær somud wæron</i>

<sup>252</sup> *Ibid.*, verses 19–21.

<i>Lyt þu geþtes</i>	
<i>to won þinre sawle sið</i>	<i>sipþan wurde</i>
<i>sipþan heo of lichoman</i>	<i>læded wære!</i>

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid.*, verses 56–67.

<i>ac her sculon abidan</i>	<i>ban bireafod</i>
<i>besliten seonwum,</i>	<i>ond þe þin sawl sceal</i>
<i>minum unwillan</i>	<i>oft gesecan</i>
<i>wemman mid wordum,</i>	<i>sæwa þu worhtest to me</i>
<i>Eart þu dumb ond deaf,</i>	<i>ne sindan þine dreamas wiht</i>
<i>Sceal ic þe nihtes seþeah</i>	<i>nyde gesecan</i>
<i>synnum gesargad,</i>	<i>ond eft sona from ðe</i>
<i>hweorfan on honcred,</i>	<i>þonne halege menn</i>
<i>Gode lifgendum</i>	<i>lofsong doð</i>
<i>secan þa hamas</i>	<i>þe þu me ær scrife</i>
<i>ond þa arleasan</i>	<i>eardungstowe</i>
<i>ond þe sculon moldwyrmas</i>	<i>monige ceorwan</i>

visit you often, to my great aversion,  
 rack you with words, as you wrought upon me.  
 You are deaf and dumb, your joys are not worth a jot.  
 Yet I'll be compelled, sorrow-laden with sins,  
 to find you by night, and flee from you straightway  
 again at cockcrow, when holy men  
 to the living God lift songs of praise.  
 I'll withdraw to the regions you destined for me,  
 and abodes without honour;  
 and many a mold worm shall chew on you.

To my mind this is the punishment and regret of the doomed soul, to contemplate the errors committed by its body and its own weakness in failing to control that body. The consciousness of the fleeting nature of earthly joy and the pleasures of the now insensate body wrack the soul with repentance. That this is not the final state of either body or soul is clear. At the last judgement body and soul will be reunited.<sup>254</sup>

For you'll have to answer for both of us  
 on that mighty day when all men will be  
 opened, the wounds, the ones that men full of wickedness  
 made in the world since remote ages  
 Then the Lord himself will listen to deeds  
 in speech from the mouth of every last man,  
 and requite their crimes.  
 For the Lord will be ruthless  
 at passing sentence. But what should we do for ourselves  
 when he has begotten us once again?  
 We shall then bear together just such griefs  
 as you already ordained for us.

The soul speaks of the sorrows it undergoes after physical death and its fears of the judgement to come, but it also sees physical death as a release:<sup>255</sup>

<sup>254</sup> Ibid., verses 82–88.

*Donne þu for unc bu  
 on þan miclan dæge  
 wunde onwrigene,  
 firenfulle menn  
 Ðonne wile dryhten sylf  
 Æt ealra monna gehwam  
 wunde wiperlean.*

<sup>255</sup> Ibid., verses 32–35.

*Ðæt me þuhte ful oft  
 þæt were þirtig  
 to þinum deaðæge.*

*ondwyrðan scealt  
 þonne eallum monnum beoð  
 þa þe in worulde ær  
 fýn geworhton  
 dæda gehyren  
 mipes reorde.*

*þusend wintra*

Very often it seemed to me  
to be thirty thousand winters  
until your deathday. How I have awaited  
our parting!

The dichotomy between body and soul is clear, and what is also clear is that the body is seen as that which weighs down the soul and prevents it reaching the state of blessedness for which it yearned. The soul here is not ignorant or wicked: it longs for God and to follow God's ways, but it is too weak to stand firm against the body's desires and needs. It condemns the body for their combined fates, but the audience of monks at a reformed house, using such riddles to deepen their understanding, would be aware that the failure is that of the soul. Its lack of fortitude, its lack of control, its subjection to the body are the true reasons for its damnation.

The *Easter Riddle* group of poems deals with the struggle of both the Church and the individual soul to accept Christ's sacrifice. It is a celebration of Christ's victory over death:<sup>256</sup>

The Lord's body  
had received the spirit of life. The earth shook  
and hell dwellers rejoiced.  
<sup>257</sup>Then the Lord of the human race hastened on his journey;  
the defender of heaven wished to break and unbuild  
the ramparts of hell, begin to rob  
the strength of that fortress, the sternest of kings.

This is a dramatic retelling of *Nicodemus*, and in this harrowing of hell Christ's victory is laid out for the contemplation of the faithful. The way in which the faithful can participate in Christ victory is not ignored. In *Pharoah* and *Almsgiving* the importance of baptism and charity are dealt with; the latter is a sovereign remedy against sin:<sup>258</sup>

<sup>256</sup> Descent into Hell, verses 19–21.

*Æþelinges lic*  
*onfeng feores gæst; folde beofode,*  
*hlogan helwearan.*

<sup>257</sup> Ibid., verses 33–36.

*Fysde hine þa to fore*  
*wolde heofana helm*  
*forbreca and forbygan,*  
*onginnan reafian,*  
*frea moncynnes;*  
*helle weallas*  
*þære burge Prym*  
*reþust ealra cyninga.*

<sup>258</sup> Almsgiving, verses 8–9.

*Swa he mid ælmeßan*  
*synna wunde,*  
*ealle toscfeð*  
*sawla lacnað*

So through almsgiving he dispels all  
Wounds from sin and thus heals the soul.

In this series of riddles the wife is not only the Church lamenting her Lord's death and an initiate to eternal life, but also the soul of the individual starting out on a pilgrimage, conquering grief and doubt, accepting the rejection of the world to share in the victory of the crucified Christ:<sup>259</sup>

adorn myself for the journey hence, and myself make haste  
towards the pilgrimage I must depart on,  
make my soul ready, and for my own good suffer it all  
with a glad bearing, now I am girded  
fast in my heart. The Lord surely levies against me  
certain sins which I cannot myself  
clearly discover.

The framework of the series of the *Easter Riddle* is the victory over death through the passion and resurrection and the corresponding cleansing and participation of the human soul in this triumph through baptism and good works. The highly personal tone of the *Wife's lament* stresses the role of the individual soul and its place in the working of God's plan—*Judgement Day* speaks of 'each living man' (verse 95). The *Easter Riddle* is the literary equivalent of the crucifixion in the Uta Codex, but, because of its personal and dramatic tone the single, unique human soul acquires a new importance. God's plan needs the devotion of the individual: it is the fate of the individual, body and soul—and here we can see the lines of the later arguments about the relationship between body and soul and the necessity of the body for the establishment of the individual identity<sup>260</sup>—which takes on a new prominence. This prominence is reflected in the illustration of the Leofric *Mors* and *Vita*. Perhaps because the illustrations, while linked to the liturgy through the administration of the *viaticum*, were outside the liturgy itself, a greater

<sup>259</sup> Resignation, verses 72–78

<i>frætwian mec on ferðweg</i>	<i>ond fundian</i>
<i>sylf to þam siþe</i>	<i>þe ic asetlan sceal,</i>
<i>gæst gearwian, ond me</i>	<i>Ðæt eal for gode þolian</i>
<i>bliþe mode,</i>	<i>nu ic gebunden eom</i>
<i>fæste in minum ferþe</i>	<i>Huru me fræa wileð</i>
<i>sume þara synna</i>	<i>þ ic me sylf ne conn</i>
<i>ongietean gleawlice.</i>	

<sup>260</sup> J. Decorte, "Naar zijn beeld en gelijkenis: de ziel," in *De Middeleeuwse Ideeënwereld*, ed. M. Stoffers (Heerlen, 1994).

freedom was used, the same freedom which made itself manifest in the meditations over the soul and the body, judgement and death as expressed in the riddles.

There is a second version of an illustrated *Sphaera Apulei*, found in the Tiberius Psalter f. 6v, dated by Wormald at circa 1050. It has a different form, both illustrations being shown on the same page and it lacks the instructions for calculation.<sup>261</sup> Heimann interprets the positioning of the figures as deliberately expressing a hierarchy.<sup>262</sup> In my opinion this is a natural hierarchy. It would not occur to any medieval artist to place Satan above Christ. Further it was usual for 'life numbers' to be placed in the upper half of the sphere.<sup>263</sup> Openshaw sees a relationship with the *super aspidem* motif and the Christ/Vita figure is 'in effect trampling on Death'.<sup>264</sup> The faded area under the Vita figure lends support to this theory. Openshaw sees the theme of Christ's defeat of Satan as one that determines the illustration cycle, conquering 'Satan at the Temptation and his complete defeat at the Harrowing of Hell'.<sup>265</sup> The problem of the serpents around the head of *Mors* takes on a slightly different aspect and one that does not seem to have been discussed. Deshman sees no real difference between the *Mors* of the Leofric and the Tiberius Psalter, but they are very different stylistically. This may be accounted for by the passage of time and possibly different scriptoria. However there are points of difference that do call for comment. The snakes seem to spring, not from the head of the Tiberius *Mors* but from the wings, and unlike the rest of the illustration seem to be a series of dots or points. This begs the question of whether they were added later, or whether they were planned, but not fully executed. The pouncing also suggests that these at least, were taken from another source, but clearly not the Leofric. The Tiberius *Mors* lacks the more demonic elements of the Leofric version. The latter has spurs on elbows, knees and heels. It is possible that the Tiberius *Mors* has small spurs on the elbows: the knees and feet are not visible. His face, however, is far more human, serene even—the only coarse feature being the large broad nose that was also

<sup>261</sup> The verses from the Leofric are to be found in the frame of the miniature, but these are very brief and, because they are written clockwise, but continuously, they are very difficult to read. They cannot be regarded as having an instructive function.

<sup>262</sup> Openshaw, "The battle between Christ and Satan in the Tiberius Psalter."

<sup>263</sup> Sigerist, "The spheres of life and death in early medieval manuscripts."

<sup>264</sup> Openshaw, "The battle between Christ and Satan in the Tiberius Psalter."

<sup>265</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

seen in the giant death in the Utrecht Psalter. Most significantly the Tiberius *Mors* lacks the bestial elements of the Leofric version—the horns and large goat-like ears. The dress too is a more refined loincloth rather than the tattered kilt worn in the earlier version.

The problem of the lack of fully instructive text can be regarded in two ways. Either the user was well acquainted with how the *Sphaera* worked and simply needed the numbers, or they were not primarily regarded as prognostic. Openshaw concludes that ‘the two figures are almost certainly included purely for their symbolic value.’<sup>266</sup> This raises the question as to why any of the numbers were included at all. The prefatory texts of the Tiberius Psalter lay great emphasis on its penitential usage and contain instructions for its use in private devotions. It also contains a confessional, which, considering the use of the first person singular, may have been an adaptation of the administration of confession by a confessor to private use. If it was intended for private use the inclusion of *Sphaera* is problematic. It is possible that it was intended for the use of a confessor, who if he were familiar with the use and application of the *Sphaera*, could find it useful, but not essential, to have the full explanatory prognostic text. The differences in the iconography could be due to the artist being acquainted with an oral or written account of the Leofric version, but not having seen the original; however, the pouncing suggests a lost third manuscript. If we regard the Tiberius *Sphaera* as basically for meditation, rather than prognostication, it comes close to the Riddle Book, an emotional and expressive means for an individual to contemplate the state of his soul. If we regard it as an aid in deathbed confession it is closer in concept to the Leofric *Sphaera*, a guide to the application of the rituals of the Church. The rather different and more refined handling of the illustrations to my mind points to a private and contemplative use. This death is not so terrifying as the figure in the Leofric Missal, but this does not mean to say that it was not intended to frighten and threaten, merely that perhaps the intended reader was well aware of the horrors of death, but, secure in the knowledge that Christ had defeated death, he could contemplate that defeat and what he must do to ensure his own salvation. If we regard the Tiberius as being for private use while the Leofric *Sphaera* would be seen by others outside the monastic community, this may account for the changes. Whatever the explanation, it is clear that

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<sup>266</sup> Openshaw, “The battle between Christ and Satan in the Tiberius Psalter.”

both views deal with a specific not a universal fate, either in private meditation or in determining how far the rites of the Church were needed in an individual case.

### 6. *Sin and Death c. 1000*

Perhaps the most interesting result of this survey and analysis is the general division of the types of death that developed from the ninth century basic types. Instead of the two types serpentine and anthropomorphic we can now divide them into human and demonic. While the serpentine death continued, it decreased in importance, either sharing its place with Adam or a chalice, or becoming absorbed in the hell mouth. In either manifestation it is very much death defeated, but with new meanings and emphases. The chalice with its connotations of the Eucharist is a symbol of hope and salvation, linking more clearly Christ's death on the cross with salvation than was done in the ninth century. In the ninth century psalters Christ is the Logos, the divine aspect, triumphant and all-powerful. These later manifestations give a picture of Christ triumphing through his humanity, through his death and humiliation. This is not Christ the Warlord, but Christ the Sacrifice, not Christ the Ruler, but Christ the Redeemer. The new element of Adam, and sometimes Eve, stresses this point: man under the old law, the old Adam, was condemned to eternal death, and either as a serpent or as Adam himself, this death is vanquished. The use of Adam as a new form of death indicates a new emphasis on man and man's nature. The serpent was external and alien: Adam is the father of all, is man himself, doomed to die due to his own failings and ill judgement. In this sense death becomes more immediate and more personal, but also more threatening, because a closer identification can be made with the Adam in everyone.

The replacement of the serpent by Adam or a human figure is symptomatic of a new immediacy in respect to death. This immediacy is typified by the two versions of the anthropomorphic death, the human and the demonic. Both probably stem from the giant of Utrecht Psalter—the waving hair and poor clothing of the Mors of the Uta Codex could be an indication of this ancestry. The giant figure becomes in one version harmless and in the other far more evil and terrifying. The harmless version is not only optimistic in the sense that death is defeated, but as physical death also holds the promise of eternal life.

The demonic version is the other side of the coin—the eternal death that still threatens, and at the moment of physical death, for those insufficiently reconciled with God's ways, is inescapable. Both represent eschatological death that is capable of defeat, not only by Christ but also by the true Christian: moreover, they are also the gateway to either eternal bliss or damnation, if not immediately, then at the end of time. This double function acts as a warning or spur to the reader, terrifying or encouraging. That the demonic version, as in the Leofric Missal, is meant to terrify we can have little doubt. There is nothing comfortable or optimistic about this death. In many ways it is conceptually close to the ninth century death, posing an opposition between life and death, but whereas the ninth century version is defeated by Christ, and His followers share in his victory, the Leofric Mors is still a powerful threat to man. The idea of hope and salvation is present in the Christ/Vita figure, but the certainty that permeated the ninth century works is missing, and certainly the optimism and serenity that are so typical of the Ottonian manuscripts is a far cry from the dire warning of the Leofric Mors. Perhaps the most intriguing aspect is this difference in attitude displayed by the Anglo-Saxon and Ottonian manuscripts, and the question arises as to whether there is any connection between the apparent lack of interest in the fall in Ottonian miniatures and the more optimistic attitude regarding death. Is there anything in the general circumstances of the one area that differs from those of the other that would account for this?

In writing of fear of the year 1000 Robert Landes contrasted the position of Robert II of Frankland with that of Otto III—‘maker of popes and kings, converter of nations, renewer of the glory that was Rome, *mirabilis mundi*...Germany entered it [the millennium] with a dominating ruler in charge.’<sup>267</sup> While this seems to be a rather overblown assessment of Otto III, it is probably one that would have pleased him greatly and certainly has a grain of truth in it. Compared to the splintered western Francia with its ineffectual leadership and to the political and social turmoil in Anglo-Saxon England, the Ottonian Empire was an area of stability. This can only be regarded as relative stability, but the Magyar invasions had finally been thrown off at Lech

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<sup>267</sup> Richard Landes, “The fear of an apocalyptic year 1000: Augustinian historiography, medieval and modern,” *Speculum* 75 (2000), David. A. Warner, “Ritual and memory in the Ottonian Reich: the ceremony of Adventus,” *Speculum, a Journal of Medieval Studies* 76 (2001).



in 955 and even the attempted coup of Duke Henry in 984 had been defeated. Since then the regency of the three imperial ladies had given a degree of coherence and stability to the Ottonian lands. However, the period of relative peace and stability cannot account entirely for such totally different attitudes displayed by the Ottonian and Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.

There are hopeful apocalyptic elements in the Ottonian works, however I do not think that these are simply expressions of apocalyptic fervour, but are deliberately manipulated for political ends. This is not to deny the idea of living at the end of time, but that idea was used to further Ottonian claims and status. The Ottonian dynasty was relatively new, and as might be expected anxious to assert its legitimacy by all means possible, including that of ritual and display.<sup>268</sup> It has already been commented that the ruler portrait in the Bamberg Apocalypse makes reference to the legend of the last emperor, but such a reference not only looks forward, but back. By claiming the right to be regarded as the emperor of Rome, the Ottonians laid claim to the intermediate Frankish empire of the Carolingians. This claim was strengthened by the coronations in Aachen. The coronations in Rome—that of Otto I in 962—and the fealty of other rulers such as the defeated Berengar and Duke Boleslav Chrobry, laid emphasis on the fact that however much the Ottonians favoured their homeland of Saxony, their lands were to be regarded as an empire equivalent to that of Rome.<sup>269</sup> On the page opposite the ruler portrait in the Gospel Book of Otto III we find again the provinces bearing gifts and doing homage, but here they are named, reading from left to right, *SCLAVINIA*, *GALLIA*, *GERMANIA* and closest to the imperial throne, *ROMA*.<sup>270</sup> The progress of imperial pretensions can be seen by comparing the eulogies on the deaths of Otto I and Otto II. Widukind wrote of Otto I (died 973) “His men recalled that he had ruled his subjects with paternal piety, freed them from their enemies, overcome the proud adversaries, Hungarians, Saracens, Danes and Slavs, destroyed heathen sanctuaries . . . and set up churches and bodies of clerks and monks.”<sup>271</sup> Egbert, bishop of Trier,

<sup>268</sup> For the selective memories of Ottonian writers see Warner, “Ritual and memory in the Ottonian Reich: the ceremony of Adventus.”

<sup>269</sup> Henry II also favoured Saxony as an area of residence above his dukedom of Bavaria.

<sup>270</sup> Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 4453.

<sup>271</sup> Cited Karl Leyser, “Ottonian Government,” *English Historical Review* 96 (1981).

wrote of Otto II “He who vigorously ruled an empire with his sceptre died in Rome and was buried at your altar, Peter. With your support he now lives at the altars of the heavenly kingdom.”<sup>272</sup> This latter quotation shows the strength given to the connection with Rome, the role of the Church in salvation but also the degree of optimism and certainty that the deceased was among the blessed. There is no hopeful conditional, no pious wish expressed simply that, with the help of the saint, Otto II was among God’s chosen. In the Gospel Book of Otto III the idea of resurrection is very pronounced, with miniatures of the raising of Lazarus, *noli me tangere* and doubting Thomas. Here again we see, as in the Uta Codex, the need for good works expressed. On f. 167v is the unusual subject of the parable of the good Samaritan, perhaps the archetype of all preaching of charity. The Ottonians were confident in their claim to be emperors because God so wished it. Otto III’s deliberate intervention in the question of John Philagathos (John XVI), the anti-pope to Gregory V, was based on his claim to be God’s representative on earth. His successor, Henry II, expressed this idea even more strongly in his sacramentary: the ruler portrait shows him being crowned not by angels or saints, but by Christ himself, while two angels hand him a sword and lance, as symbols of power.<sup>273</sup> The idea that Otto III took the legend of the last emperor seriously is strengthened by his declared intention of, at some point, renouncing the imperial crown and donning the monk’s habit. Nor was the connection one-sided: if the emperor ruled as God’s vicar, then churchmen often ruled in the emperor’s name. Leyser has pointed out the infrequent mention of lower administrative personnel in narrative sources and the general scarcity of administrative documents in the Ottonian period, while the upper administrative ranks received frequent mention: the latter were ‘a predominantly aristocratic, ecclesiastical upper echelon.’<sup>274</sup> Both the ruling house and the church benefited from a view of the Ottonian Empire as ordained and blessed by God. All this contrasts with the turmoil of Anglo-Saxon England and the efforts of the Church there to maintain some kind of order. It contrasts too, with the wealth of Anglo-Saxon texts in the vernacular, texts that seemed to have as their objective the deeper and better understanding of Christianity by both

<sup>272</sup> Cited, Thomas Head, “Art and Artifice in Ottonian Trier,” *Gesta* 36 (1997).

<sup>273</sup> Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4456, f. 11r.

<sup>274</sup> Leyser, “Ottonian Government.”

cleric and layman. Although it is impossible to show, there seems to have been a less exclusive attitude to the Church and its learning, a striving to bring understanding of the bible and the liturgy to those beyond the upper ecclesiastical hierarchy.<sup>275</sup> Perhaps this attempt to spread learning and understanding was a manifestation of a degree of uncertainty. The Anglo-Saxon miniatures do not display the same self-confidence in salvation or the same relationship between earthly and heavenly ruler as their Ottonian contemporaries.

The two ruler portraits in the Bamberg Apocalypse and the New Minster *Liber Vitae* have already been analysed, but it is worth looking at them again to see what differences in attitude they display. The portrait of Otto III shows him seated on a throne, very like pictures of Christ in majesty. He is flanked by the two saints, Peter and Paul, who crown him. This gives a very definite link with Rome, traditionally the place of martyrdom of the two saints, as well as the seat of the apostolic church. Just as Otto II was buried beneath the altar of St. Peter, his son receives the accolade of rulership from the founder of the Roman Church. In the lower register the parts of the empire pay tribute. Otto III is hailed as a ruler ordained by God, and it is this rulership that is emphasised. God's blessing and approval are for the ruler, not the man or his actions: as a ruler he is responsible for plenty and the prevalence of virtue as depicted on the other side of the opening. In this portrait he is God's appointed vicar, confident of both his rule and the salvation that he ensures for his people. The New Minster manuscript shows another relationship with God. While Otto clearly models himself and his role of God, Cnut and Ælfifu are suppliants. They bring a gift to honour their Lord, an event witnessed by both the heavenly and earthly representatives of the Church, just as Edgar in the New Minster Charter of 966 humbles himself before his Lord and offers not only the charter but the foundation itself.<sup>276</sup> Cnut and Ælfifu do not seek to compare themselves with Christ as ruler: the crown is given to a pious man, and through that piety and humbleness before God is he fit to rule. This is no less politically loaded than the Otto miniature, but in a different way: the one approves of

<sup>275</sup> As well as his many homilies and other works Ælfric told Wulfstan that if he did not understand the significance of the liturgy there were texts in both Old English and Latin that would explain it. See Christopher Jones, A., "The book of the liturgy in Anglo-Saxon England," *Speculum* 73 (1998).

<sup>276</sup> London BL Ms Cotton Vespasian A.viii, f. 2v.

an institution, the other a man. In this miniature there is the idea of conscious striving to be worthy, the rewards of those so judged, as well as those deemed unworthy are shown overleaf. For the Anglo-Saxons the fight was not yet won, there was always the battle against the lower nature of mankind. The Ottonian miniatures show this battle as won by the faithful of the Ottonian realm. The crucifixion in the Uta Codex gives instructions, implying that it is fully within the capabilities of the reader to follow God and obtain salvation. The reader is assumed to be untroubled by human desires and weakness, or at least in state to overcome these without too much difficulty. Perhaps this accounts for the lack of miniatures of the fall in Ottonian manuscripts, an implication that man's sinful heritage was behind him. It is worth noting that our one remaining depiction of the fall from the period on the Hildesheim doors was very possibly a declaration of the sinfulness of those who fell short of the standards expected by true followers of God, at least in the view of the monks of Hildesheim; it can be regarded, at least in part, as a piece of propaganda in a power struggle between Bernwald and the Bishop of Mainz.

The uncertainty of the lot of man, of the individual that is so apparent in the Exeter Riddles, the continuing struggle between the wishes of the soul and the desires of the body, the consciousness of failure, are echoed in the fearful *Mors* of the Leofric Missal. The knowledge of human weakness and the failure of good intentions, with disastrous results displayed in *Genesis B* and the miniatures of Junius 11 seems characteristic of late Anglo-Saxon thought. Perhaps the nearness of pagan invaders and the uncertainties of rule and government were the cause of the warnings of man's weakness and inherent propensity for sin. It has often been remarked that there was a demonising tendency in Anglo-Saxon England—as we have seen the fall of Lucifer could even be used as preface to charters—but at the same time there was awareness that temptation was omnipresent. Redemption was not held to be impossible, the cross and Christ's sacrifice were there for those who truly followed God's way; but man must be aware of the unceasing temptation and the doom to which man was condemned, and to which he could so easily fall if he were weak and failed to follow God's laws closely enough. Sin and the fall of man were intrinsically linked to Adam and human weakness. Ælfric wrote in one of his *Catholic Homilies*: *þurh treow us com deað, þaða adam geet þone forbodenan appel, and ðurh treow us com eft lif and alysednyss, ðaða Crist hangode on rode for ure*

*alysednyssse*.<sup>277</sup> The Angers manuscript may have some of the form of Ottonian works, but it is much closer in feeling and interpretation to the Anglo-Saxon works. Man's disobedience, his failing was somehow linked to his humanity and thereby to death; only by overcoming the weakness that led Adam to commit the first sin can man be redeemed. The Ottonian miniatures give a picture of a readership that is confident that it can follow the way of the cross and achieve heaven: the Anglo-Saxon readership seems less sure.

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<sup>277</sup> Death came to us through a tree, when Adam ate the forbidden apple, and afterwards, life and redemption came to us through a tree, when Christ hung on the cross for our redemption. Cited, Raw, *Anglo-Saxon crucifixion iconography and the art of the monastic revival*, p. 177.



### CHAPTER THREE

#### KNOWING THE ENEMY, THE BATTLE WITHIN

In the fifty or so years between the making of the Moissac manuscript and the next group of manuscripts with scenes of the fall much had changed, with dramatic events such as the investiture contest, the crusades and attacks on Jews highlighting the changing attitudes towards God, sin and redemption. The late eleventh and first half of the twelfth century is a time of complexities, and perhaps even more than usual, contradictory trends. Many of these contradictions were probably more seeming than real, the similarities more apparent to the historian than to contemporaries. The pilgrimages, crusades and the stream of men and women entering a cloister were motivated, in part at least, by a desire to save their souls, some by action, others by contemplation. If the competition between canons and monks was perceived to escalate, this, to some extent, had its roots in the fact that the two types of *religieux* were becoming more and more alike, with an increasing proportion of monks being ordained, while more and more canons lived a secluded existence following a rule. The military orders seem to be a contradiction in terms, since monks were forbidden to bear arms and the life of a knight or soldier would appear to be the opposite of that of a contemplative. A part of the seeming contradiction inherent in the soldier monk is more readily understandable when we consider the terminology used both earlier and in the period now under review to describe the eternal battle between good and evil, the servants of God and those of the devil. Attitudes to women were also contradictory. In this period, to a certain extent, they were not only acceptable, but praiseworthy. There was a small resurgence of the double monastic house, and female mystics began to be held in high regard. On the other hand the fear of sexuality was in no way diminished. Indeed, it seems to have increased. While certain ascetics and hermits courted sexual temptation to try their chastity, laws and ordinances, such as the canons of Nablus, showed the danger sexuality was perceived to be. It was a period of unity and division. People of various lands answered the call of the crusade or the call to the cloister, but wars between the rulers of the west were rife. The Christians of the Eastern Church

must have perceived their 'liberators' as ruthless and cruel despoilers rather than co-religionists. Not only did the Emperor and other rulers contend with the pope and local bishops, but there was schism in the papal see itself. While many sought to return to the roots of faith and eschewed subtle learning and logic, the new universities and schools of logic found pupils flocking to them. There was greater optimism than a century earlier and the ways to achieve goals, especially salvation, seemed more varied and individual.

### 1. *General Context*

The late eleventh and twelfth centuries in western Europe appear to have enjoyed a mild climate and this is born out by the descriptions given by monastic writers describing the site of their particular house, often comparing it to paradise.<sup>1</sup> Since monks needed also to live, the beauties of nature were no more appreciated than her bounty. Even areas that were not suitable for arable cultivation were a source of income, in particular the Cistercians made fortunes from wool from their flocks, 'revenue from this source alone could provide a stable base for the budget of a large monastic establishment.'<sup>2</sup> The wealth of the monasteries affected others too, and frequently for the better. Cluny, probably in 1087, claimed to have fed seventeen thousand poor.<sup>3</sup> Moreover the monasteries needed servants, or increasingly, lay brothers or sisters, providing work, sustenance and shelter, as well as salvation, for a number probably equal to monks or nuns of the house. There is no reason to suppose that lay landholders had any less productive lands. The increase in markets and a more money orientated economy bear this out. The conversion of service or production into cash rents for land tenure points to the fact that there was little food shortage, as does the increase in the growth of towns, implying that the countryside produced a surplus, thus enabling the urban population to increase and develop its own economy. Markets were always encouraged by land-holders as a source of revenue: these again point to a surplus, especially if we consider the importance of big international markets

<sup>1</sup> Giles Constable, *The reformation of the twelfth century* (Cambridge, 1996).

<sup>2</sup> J.A. Rafis, "Western Monasticism and Economic Organization," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 3 (1961).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.



such as Champagne. Technical innovations such as the mills and the spread of the use of (shod) horses and a general improvement in diet led to increased productivity and a growth in population. These factors lay at the basis of the increased urbanisation and the growth of trade both within Europe and with the Levant and North Africa.

One of the reasons for this upturn in the economy was undoubtedly the cessation of the external threats from Magyars, Moors and Norsemen. Not only were the lands of western Europe free of raiding and pillage with the concomitant destruction of crops, tools and homes, and the slaughter of workers, but they were freed from the heavy economic burden of mounting armed resistance to these raids. Nor should the psychological effect be underestimated. To be freed from the fear of the destruction of life and property must have given all sections of the community a renewed vigour and interest in what they could do. The Mediterranean was no longer dominated by Moslem ships, and the mercantile fleets of Genoa and Venice took more and more of the sea trade. Frontiers were pushed back, both in the sense of land reclamation and the establishment of new communities, both religious and lay, and the conquering of Moslem states, particularly in Spain and southern Italy. This push to extend the boundaries of holdings and influences by west Europeans reached its apotheosis in the crusader kingdoms. This was, to a large extent, the other side of the high conjuncture and the relief from invasions. Population pressure was perceived to be a real threat. All versions of Urban II's speech at Clermont were written after the event, but some of the writers may have been present. One of those was Robert the Monk who reported the speech in his *Jerusalem History*.<sup>4</sup>

This land which you inhabit, enclosed on all sides by the seas and surrounded by mountain peaks, is too narrow for your large population; nor does it abound in wealth and it furnishes scarcely food enough for its cultivators. So it is that you murder one another; that you wage war and that frequently you perish from mutual wounds. Let therefore hatred depart among you, let your quarrels end, let wars cease and let all dissensions

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<sup>4</sup> *quoniam terra haec quam inhabitatis clausura maris undique et jugis montium circumdata, numerositate vestra coangustatur; nec copia divitiarum exuberat; et vix sola alimenta suis cultoribus administrat. Inde est quod vos invicem mordetis, et comeditis; bella movetis, et plerumque mutuis vulneribus occiditis. Cessent igitur inter vos odia, conticescant jurgia, bella quiescant et totius controversiae dissensiones sopiantur. Viam sancti sepulcri incipite, terram illam nefariae genti auferte, eamque vobis subjicite.* PL 155: 672B. It must be noted that none of the other versions of Urban's speech mention overcrowding as a cause for the violence prevalent in France.

and controversies sleep. Enter upon the road to the Holy Sepulchre; wrest that land from the wicked race and subject it to yourselves.

It is probable that the perception of overpopulation concerned primarily the warrior class, chiefly knights, often with small fiefs and now without an invader to fight. Robert goes on to mention that Israel is a land 'fruitful above all others, like another paradise of delights'. On a mundane and less poetic note merchants must have seen in the control of the Middle East a rich source of income and trade.

The late eleventh and early twelfth centuries saw, then, an expanding and enterprising population, both restless and fired with ideals. Relieved of the burden of the defence of their own territories and offered the prospect of acquiring both heavenly and earthly riches, people sought these in diverse ways, by entering a reclusive order that sought to provide for itself without the help of the world, by going on pilgrimage, by seeking a new life in towns or mercantile ventures abroad or by seeking to liberate Jerusalem. It was a mobile population with not only people and goods moving, but scholarship and ideas.

### 1.1 *Church and State*

Ecclesiastical and secular matters were still closely intertwined. As temporal lords, bishops and monasteries had secular duties and responsibilities, while kings and other rulers had the duty to defend the church and advance the cause of Christendom. However, in this period there was a tendency to define more clearly the areas of temporal and ecclesiastical concern. Many monasteries had for a long time held privileges that gave them immunity from interference by lay authority and/or exemption from the authority of the bishop of the dioceses in which their house was situated. Some houses were answerable only to the Pope, Cluny being the best known. The daughter houses of Cluny enjoyed the same freedom, but then filtered through the Cluny network, that is they were answerable to their mother house. However the immunity or exemption was easier in theory than in practice. Many, if not most, foundations were dependent on lay patronage and a lay patron was apt to require that his own nominee would be chosen for a particular post. Even when a lay patron had unequivocally endowed a foundation it was not unknown for heirs to try to revoke the gift, thus it was in the interests of a house to remain on good terms with lay patrons. This point is stressed in Abbot Suger's *Liber de rebus in administratione sua*

*gestis*. He gives as a reason for writing the account not only that the succeeding generations of brothers would be reminded to pray for his soul, but also:<sup>5</sup>

Lest after our passing the revenues of the church should be diminished by someone's fraud, lest the abundant additions conferred upon the church by God's munificence during the time of our administration should be quietly lost by unworthy successors...

The question of lay patronage and the extent of the rights given by it lay at the roots of the investiture conflict. This was also a manifestation of the question of ruler theory. In how far was the ruler God's representative on earth and how far did his authority reach? The question was played out in many spheres but the most obvious and far-reaching was the struggle between the Emperor and the Pope. Otto III had already interfered in papal affairs, and in 1046 Henry III took this considerably further, deposing Benedict IX, dismissing two other papal candidates and ensuring his own reforming nominee was elected. This initiated a series of reforming popes, the most revolutionary being Gregory VII. This was something that in the succeeding decades rebounded on the emperors. Henry III, a supporter of Cluny, had the intention to reform the Church, objecting to what he saw as corruption. The fight against such perceived abuses as simony and clerical marriage took another turn with the decree on papal elections issued by Pope Nicholas II in 1059. Basically this stated that 'the men of the church shall be the leaders in carrying on the election of a pope, the others merely followers.' Since all bishops must be elected by the clergy and approved by the metropolitan, the choice of pope was to be that of the cardinal bishops, who 'perform beyond a doubt the function of that metropolitan.' The boy emperor Henry—called king—was mentioned but it was clear that he was intended to be one of the 'followers'. The legate bearing the decree was refused audience at the imperial court, which then disseminated its own version. This version gave the emperor the right to consent to an election being held, and gave him a role equal to that of the cardinal bishops. This latter was achieved simply by inserting a phrase into the papal original—'the men of the church, together with our most serene son King Henry, shall be the leaders in carrying on the election of a pope, the others merely followers.' The

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<sup>5</sup> *De administratione*, Ch. I.

struggle between popes and Emperor continued with Henry claiming for himself not only the right to be seen as God's representative on earth, but to 'depose' Gregory. Henry's position is made clear in the letter he wrote to Gregory, beginning 'Henry, king not through usurpation but through the holy ordination of God, to Hildebrand, at present not pope but false monk.' The letter goes on to accuse Gregory of cruelty, pride, arrogance and that achieving by 'wiles...which the profession of monk abhors, you have achieved money, by money, favour, by the sword the throne of peace.' Threats of deposition he rejects:<sup>6</sup>

[You] rise up against the royal power conferred upon us by God, daring to threaten to divest us of it. As if we had received our kingdom from you! As if the kingdom and empire were in your hands, not those of God! And this although our Lord Jesus Christ called us to the kingdom, he did not, however, call you to the priesthood.

He goes on to assert that he is responsible to God alone

I am not to be deposed for any crime unless, which God forbid, I should have strayed from the faith—am subject to the judgement of God alone... Thou, therefore, be damned by this curse and by the judgement of all our bishops and by our own, descend and relinquish the apostolic chair that you have usurped... I Henry, king by the grace of God, do say unto you, together with all our bishops: Descend, descend to be damned throughout the ages.

The relative positions of Church and state were unclear both in practice and theory. The two institutions were historically intertwined; a secular and ecclesiastical branch both ruling and doing the will of God was the theoretical basis. However, as we have seen earlier, the position of the ruler as divinely appointed gave him a certain amount of claim to spiritual authority. The Church, in its various manifestations, episcopal and monastic, was a temporal subject of the crown, holding lands and thereby having temporal and secular duties. Many of these had been commuted to cash payment, but the temporal relationship still existed. Bishops and abbots were temporal powers, often exerting considerable political influence. Much of the question derived from the point as to whether a temporal lord, either as a founder and patron, or as a landlord had the right to see his own man as his 'tenant', caring for the souls of his dependents or family. In principle, such appointments

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<sup>6</sup> Ernest F. Henderson, ed., *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages* (MG LL, folio II, pp. 47 ff) (London, 1910).

gave a lord considerable power. Unlike lay tenants or dependents there could be no claim of family inheritance; however most monasteries at least had formal elections of a new abbot. Religious houses had an uncertain relation with the outside world; in principle they were not supposed to concern themselves with worldly things such as the day-to-day practicalities of administering their land. The function of advocate, a sort of steward or general administrator, also included defending the rights of the house, for a proportion of the profit made. In legal cases the advocate was entitled to the 'third penny'. However, the advocate was less and less a feature of monastic life. Lay brothers and sisters took over much of the day-to-day work, with sometimes certain monks holding a post such as cellarer. There was also still a fear of robbery or the taking of property by forceful possession—a point not lost on Suger. 'We also arranged to have the towers and upper crenulations of the front altered with an eye to beauty and, should circumstances require, to utility.'<sup>7</sup> In a world where there were numerous bands of unemployed knights and soldiers, and lords, both lay and ecclesiastical casting greedy eyes on monastic lands, the monasteries looked more and more for protection to a lord protector. This could be the pope or a king, but these tended to be distant and a local lord was often more effective. These protectors could be felt to have the right to nominate an abbot, or indeed if they were the protectors of secular churches, bishops or local priests.<sup>8</sup> As they protected the church in this world, they sought a form of protection for the next world.

The struggle between the pope and the emperor was played out on many different levels. Anselm's refusal to accept lay investiture under William Rufus was another example of the chief churchman of a country demanding that the ruler desist from interfering in church business. The same problems were found everywhere in north-west Europe on many different scales and were complicated by the relations between regular and secular clergy. As more and more monks were ordained, and as their holdings grew and expanded, it became more frequently the case that a monastery held a settlement and claimed the right to invest the priest, often a member of their own community. In

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<sup>7</sup> *De administratione*, ch. 27.

<sup>8</sup> For relations between ecclesiastical institutions and society see Constance B. Bouchard, "Community: Society and the Church in Medieval France," *French Historical Studies* 17 (1992).

this sense the monastery, as the holder of lay property, was claiming lay investiture.

The polemics of the struggle between Henry and Gregory display the theoretical basis on which the claims of both lay rulers and the pope rested. The Salian monarchs adopted the Christ/King theory that had been popular with their Ottonian predecessors. Christ was King of heaven and the monarch was his deputy on earth, a reflection of Christ. Archbishop Werner said that the monarch 'has the name and is the representative of the heavenly king'.<sup>9</sup> As God's representative, appointed by God, he was above all others. The papal side did not contest the idea that rulers were God's chosen, in many cases, but maintained that the divinely chosen status manifested itself in the willingness of the ruler to do God's work. Men could come to power, said Gregory, who sought their own ends and aggrandisement, but these were not true kings. Unlike some earlier writers he does not see the bad ruler as a chastisement for a wicked people, but as false ruler. Even one chosen by God must continue to follow God's ways and do his work, or he forfeited his right to rule. He wrote to William I of England that he must 'prove by your actions the dispensation committed to you by God and fulfil your ministry to his glory and praise'.<sup>10</sup> In this he meant that the ruler must support the pope in his measures against simony, clerical marriage and lay investiture. It was to this end he supported an anti-king to Henry, one who was willing to swear to 'comply with whatever the pope commands me with the words "in true obedience" ... and pay to God and St. Peter all due honour and service'.<sup>11</sup> This was going much further than a division of care between a temporal and spiritual ruler. It implied the absolute right of the pope to dismiss a ruler who flouted his orders. The Lenten synod of 1080 spoke of Henry being 'rightly degraded on account of his pride, his disobedience and his falsehood ...' In other words, Gregory, as pope, demanded obedience from rulers; without this obedience a ruler showed himself a false monarch. Gregory, in spite of his claims to the supremacy of power, did not contest the right of a lay ruler to invest a bishop with the *regalia* symbolising his temporal power. His successors, however, took an even more extreme stand. In 1095 Urban II declared that no churchman was to take an

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<sup>9</sup> *Saxonicum bellum*, cap. 48. Cited I.S. Robinson, "Pope Gregory VII, the Princes and the Pactum 1077-1080," *English Historical Review* 94 (1979).

<sup>10</sup> Cited *ibid.*, p. 740.

<sup>11</sup> Cited *ibid.*, p. 741.

oath of fealty to a lay ruler, and seven years later Pascal II extended this to the investiture of churchmen in respect to their property. The argument for this rested on the idea that office and property of a see was an indivisible whole and that any lay control was detrimental to the spiritual office.<sup>12</sup> The ensuing struggles and splits among both lay and clerical factions were not resolved until the Concordat of Worms in 1122 in which the temporal and secular functions were separated and the ruler retained his hold on the secular aspects, while relinquishing any claim on investiture to the office. This was the solution that was applied generally at all levels, though frequently not without struggle or infringements.

## 1.2 *The Crusades*

In the struggle between empire and papacy, the taking of Jerusalem in 1099 could be seen as a factor increasing papal prestige. After all, the crusade was a papal initiative in which none of the European rulers took part. In 1074 Gregory VII had already urging the faithful to be prepared to lay down their lives to liberate their brothers of the East.<sup>13</sup> Gregory even wrote to Duchess Matilda that he longed to go himself to free the Eastern Christians. Little may have come of Gregory's plea, but when Urban II called for an armed crusade to free the east for pilgrims and other Christians he met an enthusiastic response. Not all accounts mention the liberation of Jerusalem as an objective, and they vary as to the amount the people of the west were castigated for their falling off from obedience to divine law, but all are agreed that he made an appeal to those assembled as brothers of the Christians suffering under the Turks—Robert the Monk calls them an 'accursed race...utterly alienated from God.'<sup>14</sup> After describing the enthusiasm with which Urban's speech was received, he goes on to give Urban's words in reaction to this enthusiasm. Robert is unusual in that he gives an account of all those who are not to undertake this venture. These were the old and infirm, incapable of bearing arms, woman without

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<sup>12</sup> Stanley A. Chodorow, "Ecclesiastical politics and the ending of the Investiture Contest: the papal election of 1119 and the negotiations of Mouzon," *Speculum: A Journal of Mediaeval Studies* 46 (1971).

<sup>13</sup> *animas pro liberatione fratrum ponere, exemplum Redemptoris nostri, et debitum fraternae charitatis a nobis exigit.* PL 148: 329.

<sup>14</sup> *gens maledicta, extranea gens prosus a Deo aliena.* PL 155: 671B.

their husbands, brothers or legal guardians, since such would only be a hindrance. The rich were to finance the poor and supply soldiers. No ecclesiastic was to set out without his bishop's permission, and even laymen should seek the blessing of a priest before they set out.<sup>15</sup>

All accounts of Urban's speech agree that he offered those who undertook the crusade remission of sins. This was not entirely new: previous popes had promised absolution to those who killed the enemies of Christendom in battle, notably in the push to take Moorish Spain. However, the accounts of Urban's speech are somewhat less specific, implying a remission of sins in general. Robert the Monk's account says 'Thus go on this journey for the remission of your sins, secure of the imperishable glory of the kingdom of heaven'.<sup>16</sup> Fulcher of Chartres gives the same assurance to those who die on the journey.<sup>17</sup> Guibert of Nogent speaks of Urban's absolution for all who vow to undertake the journey.<sup>18</sup> This would seem to go beyond the absolution for the sin of killing in battle. Considering the various accounts of the speech that point out the sins of the people, especially the knightly class, it implies that the crusade could be viewed as a special pilgrimage to expiate sin. It is also the most explicit statement of the Church's attitude towards violence. This had always been, in theory, one of disapproval, although in practice violence had often been encouraged, with churchmen participating in battles and campaigns. The difference now is the assertion that certain forms of violence are good. Baldric of Dole, in his version of Urban's speech, maintains that the freeing of their 'brothers' is the only righteous form of war.<sup>19</sup> This attitude towards 'righteous violence' is perhaps best exemplified by the new military orders, in the seeming contradiction of soldier-monks. These seem to have been drawn

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<sup>15</sup> *Et non praecipimus aut suademus, ut senes aut imbecilles, et usui armorum minime idonei, hoc iter arripiant, nec mulieres sine conjugibus suis, aut fratribus, aut legitimis testimoniis ullatenus profiscantur. Tales enim magis sunt impedimento quam adiumento; plus oneri quam utilitati. Divites in opibus subveniant, et expeditos ad bellum de suis facultatibus secum ducant. Presbyteris sive clericis cujuscunque ordinis absque episcoporum suorum licentia non licet ire, quoniam inutilis eis fieret haec via, si irent sine illorum licentia, ibid.: 673A.*

<sup>16</sup> *Arripite igitur viam hanc, in remissionem peccatorum vestrorum, securi de immarcescibili gloria regni coelorum, ibid.: 672C.*

<sup>17</sup> *Cunctis autem illuc euntibus, si aut gradiendo, aut transfretando, sive contra paganos dimicando, vitam finierint, peccaminum remissio praesens aderit. PL 155: 828A.*

<sup>18</sup> *Peroraverat vir excellentissimus, et omnes qui se ituros voverant, beati Petri potestate absoluit, eadem, ipsa apostolica auctoritate firmavit. PL 156: 702B.*

<sup>19</sup> *Horrendum est, fratres, horrendum est, vos in Christianos rapacem manum extendere minus malum est in Sarracenos gladium vibrare; singulare bonum est quia et charitas est, pro fratribus animas ponere. PL 166: 1068.*



from the laity rather than monastic circles. Guibert speaks of these new orders being brought into being by God so that the people might find a new way to redemption.<sup>20</sup> This raises an interesting point. The military metaphors used in the ninth century were those of combating an external evil. This is certainly an important part of the crusading movement and the establishment of the military orders, to combat the Muslim, and in some cases, especially in Germany, there were outbreaks of anti-Judaism. The term 'a new way to redemption' points to something other than this simple opposition to an external evil: it is an acknowledgement of the need for redemption in those who fight external evil. This acknowledgement of the need for redemption was not new, nor was the recognition of human failing. However, the two are now linked: by combating the heathen the crusader now expiated his sins, fighting evil both within and without. Of equal importance is the personal aspect. Absolution may have been given en masse to those who took the crusading vow, but it dealt with very personal sin. Each individual who set out could rest assured in his own salvation.

In his letter in praise of the new orders Bernard of Clairvaux wrote that they fought a double fight, both against flesh and blood and against spiritual evil.<sup>21</sup> Nor was this new knight afraid of death, as that meant life in Christ.<sup>22</sup> Like Baldric he sees the war as righteous,<sup>23</sup> and contrasts the state of the militant monk with that of the secular knight, who must fear for his soul while he slays his opponent.<sup>24</sup> The true knight needs no justification for his deeds; as Bernard asks, if a Christian was not allowed to fight, why did Christ tell knights to be content with what they had, rather than forbidding them such a profession.<sup>25</sup> The metaphor of militancy is double, in fighting internal and external evil, and an expression of the literal case in taking up arms against the Moslem

<sup>20</sup> *instituit nostro tempore praelia sancta Deus, ut ordo equestris et vulgus oberrans, qui vetustae paganitatis exemplo in mutuas versabantur caedes, novum reperirent salutis promerendae genus.* PL 156: 685C.

<sup>21</sup> *qua gemino pariter conflictu infatigabiliter decertatur, tum adversus carnem et sanguinem, tum contra spiritualia nequiae in coelestibus* PL 182: 921C.

<sup>22</sup> *Nec vero mortem formidat, qui mori desiderat. Quid enim vel vivens, vel moriens metuat, cui vivere Christus est, et mori lucrum?* *ibid.*, 922A.

<sup>23</sup> *Si bona fuerit causa pugnantis, pugnae exitus malus exitus esse non poterit,* *ibid.*, 922C.

<sup>24</sup> *Quoties namque congrederis tu, qui militiam militas saecularem, timendum omnino, ne aut occidas hostem quidem in corpore, te vero in anima,* *ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> *si percutere in gladio omnino fas non est Christiano, cur ergo praeco Salvatoris contentos fore suis stipendiis militibus indixit (Luc. III, 14); et non potius omnem eis militiam interdixit?* *ibid.*, 924C.

rulers of the Holy Land. The pilgrimage to Jerusalem, a long-time manner to expiate sin, now took on a positive aspect. Not only did the crusader work on his soul's salvation in a form of visible penitence, but took up arms to free the Holy Land for his eastern brothers, and to make it safe for pilgrims.

All the high-flown rhetoric of the soul and the Church had an undertone of practicality and even greed. Robert the Monk spoke of overpopulation, and the crusades were seen, perhaps even in the first place, as a means to remedy civil ills. In his version of Urban's speech, Fulcher of Chartres sums up the evils that beset the western Church and lands. According to this Urban spoke an anathema out on all those who attack travellers, monks, priests, merchants, nuns and pilgrims, on those who robbed and burned. He describes the unsafe conditions, those who rob and cheat prevailing over an inefficient system of justice. He urges a stop to simony and lay control of the Church and ends with a plea for the enforcement of the Peace of God.<sup>26</sup> Baldric of Dole's version spews invective at those knights who plunder and are guilty of murder and sacrilege, urging them to become knights of Christ.<sup>27</sup> In 1085 Henry IV issued a decree of the Peace of God that also gives an indication of

<sup>26</sup> *Ecclesiam suis ordinibus omnimode liberam ab omni saeculari potestate sustentate, decimasque Deo proprias de omnibus terrae cultibus fideliter dari facite; nec vendantur, aut retineantur. Quod qui episcopum ceperit, omnino exlex habeatur. Quod qui monachos vel clericos, vel sanctimoniales, et eorum famulos ceperit aut exspoliaverit, vel peregrinos vel mercatores, anathema sit. Raptores, et domorum combustores, et eorum consentientes, ab Ecclesia extorres, anathemate feriantur. Summopere igitur considerandum est qua mulcandus sit poena qui aliena diripit, si inferni damnatione percutitur qui propria non largitur. Sic enim diviti in Evangelio memorato contigit, qui non id circo punitus est quod aliena abstulisset, sed quia, rebus acceptis, seipsum male dereliquit (Luc. XV). His vero, ut dictum est, iniquitatibus, charissimi, mundum vidistis gravissime diu confusum fuisse, adeo ut nullus in aliquibus provinciarum vestrarum, sicut nobis a referentibus patefactum est, per imbecillitatem forsitan justificationis vestrae virtute per viam gradi audeat, quin vel die a praedonibus, vel nocte a latronibus, aut vi aut ingenio maligno, in domo vel extra, subripiatur. Quapropter breviam, sic vulgariter dictam, jamdudum a sanctis Patribus nostris determinatam, reformari oportet; quam firmissime unusquisque vestrum in episcopatu suo teneri faciat, monendo flagito. Quod si aliquis sive aviditate, sive superbia seductus, eam sponte infregerit, Dei auctoritate et hujus concilii decretorum sanctione anathematizetur.* PL 155: 827A–827C.

<sup>27</sup> *Vos accincti cingulo militiae, magno superbitis supercilio; fratres vestros laniatis, atque inter vos dissecamini: Non est haec militia Christi, quae discerpit ovile Redemptoris. Sancta Ecclesia, ad suorum opituationem sibi reservavit militiam, sed eam male depravastis in malitiam. Ut veritatem fateamur, cujus praecoones esse debemus, vere non tenetis viam per quam eatis ad salutem et vitam, vos pupillorum oppressores, vos viduarum praedones, vos homicidae, vos sacrilegi, vos alieni juris diretores; vos pro effundendo sanguine Christiano expectatis latrocinantium stipendia; et sicut vultures odorantur cadavera, sic longinquarum partium auspicamini et sectamini bella. Certe via ista pessima est, quoniam a Deo omnino remota est. Porro, si vultis animabus vestris consuli, aut istiusmodi militiae cingulum promptius deponite, aut Christi milites audacter procedite, et ad defendendam Orientalem Ecclesiam velocius concurrite.* PL 166: 167D–168A.

what were felt to be the ills of the time. Its chief motivation was to end feuds, or at least to limit them by restricting the bearing of arms. It also provided punishment for all those who committed robbery, assault, murder or arson. This occurred on a sort of sliding scale depending on the status of the accused. For example a freeman or noble could attempt to acquit himself of the charge by the testimony of twelve of his peers, while a slave endeavouring to prove his innocence was to be subject to an ordeal. Anyone in orders was not to be dealt with by lay authorities but to be handed over to the bishop—however Henry did lay down what punishment they were to suffer. The penalties show an interesting aspect, that of the refusal of all comfort of body or soul to the criminal—even dying he was to be denied the Eucharist, nor was anyone to receive payment to pray for his redemption. The other side of the coin was that the restrictions on violence were not applicable to beatings received as punishment, the sentences of a court of justice, or in connection with the Emperor's decree of an expedition to deal with enemies of the realm. This is an interesting document on several points. Firstly, it was said to have been decreed by the agreement of the entire populace, lay and ecclesiastical. Secondly it exempts all acts of violence that could be seen as lawful execution of justice. Lastly, by its removal of all spiritual aid and comfort from anyone who broke the decree, it pinpoints two things—the importance attached to such spiritual aid for a wrong-doer, and the fact that such was regarded as effective. The implication of this is that sins could be absolved. The Anglo-Saxon works of eighty years earlier were gloomy about the chances of salvation for those who were simply subject to human weakness, not great sinners. Now, in Henry's decree we see that while human justice was immutable, spiritual help could help the evil-doer to escape damnation. Henry's decree against spiritual help and comfort for the criminal, in fact, is an attempt to ensure that he does not escape either temporal or eternal punishment.

The effort to divert violence away from Europe by recruiting perhaps the most violent members of society for a crusade was working at an important social problem, if not curing it, moving it away from north-western Europe. The large number of armed men, without lands or possessions, or very limited ones, could be regarded as not only a cause of the violence, but also as one that would be difficult to eradicate by decrees such as that of Henry IV. An added inducement to go on crusade was the prospect of land and bounty. In Baldric of Dole's version of Urban's speech he held out the possibility of earthly wealth,

as well as heavenly treasure.<sup>28</sup> It must be assumed that for many who took the cross, the hopes of temporal rewards were as strong, if not stronger, than any spiritual advantage. The atrocities committed by the crusaders, not only on the Moslems they had set out to fight, but also on those Christians of the east whom they had sworn to liberate, are indication of this. The account by Anna Comnena, daughter of the Eastern Emperor, of the conduct of the crusaders at Constantinople shows the contempt and aggression shown by those who were supposed to help them. The accounts of those who praised the crusaders, claiming the falseness and cunning of Emperor Alexis, also demonstrate the fact that there were groups of crusaders that had foraged and pillaged indiscriminately.

While there are numerous miniatures showing episodes of the crusades, I have been unable to find any before the thirteenth century that unambiguously show the early crusades as contemporaneous. When we consider the size of the movement, the immense disturbance the migration of both military and ordinary people caused, the fervent rhetoric with which it was preached, it seems strange that we have no contemporary pictorial view of it as such. The first two crusades, as a visual experience, are known to us only in considerable retrospect. How the artist of the late eleventh to even the late twelfth century saw this movement that touched so many, is unknown. The images that we can securely date are from at least a hundred and fifty years later, and can only tell us how the descendants of the early crusaders saw the endeavour. There are two references to the battle of Antioch in 1089 at which the saints George and Demetrius were said to have appeared. One of these is the wall-painting of Saint-Julian de Poncé, which may depict this battle, but the condition is so poor that no positive identification can be made. The second of these references is to be found in a psalter made at St. Bertin at the end of the twelfth century, thus straining the term 'contemporary.'<sup>29</sup> This is a map of the Holy Land, chiefly Jerusalem, with underneath the saints charging forth in battle. While interesting in itself, it tells us nothing of the campaign, or how it was viewed at the time. The one visual source for the earlier

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<sup>28</sup> *Facultates etiam inimicorum vestrae erunt: quoniam et illorum thesauros exspoliabitis, et vel victoriosi ad propria remeabitis, vel sanguine vestro purpurati, perenne bravium adipiscemini. Tali imperatori militare debetis, cui omnis non deest potentia, cui quae rependat nulla desunt stipendia.* PL 166: 1068C.

<sup>29</sup> 's Gravenhage, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 76F 5 f. 1r.

crusades that has left any traces is the Crusader Window of St. Denis but this must be viewed with caution, as it is filtered through eighteenth century drawings and engravings. Brown and Cothren have attempted a reconstruction,<sup>30</sup> but they admit that the engravings accommodated the crudities of twelfth-century draughtsmanship to eighteenth-century sensibilities.<sup>31</sup> However, even the drawings cannot be regarded as capturing the spirit of the originals. If Brown and Cothren's speculative reconstruction, which has been done with meticulous regard for detail and sources, is correct, then we must regard their conclusions as to the iconographic significance seriously. They describe it as 'focusing on human history, mingling the distant and recent past, combining scenes depicting specific historical events with images emphasising the eternal significance of human accomplishments.'<sup>32</sup> Notably, their reconstruction would give a view of the crusades not only as human endeavour in the service of God, but also the effectiveness of that endeavour. It must be noted that such a reading is made likely by the fact that the window was made either for Suger, regent for Louis VII while he was on crusade, or his successor Odo of Deuil. In his perceptive article on propaganda and motivation in crusader art, Weiss deals with the Arsenal Old Testament, a mid thirteenth century work, and one should be very cautious in projecting any attitudes displayed in such a late work onto the first two crusades.<sup>33</sup> However, Weiss comments that 'the ideological character of the enterprise so dominated an objective strategic assessment that little account seems to have been made either of Islam's numerical superiority or the tremendous logistical disadvantage...' would seem applicable to the earlier ventures. In connection with this a high relief made for the cloister of Beauval, and now in the Musée Lorraine in Nancy, throws an interesting side light on the aftermath of the crusades for at least one family. In 1147 Hugh de Vaudémont joined Louis VII on the second crusade, but did not return and, as a charter of 1160 states, was presumed dead. However, he reappeared sometime between 1161 and 1165, to be reunited with his 'widow'. The

<sup>30</sup> Elizabeth A.R. Brown and Michael W. Cothren, "The Twelfth-Century Crusading Window of the Abbey of Saint-Denis: Praeteritorum Enim Recordatio Futurorum est Exhibitio," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 49 (1986).

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

<sup>33</sup> Daniel H. Weiss, "Biblical History and Medieval Historiography: Rationalizing Strategies in Crusader Art," *MLN* 108 (1993).

relief was made to commemorate his return.<sup>34</sup> This identification has been disputed, René Louis claiming that the couple represent a scene from *Roman de Gérard de Roussillon*. However, this seems unlikely.<sup>35</sup> It is interesting to note that Hugh is not shown as the warrior returning in triumph, but as pilgrim with cross and staff, and bearing no weapons or armour. It would seem, then, in this case, in retrospect at least, the element of pilgrimage was more important than that of freeing Jerusalem. Whatever practical factors were involved, Alexander's appeal for help, the desire to heal a breach between Eastern and Western Churches, the acquisition of land and wealth, of increased trade and prestige, the divergence of energy of an excess of unemployed military and the removal of a social problem by the exportation of violence, there is no doubt that there was a deep ideological basis for the movement. The desire for salvation, for riches in the world to come motivated many to undertake a journey that was long, hard and hazardous and to commit themselves to fight and perhaps die. Their only assurance was that their souls would be saved, and for many that was enough.

### 1.3 *Spirituality*

The crusading God was very much the Old Testament God,<sup>36</sup> much in the way of the Carolingian God, a military leader, and the world the place in which his battles were played out—‘Le “Dieu des armées” est alors le triomphateur, non seulement mystique, mais terrestre de cette guerre sainte.’<sup>37</sup> While this period saw a rise in mysticism and spirituality, it was clothed in a human and affective manner. Those *milites Christi* who did not literally take up arms, but sought to find God, not just salvation, had a proliferation of ways open to them. The late eleventh and early twelfth centuries saw a resurgence of the eremitic life, of wandering preachers, sometimes laymen, but also a new emphasis on the coenobitic life. The growth of types of orders was only halted by the decree of the Lateran Council of 1215 forbidding the foundation of new orders. There was a greater emphasis, among some orders, on

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<sup>34</sup> Jean-Rene Gaborit, “Relief: le retour du croise,” in *La France Romane au temps des premiers Capétiens (987–1152)*, ed. Danielle Gaborit-Chopin and Marie-Cecile Bardoz (Paris, 2005).

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Marie-Dominique Chenu, *La théologie au douzième siècle* (Paris, 1966).

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

pastoral work. The love of one's fellow man, whether a lay congregation or the brothers and sisters of one's own order, took on new importance. While the crusading God can be characterised as Old Testament, the God of most of these new groups can be called the God of the New Testament. This is the common factor in the various orders, an emphasis on love and charity towards one's fellow Christians—the heathen, and more particularly the Moslem as the enemy of God, was excluded. With hindsight it can be seen that the various orders varied little in practice, but they were not so perceived at the time. Each group had its own sense of identity and its own way of trying to find God. In a series of essays, perhaps somewhat misleadingly entitled *Jesus as mother*, Caroline Walker Bynum analyses the language used by writers in various orders to investigate their priorities and perceptions of themselves.<sup>38</sup> Her chief concern is with the coenobitic life and she succeeds in pointing out differences in attitude, often subtle, between the older orders, typified by Cluny, the Cistercians and regular canons such as the Premonstratensians, and the importance of communal life in their spiritual development.<sup>39</sup>

Although frequently living similar lives, regular canons and monks understood in very different ways the significance of what they did and the responsibilities entrusted to them...the majority of canons, like the majority of monks, only rarely joined actual service of men in the world to the discipline of cloistered withdrawal. What is new and distinctive about canons as a group is not their actions or the rights they claimed. It is simply the quality of their awareness, their sense of responsibility for the edification of their fellow men.

While there is evidence that works of charity, of a practical nature, were no less than they had ever been, this concern for one's fellow man was the concern for his soul—his edification. Monks were far more cautious about holding themselves up as examples, fearing that inner imperfections could belie outer goodness and piety and be signs of hypocrisy or even hubris. They, especially the Cistercians, were more inclined to follow the good example of one of their brothers, rather than set themselves as models for others to follow. The use of a model was extremely important, and much of the multiplicity of the forms of religious life in the twelfth century was due to people striving to find,

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<sup>38</sup> Carol Walker Bynum, *Jesus as mother; studies in the spirituality of the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1982).

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 57–58.

and then follow the right model—the right model for that person. In spite of the polemics there was general acknowledgement of the use and need for diversity. Many people moved from one form to another, from canon to monk, or vice versa, or from nun to anchorite. In general this was frowned upon by ecclesiastical authorities, but in many cases was permitted, especially if the religious(e) was moving to a sterner or higher form—although there was little agreement as to which forms were the more praiseworthy. For many, moving from one form to another was a stage on a spiritual journey in search of perfect harmony with God. Many models were sought and used, the early Church, Augustine, the martyrs, the desert Fathers and above all Christ. The individual sought to find his true self, but that self was patterned on an ideal, not on a desire to be ‘different’ or unique. His true self was one that was worthy of God, and was a goal to be achieved. The ladder of humility acquired new emphasis and much of this spiritual striving had such metaphors, achieving one state and then reaching for the next—from the love of man to the love of God. It was a dynamic concept, with a specific goal in view—the presence of God.

The concept of a dynamic process towards knowledge of God is frequently associated with male religious, while it is asserted that females were given a more static ideal.<sup>40</sup> The virgin female was, simply on account of her virginity, already in an ideal state—her task was to preserve that state. While this is undeniable, the matter was rather more complex. Physical virginity was of enormous importance, but the idea of spiritual virginity began to gain ground. It can be further argued that obviously physical virginity could not apply to all religious women, but even for those who were virgins in the bodily sense the ideal was more than merely remaining intact. The most highly regarded women were able not only to preserve what was seen as an essentially feminine virtue, and possessing those attributes that, in this period, were both regarded as feminine and positive, but in other ways they were able to rise above their sex, becoming men in their minds, their bodies simply an accident. They could reject physicality and female weakness, concentrating only on what would bring them closer to God. Whether male or female there was a degree of optimism and confidence—the way may be long and hard, but it was possible.

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<sup>40</sup> Barbara Newman, *From Virile Woman to Woman Christ: Studies in Medieval Religion and Literature*, Middle Ages Series ed. Edward Peters (Philadelphia, 1995).



The new emphasis on humanity is apparent in theological writings of the time, but this humanity took various forms—a trust in human rationality, a use of loving, even domestic metaphors and an awareness of physicality that developed into the spiritual eroticism of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The use of rationality and reason, of critical examination of beliefs and authority, the roots of scholasticism can be summed up by Abelard's *Sic et non*. There he maintains that respect for authority should not stand in the way of a search for truth. Even the Church fathers erred sometimes. Contradictions abound in Patristic writings, and only the Old and New Testaments should be exempt from the critical eye of the seeker of truth. However, perhaps the earliest and the most extreme form of this rationality is to be found in the writings of Anselm of Canterbury, in particular the *Proslogion*, and of particular interest here, *Cur Deus Homo*. In both works Anselm relies on reason rather than belief to prove his point. However much the present day reader may question some of his assumptions and see circularity in his arguments, they are dazzling displays of a particular form of logic.

*Cur Deus homo* displays the general optimism of the period. In the preface Anselm states that 'everyone should enjoy happy immortality that is in both soul and body.'<sup>41</sup> This assertion is hammered home, time and again. In chapter II of book II he says it is easy to prove that man was not made to die, since God's wisdom and justice would not permit man to die if he had no fault, since he had made him holy and intended him to enjoy eternal bliss: if man had not sinned he would not die.<sup>42</sup> Anselm subscribes to the belief that man was created to fill the ranks of heavenly beings, but not simply to replace the fallen angels—although he must do so—but was intended from the first to take his place in heaven, even if no angel had succumbed to sin. 'Human nature was either made to consummate this perfection [the number of heavenly beings] or it was superfluous, which is something we dare not say of the smallest reptile.'<sup>43</sup> Anselm's point is that man was made to be good and happy—he was made for heaven and that is his natural state. Man

<sup>41</sup> *ut aliquando immortalitate beata totus homo, id est in corpore et in anima*. PL 158: 362A.

<sup>42</sup> *Quod autem talis factus sit, ut necessitate non moreretur, hinc facile probatur; quia, ut jam diximus, sapientiae et iustitiae Dei repugnat, ut cogeret hominem mortem pati sine culpa, quem iustum fecit ad aeternam beatitudinem. Sequitur ergo quia si nunquam peccasset, nunquam moreretur, ibid., 401C.*

<sup>43</sup> *necesse est humanam naturam aut ad complementum ejusdem perfectionis esse factam, aut illi superabundare: quod de minimi vermiculi natura dicere non audemus, ibid., 384A.*

fell into sin through his own fault, his refusal to render God his due, the love and obedience that should have been freely given. Because of this he is not only subject to death, but unable to repay God for the wrong done to him, since he is no longer capable of refraining from sin, and only one without sin could repay that debt. Anselm's God is both the just God who must punish sin, but also the merciful and loving God who will sacrifice himself, not only for his creation, but in order to see his plan of perfection brought to fulfilment without any taint of injustice.<sup>44</sup> Both the emphasis on humanity—and not only human reason—and the optimism of the time fill *Cur Deus homo*. Man was meant to be holy and happy, and by God's goodness he can once again achieve that state. Anselm characterises God as the ultimate rationality, far above that of human reason, nevertheless accessible and comprehensible to human reason. Man's rationality is that which makes him worthy of heaven, gives him his 'likeness' to God. His rationality, like that of the angels, makes him capable of truly loving God. This emphasis on rationality finds expression in Anselm's insistence on the rightness and fitness of things: the order of all creation is in accordance with the rationality of God, and an offence against this order is an offence against God, though not touching his intrinsic honour. It is for this reason that man cannot be simply forgiven, but must make reparation. To do otherwise would be to impinge on the order of creation by relegating justice. Anselm argues the symmetry of the fall and the atonement is the only fitting way to hold the order of things.<sup>45</sup> Brown argues for the aesthetics of *Cur Deus homo*, but in my opinion, while this article raises several interesting points, the emphasis on beauty rather than the fitness and rightness of God's plan does not do justice to Anselm's intention. God's plan is beautiful only because it is right, fitting and in accordance with rationality, making it susceptible to human understanding.

The rationality of such theologians as Anselm and Abelard can be contrasted to the emotive and affective language of others, in particular Cistercians. This is not to deny that the 'rationalist' theologians did not

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<sup>44</sup> *Tene igitur certissime quia sine satisfactione, id est sine debiti solutione spontanea, nec deus potest peccatum impunitum dimittere, nec peccator ad beatitudinem, vel talem qualem habebat, antequam peccaret, pervenire. Non enim hoc modo repararetur homo, vel talis qualis fuerat ante peccatum.* ibid. Anselm devotes several chapters to the discussion of whether it would be proper for God to forgive Man without any form of reparation for his sin, see in particular Liber I, Ch. XII.

<sup>45</sup> Frank Burch Brown, "The Beauty of Hell: Anselm on God's Eternal Design," *The Journal of Religion* 73 (1993).

speak of the tenderness and loving kindness of God, but in general the Cistercians placed more emphasis on knowing through faith, rather than the intellectual confirmation sought by such as Anselm. In 1141 Abelard invited Bernard of Clairvaux to a discussion of points that Bernard felt were less than orthodox. Bernard refused at first, on the grounds that matters of faith should not be the subject of debate.<sup>46</sup> The affective component can be seen in the use of metaphor. Some images were culled from the Bible, such as that of a mother hen protecting her chicks with her wings, an image also evoked by Anselm, or the breasts of the bridegroom in the Song of Songs. It was particularly the Cistercian writers who used images of the female, of giving birth or more commonly nurturing, laying at the breast. This has been brought into connection with the early Christian rite of giving a cup of milk and honey at baptism and with the physiological belief that milk, like semen, was derived from blood.<sup>47</sup> Engelbrecht points out that the early orthodox Christian usage of breasts imagery was ‘never...androgyny but an analogy that explained God’s character.’<sup>48</sup> It is in this light that we must regard the eleventh and twelfth century usage. These images were applied to both Christ and to ecclesiastics, abbots and bishops, but also to the individual Christian who crept into the side of Christ by his wound, there to find protection and nurture. This can be seen as a direct reference to the Eucharist and the role played by the sacrament. Such images are occasionally to be found in the Bible or patristic writings, but the proliferation of the use of these ‘female’ metaphors in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries is remarkable. Perhaps even more remarkable is that such metaphors were so frequently used by male writers, and while later female writers, notably Julian of Norwich, expand on the theme of Christ as mother, the female writers of this earlier period seem to have been more reticent on the subject than their male counterparts. Bynum points out that:<sup>49</sup>

All twelfth century Cistercian writers use maternal imagery to add something to authority figures qua rulers or fathers, and the something added

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<sup>46</sup> The planned debate did not, in fact, take place. Abelard did not attend, thinking, rightly or wrongly that it would be an opportunity to condemn him. In fact the gathering at Sens, did condemn Abelard’s works.

<sup>47</sup> Edward Engelbrecht, “God’s Milk: An Orthodox Confession of the Eucharist,” *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 7 (1999).

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 525.

<sup>49</sup> Bynum, *Jesus as mother; studies in the spirituality of the Middle Ages*.

is always nurturing, affectivity, and accessibility. Thus the specific context in which maternal imagery appears suggests not only that these authors saw God and prelates as rulers but also that they felt that rule needed to be softened or complemented by something else. These authors appear to have supplemented their image of authority with that for which the maternal stood: emotion and nurture.

Anselm wrote of Christ and Paul 'Fathers you are then by result, mothers by affection; fathers by authority, mothers by kindness; fathers by protection, mothers by compassion.'<sup>50</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux admonished prelates to correct as a father would, but show affection like a mother,<sup>51</sup> and Ældred of Rivaulx is reported to have died telling his monks that he had loved them as a mother did her sons.

There is a strong tendency to temper authority with gentleness and affection. The proliferation of breast imagery has also to do with the teaching function of abbots and bishops, with the nurture of the Christian soul with spiritual food, even comparing this sort of teaching of the young monk with the milk given to infants, before they can digest the meat of Christ's love and teaching. Bynum remarks that this attribution of motherhood to abbots and bishops was a sign of their uneasiness with their own authority.<sup>52</sup> This, I think, is to over simplify. Uneasiness over their own authority and administrative functions may well have expressed itself this way, but the shift from the authoritarian aspect of such posts to a caring and nurturing function is symptomatic of a change in attitude, not only towards their own responsibilities, but towards God. Man's essential unworthiness, the justice and authority of God give way to a gentler and more loving vision of Christ. This gives a picture of a far more accessible God than that of the earlier periods. Justice, as in *Cur Deus homo*, is tempered with mercy. Man's flaw is not inherent, but a stain that a loving teacher can polish away and bring man to his original perfection. Maternal imagery, especially that of Christ as mother, sheltering the soul in his wounded side, offering his breast for the nourishment of the struggling Christian, even on occasion being described as suffering the pangs of birth to renew the soul and redeem it, supplements older imagery of a stern, but benevolent

<sup>50</sup> *Matres fovenda, patres vos corripiendo exhibeatis*. PL 183: 885B.

<sup>51</sup> *Patres igitur estis per effectum, matres per affectum; patres per auctoritatem, matres per benignitatem; patres per tuitionem, matres per miserationem*. PL 158: 982A.

<sup>52</sup> Carol Walker Bynum, *Fragmentation and redemption; essays on gender and the human body in medieval religion*. (New York, 1992).

ruler. This imagery does not entirely disappear, not even in connection with Christ—in the twelfth century depictions in both miniatures and churches of the last judgement increased greatly. Nevertheless the use of maternal imagery suggests that God was regarded as more personal, more approachable, more human. The emphasis on the loving mother as well as the stern father shows, too, the increased optimism. No longer is man the weak vassal who betrays his lord and is banished in consequence, but the erring child who can be forgiven and restored to his place. This may well have been a reaction to the pessimism found a century or so earlier. Nevertheless the demands of justice had to be satisfied and this may account for the growth of the doctrine of purgatory. Elements of this were present even before Augustine, but the idea of a period of atonement and reparation immediately following physical death found more and more favour, although it did not become official doctrine until 1274. There is new emphasis on Christ the Redeemer of man, rather than the Creator of man. Man's debt is less that he owes his existence to God than that he owes his salvation to Him.

#### 1.4 *Sensual Images, the Good Mother and Sexuality*

The use of the feminine, indeed specifically maternal, metaphors in this period is complex. Such verbal images are not entirely new; it is their proliferation that lends importance to them. Such a proliferation indicates that they were acceptable, and more than that, they expressed deeply and widely-held feelings. It would be a mistake to confuse the issue by inferring that femaleness was more highly regarded in actuality.<sup>53</sup>

...we have only to remember the deterioration of the political and legal status of women in the later Middle Ages and the continuing misogynist reactions to have hesitations about relating increasingly positive and even sentimentalised feminine images directly to a positive role for, or influence of, women in society...

There is little evidence that the popularity of feminine and maternal imagery in the high Middle Ages reflects an increased respect for actual women by men.

While Bynum's assessment can be held as valid in the main, it must be related to the relatively large number of women who exercised a good

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<sup>53</sup> Bynum, *Jesus as mother; studies in the spirituality of the Middle Ages*.

deal of influence during this period. She sees this influence as a reaction to and criticism of ecclesiastical and spiritual authority, whereby the weakness, humility and gentleness of women provide a refuge and comfort for men, and their occasional inversion of gender roles and examination of their masculine role, 'a retreat from the world into inner, often mystical repose'.<sup>54</sup> However it cannot be said that all these women who exercised power and enjoyed prestige conformed to an ideal of virginity or even that of a caring and nurturing mother. Heloise may have overlaid her reputation as a learned but passionate woman with her image as the pious and caring mother superior of the Paraclete, but her first letter to Abelard gives voice to her feelings and sexual frustrations. Eleanor of Aquitaine was notorious for her behaviour, especially while on the second crusade. Even that staunch supporter of Gregory VII, Matilda of Tuscany, was accused of unseemly violence, unwomanly behaviour and an illicit relationship with Gregory.<sup>55</sup> Other women, less well known now, wielded considerable power gained through the blatant use of their sexual favours. The mistress of Henry I of England, Nest ap Tewdwr, not only took two husbands and the king as a lover, but several others as well, bearing her eleven or twelve children to at least five different men. Nor were her liaisons sequential. Nevertheless she seems to have suffered no loss of prestige, at least at the worldly court.<sup>56</sup> This is not to maintain that women's power was accepted as 'normal', or the use of female sexuality was regarded with favour in general. Perhaps it would be truer to say that the positive aspects associated with femaleness derived a greater emphasis from the increased interest in Christ's humanity and the more optimistic attitude to mankind: this found a niche in the use of more physical language and metaphors. These factors provided a background against which occasionally a woman could flout convention, and the increased respect for both the married state and motherhood supplied a language that dealt in terms of physical happiness and comfort.

Maternal imagery was obviously very physical, with a particular emphasis on breasts and the nurturing quality, and motherhood seems to have been regarded somewhat more positively, various writers

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<sup>54</sup> Bynum, *Fragmentation and redemption; essays on gender and the human body in medieval religion*.

<sup>55</sup> Rosalind Jaeger Reynolds, "Reading Matilda: The Self-Fashioning of a Duchess," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 19 (2003).

<sup>56</sup> Gwenn Meredith, "Henry I's Concubines," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 19 (2003).

emphasising the beneficent influence of the mother either in their own life or the life of the saint whose hagiographer they were. Indeed this nurturing can be seen as a prime quality of femaleness, the role of the woman as a good mother, not only in fact, but symbolically. Gold rightly points out that *chanson de geste* and romance were, in their heyday of the second half of the twelfth century, contemporaneous.<sup>57</sup> However, the oldest *chansons de geste* appear about half a century earlier than the first romances and are of the period now under discussion. In her analysis of *chansons de geste* she found that the function of women in the epics is to provide nourishment and good advice. This seems to be particularly true of the early works: the woman, wife or mother, literally feeds her man, but metaphorically nourishes him with exhortations to follow the right and honourable course of action. The use of the word ‘*norri*’ seems to be equivalent to bringing up a child.<sup>58</sup> Looked at in this sense, the metaphor of the nurturing mother used for abbots and bishops, as well as for Christ, can be seen as appropriate—nurturing through advice and doctrine in order to lead the soul to its maturity.

Marriage, too, came to be regarded as a sacrament, and the number of *religieux* who had been married increased. Many of the orders, especially the new ones, refused oblates and would only take adults; frequently these *conversi* had been married and had raised families.<sup>59</sup>

... the apostle [Paul], writing to the Corinthians says, “Due of fornication let each man have his own wife and each woman her own husband.” It is for this reason that the married have a mutual debt to each other and cannot deny each other. So the apostle says, “Do not defraud one another unless perhaps by consent temporally in order to help you give yourself to prayer, but return to it again lest Satan tempt you. This I say to you on account of your incontinence.” Therefore, given that they are

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<sup>57</sup> Penny Schine Gold, *The Lady and the Virgin. Image, attitude and experience in twelfth century France*, Women in culture and society ed. Catherine A. Stimpson (Chicago and London, 1985), pp. 1–42. The role of women in romance will be discussed in the next chapter.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.

<sup>59</sup> Gratian *Unde Apostolus scribens ad Corinthios ait: Propter fornicationem unusquisque suam uxorem, et unaquaeque virum suum habeat. Ex hac itaque causa fit, ut conjugati se sibi invicem debeant, nec se sibi negare possint. Unde Apostolus: Nolite fraudare invicem, nisi forte ex consensu, et ad tempus, ut expeditius vacetis orationi, et iterum revertimini in id ipsum, ne forte tentet vos satanas. Hoc autem dico propter incontinentiam vestram. Qui ergo propter incontinentiam in naturalem redire usum monentur, patet, quod non propter filiorum procreationem tantum misceri jubentur. Non tamen ideo nuptiae malae judicantur. Quod enim praeter intentionem generandi fit, non est nuptiarum malum, sed est veniale propter nuptiarum bonum, quod est tripertitum; fides videlicet, proles, et sacramentum.* PL 187: 1469A–B.

told to return to the natural use due to incontinence, clearly they are not commanded to join solely for the procreation of children. Yet marriage is not on that account to be adjudged evil, for what is done outside of the intention of generation is not an evil of marriage, but is forgivable on account of the good of marriage which is threefold: Fidelity, Offspring and Sacrament.

Marriage and parenthood did not exclude a religious life, but could be regarded as steps on the way to striving for perfection. Virginity was still the ideal, both of mind and spirit, and a life devoted to God was still regarded as a higher form than marriage, but as marriage was an institution ordained by God, it was good and right. If, after a period of physical love, a man or woman felt the need to grow to love of God alone, and enter a religious order or live as an anchorite, this was considered right and fitting.<sup>60</sup> It is worth noting that it is in this period that the metaphor of ‘mother’ for the Church elided into that of wife.<sup>61</sup>

Marriage and motherhood may have been considered right for many women, but spiritual and physical virginity—especially in the case of young women—was to be preferred if possible. Girls were warned of the horrors of marriage and pregnancy, of the physical and mental demands made by husbands, the loss of beauty in pregnancy and the pain of childbirth. Abelard, speaking as Heloise, details the practical objections to marriage for a man, or at least a man of letters—the noise, untidiness, the lack of ‘concord between scholars and domestics, between authors and cradles, between books or tablets and distaffs, between the stylus or the pen and the spindle.’<sup>62</sup> For many women, too, the life of a religieuse would have been preferable to marriage, not simply to escape the dangers of childbearing or the demands of a husband, but simply for the peace and security of a well-regulated life. Indeed, this may have been the attraction for widows and wives who had born children to their spouse. For many of these the vocabulary of the physical, indeed the sensual, gave a metaphor for their feelings towards God. Even so it is perhaps not very surprising that the most frequent users in this period of the maternal metaphor were cloistered

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<sup>60</sup> A married woman was not supposed to enter a convent without the consent of her husband.

<sup>61</sup> Robert W. Shaffern, “Mater Et Magistra: Gendered Images and Church Authority in the Thought of Pope Innocent III,” *Logos: A Journal of Catholic Thought and Culture* 4 (2001).

<sup>62</sup> Peter Abelard, *Historia Calamitatum: the story of my misfortunes* (trans. H.A. Bellows) (New York, 1972).



men, and men who had entered a cloister in early manhood, without having experienced marriage, parenthood or perhaps even sex. Women writers were rather less ready to take part in this idealisation of motherhood: their form of sensual metaphor was more inclined to Christ as the bridegroom, although this only developed more fully in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Physicality became a means of expression of friendship and love, and not only sexual love. There has been much discussion as to whether certain writers of the period, notably Ældred of Rivaux, were practising homosexuals. The point at issue is not whether an individual was a practising homosexual or had homosexual tendencies, or even if there were, as would seem inevitable, some homosexual monks, but that the language used was considered acceptable, and more than acceptable, eloquent and fitting. This being the case we must then see that sensual language was not instantly connected with sex or sexuality. Whatever the attitude to marriage, homosexuality was always under the strictest of taboos from the Church.<sup>63</sup> We cannot, then, regard Ældred's *Speculum charitas* as the work of a homosexual mourning for his dead lover. Considering the attitudes towards homosexuality when he speaks of Simon being 'torn from my embrace, snatched from my kisses, hidden from my eyes'<sup>64</sup> we must not take such words out of context and immediately assign a present-day interpretation to them. *Speculum charitas* is an exposition of friendship and love, not just that between Ældred and Simon, but others such as David and Jonathan, and goes on to the greatest love and friendship of all, that which makes the redemption possible.<sup>65</sup> Whatever the relationship between Ældred and Simon, the sensual language serves as a metaphor for love between brothers in Christ and a reflection of Christ's love for mankind. It is in this sense that we must look at the female and maternal imagery, the pictures of loving and caring, also amongst men. Such imagery used the female, and more particularly the mother as a symbol, in this case a symbol with positive and admirable characteristics, not only the nurturing, protective aspect but also the willingness of the mother to suffer the pangs

<sup>63</sup> It was regarded by many, including Hrotswitha, as a muslim practice, or at least a pagan practice. Michael Goodich, *The unmentionable vice: homosexuality in the later medieval period* (Santa Barbara and Oxford, 1979).

<sup>64</sup> *ab amplexibus meis, subtractus oculis meis, subductus oculis meis*. PL 195: 543C.

<sup>65</sup> *Mortua est, ut vivificetur; dissolvitur, ut melius reparetur. Seminata est in corruptione; sed surget in incorruptione. Seminata est in ignobilitate, sed surget in gloria. Denique seminatum est corpus animale; surget spirituale*, *ibid.*, 544B.

of birth and even give up her life for her child, as Christ gave birth to the Church and laid down his life for his 'children.' Another element can be added, that of humility, weakness and obedience. These were the human characteristics that enable God to take the form of man and to effect the redemption. Among others, Anselm stresses Christ's freely given obedience and humility in taking on human form. Such characteristics were seen as being suitable, even essential, for women, and those (men) who would follow God must make such female characteristics a part of themselves. Such affective and everyday metaphors are surely linked to what was to become what Chenu calls the 'désacralisation de la nature'.<sup>66</sup> This had its effects in many fields, and in that of art in an increased naturalism and use of animals and foliage. Writers such as Bernard of Clairvaux used sensory imagery to describe the soul's relation to God, emphasising the importance of (spiritual) taste and touch.<sup>67</sup> The senses were perhaps considered less dangerous than a century earlier, in the sense that the asceticism that marked them as extremely untrustworthy seems to have been abandoned. Pleasure was taken in the sights and sounds of nature, as evidence of God's bounty, power and plan. Man's work, too, was also a fit subject for the senses. Suger described his rebuilding of St. Denis as not only to honour God, but to help the beholder to raise his thoughts to God.<sup>68</sup> However, it must be remembered that while Chenu rightly points to such works as the Autun Eve, the naturalistic capitals and so forth, there was another side to this—the sensual elements of femaleness and the transformation of nature into the unnatural.

Homosexuality was regarded as a mortal sin, but any deviation from straightforward sex or any attempt to increase pleasure, even between married couples, was regarded as sinful.<sup>69</sup> The physical may have been

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<sup>66</sup> Chenu, *La théologie au douzième siècle*.

<sup>67</sup> Bernard McGinn, "The Language of Inner Experience in Christian Mysticism," *Spiritus: A Journal of Christian Spirituality* 1 (2001).

<sup>68</sup> *Portarum quisquis attollere quaeris honorem,  
Aurum nec sumptus, operis mirare laborem.  
Nobile claret opus, sed opus quod nobile claret,  
Clarificet mentes ut eant per lumina vera  
Ad verum lumen, ubi Christus janua vera.  
Quale sit intus in his determinat aurea porta.  
Mens hebes ad verum per materialia surgit,  
Et demersa prius hac visa luce resurgit.*  
PL 186: 1229A.

<sup>69</sup> See Gratian, *passim*.

acceptable, but sensuality, the pleasure derived from the body, was suspect: if it was connected with sexuality, not only any sexual encounter that could be regarded as pleasurable, but thoughts of sex and the pleasure brought by looking on another in any way other than in the love of Christ, it was abhorrent. However, there was hope even for the sinner. While Ældred of Rivaulx regretted the loss of his virginity and 'intervening vices' he asked his virgin sister not to resent it if he was regarded as her equal before God because 'changed habits and virtues supplanting vices may obliterate the disgrace of an old lifestyle.'<sup>70</sup> Ældred certainly had the reputation of being easygoing, but he was not alone in this, since Heloise was also regarded as a model of a pious nun, after her entry into a cloister. None of this means that sexuality was more acceptable than a century earlier. It is symptomatic of the increased optimism: sexuality was a sin, something to be avoided and controlled as much as possible, but it was not unforgivable. Christ can and will forgive the truly penitent all things—all penitent Christians, that is, the fallen angels were excluded from all redemption. Much may be forgiven, but it was far better to resist every form of sexual behaviour. The *Vita* of Christina of Markyate includes a scene in which Christina's parents bring her before the bishop in order that he might exert his authority to make her consummate her marriage.<sup>71</sup> He points out that marriage is a sacrament, and that Christina owed obedience to both her parents and her husband, she should not think only virgins are saved: many virgins perish and many mothers of families are saved.<sup>72</sup> Christina replies that she has vowed from childhood to remain a virgin, but if many virgins perish, certainly so do many married women, and if many mothers of families are saved it is then easier to save virgins.<sup>73</sup> Her hagiographer warns not even Christina, described as the bride and daughter of Christ, could be certain that she would never be tempted by sexuality.<sup>74</sup> Like so many virgin saints her virginity was put to the test. Inflamed by her beauty Bishop Ralph tried to rape her: her husband,

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<sup>70</sup> Cited Newman, *From Virile Woman to WomanChrist: studies in Medieval Religion and Literature*.

<sup>71</sup> London, BL, Cotton Tiberius E.1.

<sup>72</sup> *pereuntibus multis virginibus multas matresfamilias salvati*. C.H. Talbot, (trans. & ed.), *The life of Christina of Markyate* (Oxford, 1959).

<sup>73</sup> *quia multe virgines [pereunt]...utique multo magis pereunt coniugate. Et si matres familias salvantur...utique multo facilius salvantur virgines*, *ibid.*, p. 62.

<sup>74</sup> *Videbatur enim sibi quasi comprimendam vel nefaria demonis arte ad obscenitatis queque ludibria se fore trahendam*, *ibid.*, p. 130.

aided by friends and Christina's parents, sought to consummate their marriage. More than this, Christina herself, according to her biographer, was subject to sexual desires. She, of course, unlike the object of her desire, was able to withstand the temptation.<sup>75</sup>

... though she herself was struggling with this wretched passion, she wisely pretended she was untouched by it. Whence he sometimes said that she was more like a man than a woman, though she, with her more masculine qualities, might more justifiably have called him a woman.

Would you like to know how manfully she behaved in so imminent a danger? she violently resisted the desires of her flesh, lest her own members should become the agents of wickedness against her. Long fastings, little food... nights spent without sleep, harsh scourgings. And what was more effective than all these... trials which tore and tamed her lascivious body. She called upon God without ceasing not to allow her, who had taken a vow of virginity and had refused the marriage bed, to perish forever.

Even the conversion and repentance of the man she desired did not relieve her of her sexual frustration and longings. Finally she is cured of her desire by Christ taking the form of a child who 'came to the arms of his sorely tried spouse and remained with her a whole day, not only being felt but also being seen.'<sup>76</sup> This episode is symptomatic of the view of Christ as loving and forgiving, with an interesting reversal of roles—the comforting and guiding Christ takes on the form of a little child and nestles in the anchorite's arms. Nevertheless Christina maintains her virginity and tames her desires. Such works as the *Vita* demonstrate that even if there was more acceptance of physicality, if sexual pleasures might be forgiven, virginity, physical as well as spiritual, was the great good.

<sup>75</sup> ... laboravit et ispa incendio miserabili. Prudenter tamen simulabat se nichil tale pati. Unde nonunquam virum illam non feminam esse dicebat quem virago virtute virili predita recte effeminatum appellare poterat.

Vis scire quam ipsa se continuerit in tam grandi periculo? Violenter res[pu]ebat desideria sue carnis ne propria mem[bra] exhiberet adversum se arma iniquitatis. Protracta ieiunia, modicus cibus... noctes insomnes, severa verbera. Et quod prestat his omnibus... contribula [ciones que] lacivientem carnem lacerabant [et] edomabant deum in[voca] assidue qui non sinat illam post virgin[ita]tis votum et thori contemptum tam [inter]minabiliter interire, *ibid.*, pp. 114–117.

<sup>76</sup> Ipse namque in forma parvuli venit inter brachia probate sibi sponse et per integrum diem mansit cum illa non modo sensibilis sed etiam visibilis, *ibid.*, pp. 117–118.

In her determination not to give way to sexual passion Christina is described as being manlike, not only by her would-be lover, but by the hagiographer, while the lover is described as effeminate due to his abandonment to passion. The actual roles of male and female in the *Vita* are a reversal of the characteristics of gender attributed to them. The use of this reversal makes clear that however positive certain attributes of 'femaleness' were regarded, sexuality, weakness and the inability to resist temptation were associated with the female. The use of feminine and maternal metaphors or the greater degree of physicality in language does not mitigate the attitude towards sexuality, nor its use of the female as a symbol of both the body and lack of restraint.

## 2. *The Basic Type of the Fall*

In the world of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, in spite of its optimism, there was a good deal of perceived uncertainty, the violence of unemployed fighting men, quarrels between lay and ecclesiastical leaders and schisms within the Church itself. These were issues that affected all parts of north-western Europe, as did the various ways of seeking God and salvation. From the mid-eleventh century there is another hiatus before we find miniatures of the fall. The earliest of these date from the very late eleventh or early twelfth century. From this point, there is a fairly continuous stream of miniatures dealing with the fall and the basically sinful nature of man. Most of these can be divided into two types, those that deal with the fall as such, and those that show the creation of Eve, either as typifying the sixth day of creation or as the starting point for Heilsgeschichte. The manuscripts of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries are considerably scarcer than those of the latter half of the twelfth century, but still, if we take into account the creation of Eve, at least twice as numerous as those of the earlier periods. The inclusion of the creation of Eve, without further references to the fall, may seem to fall outside the scope of this study, but the aim is to look at changes in attitude as expressed in the miniatures, and this is an element that is directly linked to the closer association between human frailty, sin and femaleness noted in the previous chapter, so this episode cannot be excluded. There are other manuscripts that depict only the expulsion or other events after

the fall. There is also a curious miniature that makes allusion to the fall, without actually showing it.<sup>77</sup>

The late eleventh and early twelfth centuries take up the theme of the historiated initial, first seen in this respect in the Odbert Psalter. Indeed the historiated initial can be seen as the most common vehicle for scenes of the fall in this period. These are usually the I of *In principio*, but occasionally other initials are used. Most of these initials are highly decorated and often require careful examination to disentangle the various scenes which they enclose '—the human figure...driven underground as it were,...had taken refuge in the thicket of ornamental growth of initials.'<sup>78</sup> In particular the *In principio* initials sometimes show scenes outside *Genesis* 1–3 and obviously their relationship with fall and creation of Eve scenes must be a matter for consideration. Of the eight manuscripts dating from this period and containing the fall, as such, seven have the scene in initials, Valenciennes Bibliothèque Municipale Ms. 9, f. 1v, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. 10, f. 3v, Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 2, f. 246r, Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 1 vol. 1, f. 7r, Beaune, Bibliothèque Municipale Ms. 1, f. 54v, Munich Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14061, and London, British Library, Ms. Add. 14788 f. 6v. The eighth manuscript is the St. Albans Psalter, Hildesheim, St. Godehard Treasury, Ms. 1, p. 17. In addition to these, three manuscripts have scenes of the creation of Eve, without showing the actual temptation and fall, Michaelbeuern Stiftsbibliothek Cod. Perg. 1, f. 6r, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. Ser. n. 2701, f. 3v, and London, British Library, Ms. Harley 2803, f. 6v. Of these the London manuscript scene is an initial. There are several other manuscripts whose dating is simply twelfth century, but in the case of detailed analysis I will confine myself to those that can be relatively accurately dated. Nevertheless the iconography of the other manuscripts will be born in mind when considering the period as a whole. The geographic spread of the manuscripts is quite broad, including France, Germany, England and the Low Countries.<sup>79</sup> Notable is the fact that only one manuscript comes from England, while there are four from Germany. It is immediately obvious that this gives a very

<sup>77</sup> Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Ms 12 (single leaf).

<sup>78</sup> Otto Pacht, *The rise of pictorial narrative in twelfth century England* (Oxford, 1962).

<sup>79</sup> For these purposes I am including present-day Austria in the geographic area 'Germany.'

different picture to a century earlier, with a predominance of English, or English influenced manuscripts and dearth of German ones.

### 2.1 *The Construction and Interpretation of the Basic Type*

The basic type consists of two episodes, the creation of Eve and the fall. The four miniatures showing the creation of Eve, while basically very similar, have variations: the basic type shows the cross-nimbed and bearded Logos on the left and a bearded Adam, sitting rather than reclining, on the right. He supports his head with his left hand and grips his left elbow with his right hand. His eyes are closed and his face turned from the creation scene. Eve rises from Adam side at the command of the Logos and her attention is all for her Creator. The Logos holds Eve's arm or wrist to draw her out of Adam's side. In the fall itself, Adam stands on the right, young and beardless. He brings a fruit to his mouth with his right hand and stretches out his left to receive a fruit from Eve. She is on the left and her sex is clearly denoted by her breasts. With her left hand she takes a fruit from the mouth of the serpent, and with her right hands another to Adam. They stand on either side of a symmetrical tree around which twines the serpent, a fruit held in its mouth.

Although only one manuscript, BL Ms. Add. 14788, contains both scenes, the importance of the creation of Eve demands that it be considered with that of the fall itself. In all of the manuscripts in which it appears it is part of a creation cycle. The creation of Eve represents the work of the sixth day, the creation of man. While it might be argued that these single scenes, often pressed into the limited space afforded by an initial, since they show both Adam and Eve, are a conflation of the creation of both male and female, this still shows a distinct departure from the emphasis shown in earlier periods. The Carolingian manuscripts depicted the creation of Adam, the drawing of the rib and the presentation of Eve to Adam. The Old English Hexateuch shows the creation of both Adam and Eve, and it is extremely likely that the Junius manuscript did as well. Adam's primacy was clear, as was the forming role of the Logos. Even if we take into consideration the constraints of space and conflation, there is a clear change of emphasis. The fact that Eve represents the work of the sixth day implies that she represents man, or at least that part of man that could be considered human. It must be noted that, while the creation of Eve is generally used to represent the work of the sixth day, this is not invariably the case. In

the Goderannus or Lobbes Bible of 1084, the sixth day is represented by the Logos shaping Adam, while the animals look on.<sup>80</sup> This can be regarded as an exception.

The Logos is no longer the shaper, the artisan who creates man from clay and woman from a bone, but a mighty power at whose word a part of man is separated from the rest. That this is the female element is not in any doubt; her breasts and Adam's beard make this distinction clear. At this point it would be rash to read too much into this change. The new iconography can only tell us that man was seen as having a part of himself that could be removed, and that was both alike and unlike the part remaining. This part can be interpreted as the human part, since it represents the creation of man. An obvious connection can be made to the idea that the female represents the body and the male the soul or intellect, a common enough topos in both earlier and contemporary writing. This would agree with the idea that man's soul was created before his body, and the bodies created in the order male, then female. At this point we cannot attach any negative interpretation to Eve, only note that the female is something intrinsic in man and can be removed. It is only when we view the creation of Eve in conjunction with the fall that we can see a negative interpretation.

In the fall basic type we find an order of sin, rather than a hierarchy. Unlike the creation of Eve, where Adam's masculinity is emphasised by his beard, the Adam of the fall is depicted as a beardless youth, implying a degree of innocence. Eve, on the other hand, is not the androgynous creature of Carolingian times, but a woman, albeit a young one. Her breasts denote not only distinction from Adam, but also her gender. However, she is not sexually provocative or deliberately alluring, unlike the Eve of the Hexateuch or the Hildesheim doors. There are indications in three of the manuscripts that Eve is linked with sexuality and sin, but the way in which this is done differs in each of the miniatures and will be dealt with when discussing the individual manuscripts. In the basic type Eve is the channel through which the fall of Adam is brought about. The fruit passes from the serpent to her and from her to Adam. Eve herself does not eat. That final responsibility is Adam's. He takes the fruit and eats, making it part of himself. To give a moral interpretation of the two scenes we can say that sin gains access to man through that 'other' part of himself, a part that is removable.

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<sup>80</sup> Tournai, Bibliothèque du Séminaire, Ms. 1, f. 6v.



There is less emphasis on sexuality than on gender. Neither Adam nor Eve is shown as sexually aware: the scenes are not conflated with covering the genitals, and Eve is not posed seductively. She represents human weakness, and while there are indications that this weakness could be, or could be connected to, sexuality, in the 1100 basic type this is not a conscious sexuality. The offering by the woman and receiving by the man are simple acts, with no element of compulsion, trickery or even persuasion. In this sense there is no indication that Adam is acting against his better judgement or is any way reluctant to eat the fruit. His hand reaches for what is offered without doubt, question or hesitation. If we can assume that Eve was acknowledged to represent the body and the senses and Adam the soul and intellect, we can see this willingness as a warning against trusting the senses. The fact that that part of man can be removed gives an indication of the feeling that not only are such impressions gained by the senses untrustworthy, but that reliance on them must be avoided. The young, beardless Adam accepting the fruit from Eve can be interpreted as the soul compromising its innocence and purity by accepting without question the impressions of the senses.

The fact that the scenes, particularly the creation of Eve, are shown as part of a creation cycle brings a new element into the equation. In fact, it is probably better here to distinguish between the two scenes. The fall is shown in relation to creation only once, but brought into relation with other scenes. These are diverse and best discussed when dealing with the individual manuscripts. However, we can regard the creation of Eve within a creation cycle as a sort of sub-division of the basic type. Unlike the Carolingian miniatures, the five earlier days are shown, reflecting God's relationship with the world, rather than just man. However, the relationship between man and God is less intimate than in earlier works. Man is now just one of the parts that go to make the world. Man's relationship with God is shown as no closer than that between God and the heavens or the birds, scarcely even a crown on His work. The scene of the animals watching the creation of Eve in two of the manuscripts puts man within a context of the whole of creation. The Logos of the early twelfth century basic type is a different creature to the 'hands-on' God who formed a living man from the earth. This is a more remote and mightier God, who needs nothing but his word, to create—a Logos indeed. He does not form Eve from Adam's rib, but calls her forth, either with a gesture, or a wave of Adam's rib. Even in the cases where he holds her wrist and

draws her from the side of the man, the viewer feels that the impulse comes from the word of command given with the gesture of his other hand. This God is already remote from his creation.

There is clearly a narrative element in these cycles. The days of creation are shown as given in Genesis I, with the exception of the creation of Eve that takes chapter 2 as its source. The earlier Anglo-Saxon manuscripts put the creation of mankind into a creation cycle with a clear narrative thread, but these later works relegate its importance. The Carolingians ignored the first five days and the Anglo-Saxons gave more detail and space to the episodes of man's genesis, as indeed it receives more space in the Bible story. It is true that this equal emphasis gives a degree of order and symmetry, and the dictates of historiated initials limit space, but this does not explain why such a method was chosen for depicting the scene. Historiated initials had become popular and thus an element of fashion must be admitted, but this reduction of man to the ranks of creation shows a shift in mentality. This was probably not an awareness of the rest of creation as man's equal, but more likely an idea of man's place within an initially perfect creation. However, the special relationship between man and Logos is lacking; even where the Logos holds Eve's wrist it is a far cry from the easy intimacy shown in the Carolingian miniatures or even the loving concern of the Anglo-Saxon Logos. This brings us back to why Eve was chosen to represent the creation of man. Why choose what was derivative, secondary and therefore weak? We are shown the weakness inherent in man's nature before the fall, but unlike the fatalism shown in the miniatures a century or so earlier, there is a degree of optimism: the flawed and weak part of man can be removed. The fatal flaw that leads to man's downfall might have been inevitable for the first parents, but for the pious and devoted reader of 1100 it could be conquered and driven out.

## 2.2 *The Basic Type in Context*

The basic type of the period can in some ways be seen as typical of its context in that it shows various complex and contradictory aspects. It cannot be regarded as a straightforward reflection of the situation, or situations. In relation to the geographical spread of the manuscripts it is interesting to note that the number of English manuscripts decreases in a relatively settled period after the Norman invasion, while the number of German works increases—Germany being the land most affected by the conflicting loyalties of the investiture contest. This suggests that

political and social uncertainty again played some role, in both questioning what man, as a moral being, should do, and in propagating the answers to such questions.

In general it can be said that the basic type shares the optimism of the period and the written sources. If the beardless Adam in the scene of the fall can be regarded as signifying innocence, then the bearded Adam of the creation of Eve can be seen as symbolic of the original perfection of man—at least once the ‘human’ female element is removed. People were thought to have ‘perfect’ bodies at the resurrection, all parts whole and healthy. Such a body would be at the peak of maturity at about thirty,<sup>81</sup> and Adam’s maturity, expressed by his beard, can be seen then as both physical and spiritual—the perfect human, as intended by God. Eve’s maturity, as displayed by her breasts, can also have a positive significance. Textual sources liken Eve to the Church, the one rising from the side of the sleeping and powerless Adam, the other emerging from the side of Christ at the moment he gave up both life and power. To my knowledge this theme has never received an unambiguous visual expression and it would be too much to state that in the creation of Eve scene this is a primary concern, but it is possible that elements may have suggested this to the educated reader. A hint that this might be the case is to be found on f. 24r of the Psalter of Henry of Blois. This shows in the upper of two registers the harrowing of hell in which Eve holds with both hands the *crux hastata* brandished by Christ. The expressions of physicality that are so typical of the written works of this period are reflected in the sexual characteristics of breasts and beard of the basic type. The overt seductiveness of the early eleventh century gives way to a less direct expression of the dangers of sexuality. This is in many ways in keeping with the general context: sexuality was a danger, but it was often seen as a test of the committed. In this sense Adam may have said to have failed such a test. Certainly in this period, while women were still regarded as the symbol of weakness and physical pleasure, even a danger, there is slightly more emphasis on the man’s need to withstand temptation, rather than the woman’s seductiveness, deliberate or not.

Perhaps the greatest seeming discrepancy between the basic type and the writings so typical of the context is the attitude towards God. The

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<sup>81</sup> Carol Walker Bynum, *The resurrection of the body in western Christianity 200–1336* (New York, 1995).

Logos of the basic type is remoter and less approachable than in previous periods, while the whole tenor of the written works is on the loving, caring nurturing Christ. It would seem that the mighty Logos of the basic type has little to do with the approachable God whose humanity is stressed. This may seem to be more of a contradiction than in fact it was. The title of Anselm's work, *Cur Deus homo*, says a great deal. The God of creation is the mighty and just God to whom all is owed in love, praise and commitment. This is the God who is omnipotent, omniscient and whose nature as a divinity precludes any impotence or injustice. This God is perfection. The God the texts speak of in such loving terms is the God who took the form of humanity, with its fallibility. Only by being man, and therefore capable of fallibility, can Christ's true reparation on behalf of man be made. As Anselm stresses, only a man could pay man's debt; by making himself susceptible to man's weakness and fallibility, by conquering that tendency, Christ rendered to himself, in his divine nature, what was his due. The God of the loving and maternal texts is the Saviour, the Redeemer. It is this God that we see is in the affective crucifixions that make an appeal to the sympathetic emotions of the viewer, inviting him or her to share the agony of Christ and to acknowledge the deep love that prompted such a sacrifice. The gratitude of the Christian is for his salvation, or the chance of salvation, rather than for his creation and existence. While it is beyond doubt that these affective crucifixion scenes express the idea of the loving, caring, approachable and human God, they do not give any visual evidence for the maternal God. The maternal imagery that is so prevalent in written sources does not seem to have found its way into the visual vocabulary of the time, either in relation to Christ or to bishops and abbots. This absence brings to the fore the hypothesis that visual sources can be a valuable complement to or modification of written texts. Visual literacy was more widespread than learned doctrines: the scenes and symbols used had to be, at least to a certain extent, familiar to the viewer. There does not seem to be any technical reason why Christ as mother should not be depicted. We can only assume that either the idea of Christ fulfilling the role of mother, when given visual expression, was considered inappropriate or that the idea of Christ as mother circulated among a small elite. These two factors are not mutually exclusive, but the one could be seen as the corollary of the other: Christ as mother could be considered unsuitable for a wider audience. In favour of the first factor there are two arguments. The first is that such subjects did seem to be regarded as unsuitable for depiction.

The popularity of images of the Virgin *lactans* dates from a much later period. There are one or two known examples from early Christian and Coptic art, but there seems to have been a hiatus in western art until the late twelfth or thirteenth century. Strangely enough the earliest of these would appear to be 'public art'. The earliest known to me is the flight into Egypt on the choir vault of the chapel of St. Julien, Petit Quevilly, which shows Mary seated on the donkey and suckling the infant Jesus. This may have been considered particularly suitable for the chapel intended for young female lepers founded in 1183. A wall painting in Notre-Dame de Pritz in Laval, showing Mary feeding the Christ Child probably dates from about 1200. The undeniably physical—and by implication—sexual function of suckling would seem to have been reserved before this time for images of Eve suckling Cain. The second argument is that by making something visible it makes it concrete and valid, giving it the force of true existence. Depictions of Christ as mother could be seen as actual, rather than metaphorical, by an insufficiently schooled viewer. The absence of Christ as mother in manuscript art of the late eleventh and early twelfth century would seem to indicate that the metaphor was less widely used and acknowledged than would be judged from texts alone. A further consideration is that when we look at the public art of this period there is less of the caring Christ than we would expect from purely textual evidence. The painting and sculptures in churches of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries still tend to depict Christ in majesty, often with the Evangelist symbols. Crucifixions of the period tend to be less affective than those in manuscripts; although the head is usually inclined it is still shows a 'living' Christ, if less triumphant than in ninth and tenth century works. There are one or two affective crucifixion scenes such as those of L'Isle-Bouchard and St. Gilles du Gard, but even much enamelwork such as the reliquary of St. Calmin at Mozac or the mid-twelfth century triptych in the Victoria and Albert museum show crucifixion scenes that cannot be considered affective. The affective crucifixion in 'public art' seems to have become more popular after 1160 or so.

New subjects for public art developed in the twelfth century including scenes of the fall, found on a number of capitals, portals and tympana, particularly in France, and the extraordinary wall-painting at Hardham in Sussex and Saint Jean-la-Vigne. The other new subject of significance is that of the last judgement and, in the case of St. Benoît-sur-Loire, capitals showing scenes from Revelation. This would suggest that this more public view of God was one of sin and retribution, even though

coloured by the optimism of the joy of the blessed. That some influence of a kinder God was felt can be seen in the numerous scenes from Christ's life, and the statues of Mary holding the Christ Child. In this last case it must be pointed out that these most usually take the form of a *sedes sapientiae*, with no particularly childlike characteristics or even signs of maternal affection. On the whole it can be said that at most the image of a kindly, human and approachable God was only just beginning to filter through. Certainly the ideas expressed in the texts find very little following in the visual vocabulary of the time. Without an analysis of the circumstances of the use of the maternal metaphor in texts, and in particular the audience of such writings,<sup>82</sup> how and to whom they were disseminated, we can draw no definite conclusion, but the hypothesis that it was confined to an elite, probably mostly Cistercian, must be considered feasible. In this respect the 'distant' omnipotent God seen in the basic type can be seen as more typical of the general background. There remains the question as to why the God of the basic type is more distant than in earlier manuscripts. A possible reason is that monasteries had to a large extent freed themselves from a feudal relationship by the commutation of services to cash payment. The close bond between lord and vassal was reduced to the more distant relationship between monarch and loyal subject. It is clear that the Church resented lay interference, while the emergent monarchies were busy trying to limit the powers of the feudal lords and consolidate their own authority. The fragmentation within a larger unity could be considered to be reflected in both the greater concern for creation as a whole and the more distant relationship between God the Creator and man. It could also reflect a new independence, not just of the monasteries, but of the individual: salvation is no longer a gift from his Lord, but something for which the individual must personally strive towards. There is a sense not only of the responsibility for individual sins, but for the choice to fight against one's own sinful nature.

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<sup>82</sup> Shaffern states that the readers of such texts 'were almost entirely other monks', but does not, in the cited article, advance any arguments for this conclusion. Shaffern, "Mater Et Magistra: Gendered Images and Church Authority in the Thought of Pope Innocent III."

### 3. *Specific Manuscripts*

Unlike the earlier periods when the paucity of material made possible a discussion of each manuscript, the number of relevant manuscripts, even those with relatively secure dating, is too great for all to be considered in detail. While the basic type gives a general picture, four manuscripts that deal with the subject in different ways give a more differentiated view that can highlight various points in treatment and context. The first of these is the St Albans Psalter, in which the fall is a full page miniature and provides a degree of continuity, being thematically related to the earlier Anglo-Saxon manuscripts and at least two other manuscripts from this period while looking forward to certain German works. Moreover, the circumstances of the manuscript are reasonably well documented and the presumed original owner, Christina of Markyate, is the subject of a contemporary biography. The second manuscript to be considered is the St. Bénigne Bible. This is also connected to a psalter text, but here the scene of the fall is in an initial and has a specific relation to both the psalm and the other half of the initial. The third manuscript is BL Add. 14788 which represents the frequent use in the *In principio* initial that remains closer to the older tradition of giving more emphasis to those events surrounding the fall. The final manuscript to be discussed in detail is the Admont Bible, which does not depict the fall, but has a series of creation miniatures, wherein the creation of man is represented by that of Eve.

#### 3.1 *The St. Alban's Psalter, Hildesheim, St. Godehard Treasury, Ms. 1*

There has been considerable research done and much written about the St. Albans Psalter, much of it concerning the dating of the manuscript and the relationship of the various parts to each other and the original owner, Christina of Markyate.<sup>83</sup> No one disputes Christina's connection with the psalter, but there is a lack of agreement as to whether it was originally intended for the abbey of St. Albans and adapted to her

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<sup>83</sup> For a short chronological overview of the various theories see the website of the St. Albans Psalter prepared by the University of Aberdeen, section debate. The team from Aberdeen University has made an excellent facsimile available on line, together with translation, transcription and essays. <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/stalbanspsalter/english/index.shtml> Jane Geddes, St. Albans Psalter. The Conclusion (2003); available from <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/stalbanspsalter/english/index.shtml>. My thanks to Jane Geddes for her encouragement and suggestions.

specific interests and needs, or her own psalter was ‘upgraded’, or it was intended for her from the outset. It is generally agreed that it was the gift of Abbot Geoffrey to Christina, his spiritual advisor and friend. We know that there was some dissatisfaction at the gifts and monetary support given by Geoffrey to Christina and her nuns and Christina’s influence over Geoffrey.<sup>84</sup>

Hence, a prey to their own malice, yet urged on by the envy of the devil, they spent their time in pursuing Christina, the lover of Christ, with gossip, poisonous detractions, barbed words trying to take away the good name, which she had most carefully tried to hide from men. Hence, some of them called her a dreamer, others a seducer of souls, others, more moderately, just a worldly-wise business woman: that is, what was a gift of God they attributed to earthly prudence. Others who could think of nothing better to say spread the rumour that she was attracted to the abbot by earthly love.

The Psalter was certainly a costly gift and one that did not seem to accord with Christina’s avowed asceticism. Geddes suggests that the obit of Roger, the hermit who protected Christina at Markyate, was inserted so that she could be brought to accept the book as a mark of respect for Roger from the monks of St. Albans.<sup>85</sup> The letter of Pope Gregory, in both Latin and French, on the use of images must be seen as a justification of the extensive miniature cycles. The Christological cycle is prefaced by the fall and expulsion miniatures and continues with events from the life of Christ, notably omitting the crucifixion from the passion sequence, and with the Emmaus pages added to the quire devoted to the life of Alexis and the *Psychomachia*. Whether or not the work was conceived as a whole, or various elements were brought together, there are certain factors that made it particularly appropriate to Christina. The chaste marriage of Alexis mirrors Christina’s own unconsummated marriage and her state of virginity. The Emmaus pages can be seen as a reflection of Christina’s visions. Of particular relevance here are various miniatures and the *Psychomachia*.

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<sup>84</sup> *Unde propria compulsi malicia et demonis instumulantis urgente invidia multis crebisque detractricem Christi Christinam exacebare studebant sussurriis detraccionibus venenosus verborum iaculis illam infamare cupientes que fame meritum summo studio mortabilibus occultabat. Hinc eam alii sompniatricem alii animorum translaticem alii quasi miciores secularium agendorum prudentem procuratricem appellebant. Scilicet quod divini erat muneris seculari prudencie conantes imputare. Alii autem aliter loqui nescientes eidem abbati carnali devinctamamore summurmurabant.* Talbot, ed., *The life of Christina of Markyate*.

<sup>85</sup> Geddes, St. Albans Psalter The Conclusion.



The fall miniature is in many ways typical of those of the Alexis Master in the Psalter. (fig. 35) It is very stylised, with rich, sombre colouration. It is a highly symmetrical work and those elements that fall outside this symmetrical set up have the effect of showing a disturbance, of upsetting the natural balance. It is set in a border of acanthus leaves, far more restrained than those of the Winchester School. The border is double edged with gold, providing a contrast to the predominantly blue shades of the miniature itself. The tree of knowledge of good and evil is the axis on which the miniature turns. Its trunk and branches are of a pale gold-yellow and it is set against a series of solid colour backgrounds, radiating out from deep blue to purple to blue-green, rather in the form of a mandorla. This funnels upwards until it reaches the frame. A narrow white line separates the green and purple, while the blue is delineated by the curving branches of the tree itself. The central trunk rises straight up, dividing the miniature in two and breaking the frame. From the level of the heads of Adam and Eve, two branches curve, forming an oval, while five further pairs of branches, of differing sizes, coming from the trunk and the larger branches twine together to form a decorative knot pattern. It is interesting to note that the tree has two types of leaves, two pairs of fig leaves, growing from the two small branches close to the main division and leaves sprouting directly from same area. These contrast to the larger fleshier acanthus type leaves that make up the rest of the foliage. This double foliage can possibly be related to the writings mentioned in earlier chapters that speak of the tree of life and the tree of knowledge as being a single tree. It is extremely unlikely that the trees flanking Adam and Eve carry this idea further. They are clearly of the same type, even though they differ slightly as to height and extra leaves. These are simply dressing to denote paradise. The fruits, which grow in abundance, are clearly figs from both the shape and the colour, which varies from a soft lilac to a deep purple.

Adam and Eve are seated on either side of the tree, on curving, striated stylised mounds of a colour slightly more greenish than the tree trunk. They are set against a blue background linking them to the inner circle of the 'mandorla' of the upper part of the miniature. Both are dark haired and muscular. Adam's gaze is fixed on Eve and he seems to be eating eagerly, even greedily. With his right hand he holds a fruit up to his open mouth and with his left grasps a second that Eve hands to him. His bent elbow and clutching hand emphasise the impression of eagerness, as do his right leg stretched forward and the

slight inclination of his trunk and head. Conform to the basic type Eve is not seductive, though her very pronounced breasts and nipples make it clear that there is no idea of androgyny. There is sex in paradise, but not sexuality. Once again Eve functions as the medium, taking with her left hand a fruit from the serpent's mouth and extending her right arm to hand a fruit to Adam. Her gaze is fixed on the serpent/devil above her, not on Adam. Indeed, she seems somewhat withdrawn from him, only her outstretched arm acknowledging his presence. There is no trace of urging or seduction in any sense, let alone sexual. There is a similarity with the Old English Hexateuch in that Eve is clearly aligned with the devil, and Adam drawn towards them. Unlike the Hexateuch there is a formal delineation of areas by the tree, and the points at which the halves are breached are significant. Adam's foot crosses in front of the trunk, reaching half way, Eve's curved right arm brings her hand and the fruit into Adam's half and the devil's right foot rests on the branch above Adam's head.

The devil/serpent is perhaps the most unorthodox element in the composition. Instead of the usual serpent wound round the trunk of the tree, a small, coiled serpent issues from the mouth of a blue-grey demon. The demon itself is clawed and winged, the short, deeper blue strokes of paint on the haunches and arms giving the impression of shagginess. It has the waving locks that go back through the late Anglo-Saxon works to the Utrecht Psalter. The colour, the hooked nose and bulging eyes prefigure the death figure on f. 5v of the slightly later Eadwine Psalter (Cambridge, Trinity College Ms R. 17). The twisting, falling figure is reminiscent of the fallen angels in both Junius 11 and the Old English Hexateuch. Here the disturbance to balance and harmony is even more pronounced, due to the overall severe symmetry. There is a hierarchy to the breaching of the borders. Adam stays just within his 'own' half of the page, venturing only into the dividing area of the tree. Eve, while paying no attention to Adam's area, reaches her hand into it to offer the fruit. The demon seems as if it has positioned on the left hand side, above Adam, but flings itself forward into the space above Eve. The same hierarchy is to be seen in the degree of contortion of the bodies. Adam sits straight, only leaning a little forward. Eve twists her head round to look up at the figure above her. The demon clutches the trunk and branches of the Tree, winding his arms and legs round, his head at such an angle that the neck, which is not visible, must be as twisted as the serpent. Notable, too, is the eye contact between the demon and Eve that implies that Eve sees the source of

the fruit. The pose of the demon begins a dynamic sweep that leads the eye via the serpent, Eve's arms and Adam's grasping hand to the actual consumption of the fruit. Adam's open mouth, with the hand holding the fruit before it, act as a break to this eye movement: the action is initiated and flows to its conclusion. The sole interruption to this flow is Eve's gaze directed back at the demon: however, this does not really constitute a break, the light colour of her face connecting it to the fruit and the serpent.

The extremely unusual aspect of the serpent issuing from the mouth of the demon requires comment. This is probably a reference to apocryphal and pseudographical works, such as the *Book of Adam*, that mention a dialogue between Satan and the serpent. The Bible makes no mention of Satan or any devil in connection with the temptation, but the connection was never doubted. The *Book of Adam* has the devil concealing himself within the serpent—with the serpent's consent—and speaking to Eve through the serpent's mouth. This is obviously difficult to illustrate and by reversing the roles the Alexis Master effectively demonstrates that the serpent was used by the devil. He departs, however, from the general lines of such stories in which the disguise is to deceive Eve. The eye contact between Eve and the demon implies that Eve was not completely deceived. As to actual iconographic examples of this, we are in the dark. The twelfth century certainly saw the popularity of such ornamentation as dragons swallowing each other or emerging from each other's mouth. There is, moreover, a hint in the Moissac manuscript discussed earlier. There are numerous similarities between the practice drawings and the Psalter, including acanthus leaves emerging from the mouths of beasts. It obviously a long step from these to the tempter of the St. Albans Psalter, but there is another indication that the Moissac manuscript or some manuscript similar to it could have had some influence on the Alexis Master. The lopsided composition of the Moissac miniature showing the expulsion whereby Adam and Eve are pushed out of the frame has already been commented upon. The expulsion in the St. Albans Psalter has a strong resemblance to this. The Christ figure in each has the same pose, the only difference being that in the Moissac manuscript he holds an orb and in the St. Albans Psalter his finger is raised in admonition. In the St. Albans Psalter Adam and Eve hold the implements of their labour, whereas in the Moissac manuscript they are empty handed, but again the poses are the same. Particularly striking is the treatment of Adam's garment. In both miniatures it is clearly made of skins, with precisely the same curlicues to denote fur.

Most striking of all is that in both manuscripts the couple are pushed out of the picture area, in the St. Albans Psalter breaching the frame and the Moissac miniature vanishing at the edge. Haney has identified a pool of images for the psalms in the St. Albans Psalter, going back to the ninth century psalters now in Utrecht and Stuttgart,<sup>86</sup> and centred on the Canterbury scriptorium.<sup>87</sup> The iconographic similarities between St. Albans Psalter and Moissac miniature would suggest that either this pool of images was common to other scriptoria and not confined to the Stuttgart and Utrecht sources, or that there was a more immediate contact between Moissac and St. Albans.

The identification of the demon with Satan is not without its uncertainties. As was demonstrated in the discussion of the Junius manuscript, the idea of a secondary devil or demon being the tempter was not unknown in England. The same blue-grey demon is found elsewhere in St. Albans Psalter, frequently in the psalm initials, but then often in with several identical figures, or variations in colour. Since the artists responsible, at least for the colouration of the psalm initials, were other than the Alexis Master, it would seem advisable to consider those figures that must be identified with Satan in that artist's miniatures. The fall demon is considerably smaller than those shown in the three temptations of Christ, but bears a strong resemblance to them.<sup>88</sup> Only the wings in the temptations of Christ are multicoloured, rather than the smaller self-coloured wings of the fall demon. A second smaller brown demon is present at the second temptation, and the devil of the third temptation is much smaller, with a brown head and different coloured wings. This diminution in size may be symbolic of the decreasing power of the devil through his rejections by Christ. The biggest discrepancy is with the harrowing of hell scene on p. 49, where the chained Satan looks nothing like the previous devils, being light brownish yellow and much broader and stockier than the slender figures of the temptations. Despite these variations I think we must identify the demon of the fall with Satan. There is a degree of symmetry in the constitution of the Christological cycle as well as an iconographic tradition for this. As Geddes has pointed out, the expulsion is paired with the advent min-

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<sup>86</sup> Kristine E. Haney, *The St. Albans Psalter: an Anglo-Norman song of faith* (New York, 2002).

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>88</sup> Pp. 33–35.

iaturation, man leaving God's presence and God returning to man.<sup>89</sup> There is a strong compositional similarity between the fall miniature and that of the first temptation, with two smaller trees at left and right and a central tree separating Christ from Satan. Just as the same scene in the Odbert Psalter echoed the fall initial there, the St. Albans Psalter again reminds the reader of that first temptation and its disastrous results. Not only does it remind the reader of the need for redemption, but also encourages her to follow Christ's example and withstand temptation.

The fall miniature and its place within the iconographic scheme are complex. Unlike earlier works that show God as primarily Creator to whom man owes his existence, or, as in the Moissac manuscript the judge of the unrighteous, the St. Albans Psalter ignores the creation aspect entirely. Our first view is of man transgressing, then receiving punishment. However, this is followed by the extensive cycle of the life of Christ: the emphasis here is on Christ the Redeemer. It is notable that despite the large number of miniatures there is none of his ministry or his miracles. The cycle concentrates on the circumstances round his birth, passion and events after his death. Not Christ's preaching is important here, but his incarnation and sacrifice. Adam and Eve, driven from paradise on p. 18, are rescued from hell by the forgiving God on p. 49. To a certain extent the cycle conforms to the general interest in the childhood of Christ with miniatures depicting several scenes from his earliest months, but there is little stress on the humanity of Christ, even the scenes in Gethsemane and the suffering of the passion do not have a particularly 'human' feel to them. Rather they emphasise what God has suffered and done on behalf of errant man. Man's debt to God is not for his creation and existence, but for the chance of salvation. This must be considered singularly appropriate for someone who had dedicated her life to eradicating human weakness from herself and had chosen a particularly severe life-style. Christina's fasts and scourgings to subdue her flesh and desires were well known, and the emphasis of the miniature cycle can be seen as an exhortation and encouragement to her. Of the scenes of the early days of Christ—there are twelve from the nativity to the return from Egypt—only five show Jesus, and he is almost invisible in the nativity scene. There are just as many scenes devoted to the Magi. This may seem an odd emphasis and lacking any

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<sup>89</sup> Jane Geddes, *St. Albans Psalter. Understanding the miniatures* (2003). Available from <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/stalbanspsalter/english/essays/miniatures.shtml>.

relevance to Christina or to the fall miniature. I would suggest that in fact these are closely linked. The common theme is the recognition of God. The Magi undertook a long and hazardous journey to find God, and were able to tell a false king from the true one. Christina undertook her own spiritual journey, and through her purity and devotion was given visions of God.<sup>90</sup>

Whilst Christina was sitting on her stone... the fairest of the children of men came to her through the locked door, bearing in His right hand a cross of gold. At His appearance the maiden was terrified, but He put her fears to rest with this comforting assurance: 'Fear not, He said: 'for I have not come to increase your fears, but to give you confidence. Take this cross, therefore, and hold it firmly, slanting neither to right nor left. Always hold it straight, pointing upwards: and remember that I was the first to bear the same cross.

There have been numerous studies that have dealt with the particular relevance the miniature cycles and the initials have for Christina and her life. It is not my intention to discuss each of these fully. The Emmaus miniatures and the Alexis poem have been long regarded as indicating a relationship to Christina's visions and to her chaste betrothal. More recently Geddes has pointed out the more 'female friendly' initials in the later part of the psalter, which she feels indicate the point at which it was decided to give the psalter to Christina.<sup>91</sup> Carrasco has pointed out the relevance of the Magdalen miniatures to Christina as eremitic ascetic and apostle to the apostles.<sup>92</sup> To my knowledge no one has discussed the particular relevance of the fall miniature or the attitudes towards sin implied by the various illuminations. As Carrasco has shown, Mary Magdalen (however much a composite figure) enjoyed great popularity in this period, not only as a symbol of the ascetic and complete life, but also as the repentant sinner. I think that this is also an aspect that must be considered in relation to Christina and the fall miniature. As Christina's *Vita* makes clear she was subject to temptation and prey to

<sup>90</sup> *Christina supra petram [suam] sedente... intravit [ad e]am speciosus forma pre filiis [homi]num obserato aditu crucem ferns [aur]eam in dextra manu ad cuius [int]roitum expavit virgo qua mille [bla]nde confortavit tali alloquio. Ne timens inquit noon enim veni quo tibi metum augerem: sed ut securitatem ingererem. Tolle igitur crucem istam.* Talbot, ed., *The life of Christina of Markyate*, pp. 106, 107.

<sup>91</sup> Geddes, *St. Albans Psalter*. 'Understanding the miniatures', and private correspondence.

<sup>92</sup> Magdalena Elizabeth Carrasco, "The Imagery of the Magdalen in Christina of Markyate's Psalter (St. Albans Psalter)," *Gesta* 38 (1999).

sensual passion. Like the Magdalen, through Christ's help she was able to drive this from her and obtain a serenity of spirit. Christina's *Vita* speaks of the devil sending her sexual desires to tempt her and torment her. Christina recognised her feelings as being the work of the devil and this gave her both the knowledge and strength to resist them. This ties in with the fall miniature and the extraordinary depiction of the tempter. Its probable pseudographical base has already been discussed, but why was this particularly applicable to Christina's psalter and what general attitude did it express?

I suggest that a keyword in understanding the psalter illustrations is recognition. We have already seen the common factor between the Emmaus and Magi miniatures and Christina's visions: here the recognition of divine nature was the issue. In the fall miniature it is the recognition of the nature of temptation as deriving from the devil. Eve looks directly into the devil's eyes, but fails to recognise him for what he is. In doing so she fails to recognise temptation and the source of her own desires. The intention to give the psalter to Christina postdates her period of sexual frustration and her successful resistance to it. This later period was after the death of Roger and before her friendship with Geoffrey. Her recognition of the source of her temptation is contrasted with Eve's failure in this respect. As an introduction to the psalms themselves this could be regarded as particularly appropriate, as we are told that one of the means she used to combat her desires was reciting the psalms. Eve failed, and man was thrust from paradise, as is shown in the first two miniatures of the cycle. This failure makes Christ's incarnation and sacrifice necessary—the subject of the following miniatures. As Christina looked at these she could meditate on how she, like the Magdalen—sometimes seen as the new Eve—through Christ's help had not failed, and strengthen her future resolve. The fight against temptation receives very specific treatment on the Beatus page, which not only depicts knights jousting but gives an exposition of their symbolism and the need to fight evil, indeed a compact *psychomachia*.

The question is: what does this tell us of general attitudes to sin? Geddes has analysed the presence of women in the initials and comes to the conclusion that, in the later psalms at least, women are shown as resisting temptation. In particular psalm 118, p. 315 shows men giving way to vanity and lust while women resist their advances. In the earlier psalms, those made when the psalter was intended for St. Albans abbey itself, according to Geddes, a less positive view of women is given. The initials to psalm 36 shows woman as lustful and given

to the delights of the flesh. The emphasis given to lust and sensuality is again expressed in one of the initials to psalm 67, p. 200, where God is shown destroying his enemies, these latter being symbolised by couples embracing. Obviously sensuality and sexuality were regarded as prime enemies of God. Of particular interest is the initial to psalm 51, p. 173 as it gives a direct link to the fall miniature. (fig. 36) Malice is shown as a woman seducing a man into marriage, thus implying the use of sexuality as a deliberate act to turn men from God. The particular connection with the fall is the dragon that forms the tail of the Q. This is a common enough method of depicting the flourish of that letter, but in this case the dragon bites the foot of the woman, a direct reference to the verdict on the enmity between woman and serpent in Genesis 3.15. To a certain extent this is reminiscent of the dragon at Eve's feet on the Hildesheim doors. Important here is that the second part of the verdict—that the children of Eve shall crush the serpent beneath their feet—is not shown. It was a common exegesis of these verses that this latter statement symbolised the defeat of sin and sexuality. Here woman has failed to do this and the serpent has claimed her for its own. By seducing the man, female malice re-enacts the events of the fall.

There is, as we have seen, a tendency to equate sin with sexuality, but at the same time there is an acknowledgement of the power of sexuality. The lure of the senses, desire and even lust are not denied. On the contrary, they are shown to be omnipresent. It has been pointed out that for Christina and others in her position desiring a religious life, or merely wanting to escape marriage, virginity had a practical value.<sup>93</sup> Once a marriage or betrothal was consummated a woman could only take vows with the consent of her husband. Christina managed to get her betrothal annulled, but it was still some time after before she made formal vows. Whether this was due to antagonism of the clergy who had supported her parents or her desire for an eremitic life, free from restraints other than those imposed by God, is unknown. However pragmatic virginity was in these circumstances, it must be remembered that it was still an ideal to retain one's purity of body. In relation to Christina there is no attempt made to deny that she had sexual feelings; her purity is not dependent on the absence of

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<sup>93</sup> Sharon K. Elkins, *Holy women of twelfth century England*, Studies in religion ed. Charles H. Long (Chapel Hill and London, 1988), p. 29.



such feelings, but her steadfastness in the face of their onslaught. She recognised the feelings for what they were and attributed their source to the devil. By not denying them, but facing them, she was able, with Christ's help, to conquer them and achieve virginity of spirit as well as body. This conforms to the general tendency to admit the senses. Just as various writers praised the works of God made accessible by the senses, Christina could see and feel the Christ Child. The senses used to understand and praise God are seen in a positive light: the senses indulged as sources for physical, and especially sexual, pleasure are another matter, and lead away from God to earthly and sinful matters. Not the feeling of temptation is wrong, but the succumbing to it. Like the ascetics of old, Anthony and Jerome, Augustine and the Magdalen, Christina could fight her inclination for fine clothes, subdue her body's imperatives and win through to a state of holiness. Christina was an example of a woman who exerted considerable influence, certainly on the abbey of St. Albans under Geoffrey. Her psalter is a token of his regard for her and the miniatures both an accolade and an incentive.

### 3.2 *The Bible of St. Bénigne, Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 2*

A bible made for the abbey's own use, this manuscript dates from the second quarter of the twelfth century and originates in the scriptorium of St. Bénigne, and is a fine example of an extremely richly illuminated manuscript. 'Dans la *Bible de Saint-Bénigne* de Dijon, superbe manuscrit de grandes dimensions et à l'ambitieux programme iconographique... le plus original des trio enlumineurs se caractérise par une exuberance des formes et une invention dans les traitement des themes.'<sup>94</sup> Despite this appreciation, there seems to have been little interest in the work: Cahn spares only a few lines for it when discussing the Bourgondian Romanesque Bibles and its entry in his catalogue is brief.<sup>95</sup> Mâle merely notes an early appearance of the Virgin in the tree of Jesse,<sup>96</sup> and a few others mention it in passing. The illumination consists of decorated, inhabited and historiated initials and canon tables. The initials vary in size and grandeur from highly intricate, executed mostly in rich reds,

<sup>94</sup> Christian Heck, "Montre l'invisible," in *Le Moyen Age en lumiere: manuscrits enlumines des bibliotheques de France*, ed. Jaques Dalarun (Paris, 2002).

<sup>95</sup> Walter Cahn, *Die Bibel in der Romanik*, (Munich, 1982).

<sup>96</sup> Emile Mâle, *Religious art in France; the twelfth century, a study of the origins of medieval iconography*, Studies in religious iconography (Princeton, 1978).

blues and gold, almost filling the page, to much smaller ones, often simpler with slightly less rich colouration. In my opinion at least two artists worked on the manuscript—Cahn detects three<sup>97</sup>—although the styles have much in common. The artist of the larger initials makes great use of intertwining foliage that sometime almost obscures the figures. In all cases the work is very finely done and immense care taken with the smallest details. The script is clear and even with hierarchical letters in gold and red. Clearly this was intended to be a treasure of the abbey.

The historiated initials are the dominant form of decoration. If we include portraits of the evangelists and prophets and symbols of wisdom and justice there are forty-six as against eleven inhabited initials and ten ornamented. There are certain emphases in the initials. Three feature Jerome, ff. 6r, 100r and 235r. David also receives a good deal of attention; he is shown being anointed by Samuel (f. 101v), hearing of the death of Saul and slaying the Amalekites (f. 114r), slaying Goliath (f. 246r), playing the harp (f. 278v) and finally with St. Paul (f. 477v), the last miniature of the manuscript. The iconographic programme is complex with a good number of lesser-known incidents depicted. The fall shares its space with David killing Goliath, filling the upper loop of the B and the David scene the lower. (fig. 37) This juxtaposition must be considered carefully. The initial is the opening to the psalms, *Beatus vir*, a place that traditionally shows David, most often as a musician, but other scenes from his life are not unknown. Why then does the scene of the fall share this space, how does it relate to David and psalm one in particular? The blue tree, with its large fig leaves sprouts from the mass of vegetation that forms the letter. The tree and figures are set against a gold ground scattered with small red trefoils. There is no attempt to show paradise or any circumstances of the fall. Neither God nor creation is shown, nor are the consequences depicted. The single event, the conflated temptations of Eve and Adam, are set outside time and space, an isolated act for the contemplation of the reader. The white bodies of the two humans stand out against the gold and rich colours, their nakedness contrasting with the clothed figures below them. Adam, beardless and perched on a twining branch brings a fruit to his mouth with his right hand while accepting another from Eve with his left. Eve's long hair almost covers her breasts. She is just on

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<sup>97</sup> Cahn, *Die Bibel in der Romanik*, p. 271.

the point of relinquishing a fruit to Adam and accepting a third from the serpent. This creature, dark red with a white stripe down its back has its mouth open wide to accommodate the fruit. Its body, thicker towards the middle, knots and twists round the tree. In contrast to Adam, Eve does not stand on a branch but is anchored in place by the serpent twisting between and round her legs. In this way she is firmly connected to sin, but possibly not consciously, since unlike Eve in the St. Albans Psalter, she is not looking at her tempter; her attention is directed towards Adam. This could be seen as an expression of both her secondary role as a human and her sensual nature. This last would seem to be inherent; once again there is no seductiveness in her gestures or posture, no sign that her temptation of Adam is either malicious or deliberate, not even sexual. The serpent is echoed by the dragon-headed beast that emits an acanthus branch from its mouth, reminiscent of the creatures found in Moissac manuscript. Careful tracing of the foliage and vines reveals that its body emerges from that of a second monster below the David scenes. This second monster bites into the vine that turns into the body of yet another monster separating the two scenes. In turn, this emits the vine on which the upper monster stands. The two monsters link the upper and lower halves of the initial physically and intellectually. Physically they tie the whole miniature together and intellectually they invite the reader to compare the scenes, to go back and forth, divining their connections.

The lower scene echoes in many ways the upper. David's stance is the same as Adam's, but instead of eating and reaching for the fruits of temptation and sin he holds ready the implements of battle, a sling in his right hand, a club in his left. Both scenes of the fall and David and Goliath were frequently used for the *Beatus* page, though usually these date from a later period.<sup>98</sup> Helsinger notes in passing that the St. Bénigne Bible makes the connection between the two, but since he emphasises the aspect of struggle in the rest of his article he misses the further dimension created by the place of the initial in the overall iconographic programme. The connection between the two rests on the identification of David as a prefiguration of Christ, and the *Glossa Ordinaria* comparison between the slaying of Goliath and Christ's temptation in the wilderness. This is one step removed from the works

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<sup>98</sup> Howard Helsinger, "Images on the Beatus Page of Some Medieval Psalters," *Art Bulletin* 53 (1971).

such as the Odbert Psalter that echo the fall in miniatures of Christ's temptations. However, important though this is, the juxtaposition has other implications, especially when we consider the importance given to the *Beatus* page in the period. In this initial two of the main threads of the iconographic programme are brought together—trust in God and adherence to his word and the consequences of turning from God and his law.

This is not the place for a full analysis of the iconography of the manuscript, but a short consideration of some of the themes is enlightening. As well as more usual subjects a number of the historiated initials deal with lesser-known episodes such as the sacrifice of Elkana and Hannah, f. 101v, and the fall of Achasis, f. 135v. Such episodes can be compared to other, sometimes better-known ones, in other initials. Thus can the trust and faith of Elkana and Hannah be set against the incredulity of Zacharias, f. 230v, and the healing of the faithful Tobias, f. 366v, with the death and lack of faith of Achasis. Artaxerxes sending his letter to Esra, f. 357r, can be seen as the counterpart to the dying Antiochus IV Epiphane, f. 393v. On f. 235v Job is shown standing firm in his righteous love of God despite the attentions of Satan, while those less staunch are represented by his wife and three friends. At least two of the initials deal with turning from God to a final conversion. On f. 52r, the angel of the Lord confronts Balaam, and on f. 225r Jonah is thrown into the sea and is regurgitated by the whale. Other initials continue this emphasis, in particular f. 332v that shows Adam and his descendents in the bosom of Abraham. The hope of salvation is held out, not only here, but on f. 324r Daniel is shown in the den of lions, on f. 301r Christ is shown between Ecclesia and Synagoga, and the two trees of Jesse, ff. 148r and 406r can also be seen as the promise of redemption. Other miniatures show the fight against evil, a common enough theme in bible illumination, but they serve to reinforce the message of steadfast adherence to the ways of God. As well as Judith and Holofernes, f. 370r, most of the inhabited, but non-historiated initials shows men fighting monsters, and Judas Maccabeus rides out to defend his people on f. 380v. In view of this we can modify the interpretation of the fall scene. The initial shows not only the resistance to evil, and succumbing to it, but the fall is a deliberate turning from God. In this way not only is David seen as *beatus vir*, but Adam and Eve are the *impii*. Nevertheless, in spite of this and the numerous warnings of the fate of those who desert God's ways, the tone is optimistic. Not only

do so many figures fight death and evil, but the repentant can also achieve salvation.

The St. Bénigne Bible is considered as dating from the second quarter of the twelfth century, a period of great importance for both Dijon and the abbey of St. Bénigne. Dijon was in many ways dependent on the abbey, growing up around it, and the abbey's protector was the Duke of Burgundy. Burgundy in the twelfth century was a prosperous and expanding principality: 'the absence of internal conflict, the flexibility of personal relations, the goodwill between church and duke'<sup>99</sup> laid the foundation for its future greatness. In 1137 a fire destroyed much of Dijon, and the duke, Eudes II, rebuilt the town and included St. Bénigne within its walls. The buildings at the time were those begun in 1002 by the famous reformer William of Volpiano. Whether there was damage to the church is uncertain, but there was certainly twelfth century rebuilding as is shown by C14 dating of mortar.<sup>100</sup> Dijon was not only rebuilt but became the new capital of Burgundy. Imperial documents even referred to the duke as *dux Divionensis*. This meant that there was a great influx of wealth and prestige to Dijon; as the home of the ducal court it was visited by lay and ecclesiastical powers. If, as seems likely, the Bible dates from the time of this new importance and prosperity, it is little wonder that it is such a rich work. It is also little wonder that, given the prudent policies of the dukes, due tribute is paid in it to the wisdom and justice of rulers. Initials show Solomon, ff. 125r, 289r and 343r, and David, ff. 101v and 114r, as great rulers under God, others show *Justitia* symbolised as scales, f. 302v, and *Sapientia*, f. 308v. The final initial is in keeping with the themes discussed. The young king, standing near the top of the down-stroke of the P, holds out a dark unrolled scroll. Its other end is grasped by Paul, seated in the loop and holding in his left hand a codex. The beloved of God, who fell from grace and repented hands over to Christ's enemy who became Christ's champion. Paul can be seen as a mirror image of the fall scene, turning to God instead of away.

<sup>99</sup> Jean Dunbabin, *France in the making 843–1180* (Oxford, 1985).

<sup>100</sup> C. Malone, S. Valastro, Jr. and A.G. Varela, "Carbon-14 Chronology of Mortar from Excavations in the Medieval Church of Saint-Bénigne, Dijon, France," *Journal of Field Archaeology* 7 (1980).

### 3.3 *The Parc Bible, London, British Library, Ms. Add. 14788*

This manuscript is a multi-volume bible dating from 1148. It was made for the cloister of St. Maria De Parco, close to Leuven. This was a Premonstratensian foundation, established nineteen years earlier. The bible itself consists of three volumes, each book of which has a richly illuminated initial. There is some similarity of style with the initials of the St. Bénigne Bible, but these are less rich, their colouration more subdued; however there is still an abundance of foliage, strapwork and monstrous heads. (fig. 38) The initial to Genesis fills the page and consists of an intertwined I and N with the words *PRINCIPIO CREAVIT DEUS CELU[M] ET TERRAM* in two vertical lines in the right hand frame. There are nine medallions, one each at the ends of the strokes of the I and N, one at the centre of the two upright strokes of the N and a central mandorla at the point where the two letters cross. The eye is immediately led to this mandorla, not only by its central position, but by its larger size and the convergence of the red, gold and grey-black strokes of the letters. The crossed-nimbed Logos is seated on a rainbow flanked by alpha and omega. His right hand is held up in a gesture of command and the message is further emphasised by the open book held in his left hand; on this is written *EGO SUM/OVISUM*. The eight slightly smaller medallions contain scenes from the first four chapters of Genesis. These smaller medallions, at least at first appearance, seem to have an order that is difficult to follow. The three left hand medallions and the two further bottom ones make a chronological narrative of the creation of Eve, the fall, expulsion, Abel's sacrifice and Cain's murder of Abel. The others represent the first and second days of creation, conflated, the fifth day and the creation of the animals on the sixth day. Among the foliage brought forth out of the mouths of monsters, clamber figures of men, birds and animals—a hawk eyes a dove, while a hunter aims his arrow at the hawk, a youth in a loincloth stretches towards a lion. An owl, a griffin and an eagle perch among the vines while a human face peers out of an acanthus leaf. Four paw-like protuberances hold the corner medallions fast. Taken in the biblical order, top centre shows the spirit of God in the form of a nimbed dove separating heaven and the waters under—these already contain fish, presumably to show that they are waters. Top right a nimbed Logos creates birds and fish while the last shows the Logos with a red cross-nimbus commanding the creation of the animals, represented by a strangely entwined male and female goat.

The story of the origins of mankind begins not with the creation of Adam, but of Eve. The medallion has certain peculiarities. The somewhat cramped crouching attitude of the Logos can be explained by the limitations of space of the medallion. Adam is shown in a common pose of sitting asleep, his head resting on his left hand, his right hand supporting the left elbow. The Logos holds Eve by the right arm. In all this it is typical of works of the period. The most striking thing is that Eve does not rise out of Adam side so much as share a lower body with him. This gives the effect of Siamese twins joined from the waist down; there is no division or separation of Adam's flesh from that of Eve. This could be a manner of expressing *caro de carne mea*<sup>101</sup> and at the same time showing the secondary nature of Eve's creation—since Adam's is not shown this could be regarded as emphasising the hierarchical nature of creation: she is the product, quite literally here, of his loins. The figure of Eve has several points of interest. The face is most carefully drawn and coloured, but there are marks on her arms and breast that are difficult to determine. In this and other medallions musculature is subtly depicted, but these marks are darker than those used for that purpose elsewhere. Her face, outstretched arms and breast are all a darker, ruddier colour than the other figures. It is possible that the marks on her chest are meant to be breasts, but the marks on the arms are puzzling. They do not have the look of under-drawing or mistakes; in fact both her upper arms have almost an x-ray quality, as if we can see the bones through the flesh. Is this the other half of Adam's statement *os ex ossibus meis*? One further point must be noted: the work on this miniature is very fine, however, the gilder seems to have let down Cahn's opinion of the 'sorgfältig gestalteter Dekfarbe'<sup>102</sup> by impinging on Eve's knee and stomach. The red of the rock upon which Adam sits has flowed over into the gilding of the background. None of the other parts of the miniature have such slips. It is most likely that these are due to the fact that it is most likely that the figurative work on the manuscript began here, but it is also possible that the miniaturist felt uncomfortable with the subject. Perhaps the most notable aspect in this scene is the action of the Logos. This is no Creator of Eve in the sense of earlier works, not even the Hexateuch. There we see him shape and mould the female as she comes from the man, and she is as

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<sup>101</sup> Genesis 2.23.

<sup>102</sup> Cahn, *Die Bibel in der Romanik*.

much God's creation as Adam, a part of him that is given a separate existence. In the Parc Bible, He pulls her from Adam's side; there is no forming, only removal. God plucks the female element from man.

The scene of the fall itself has points of great interest. Adam and Eve stand in almost identical poses on either side of the tree, Eve on the left, Adam on the right. The tree itself seems to be a descendent of those found in the Old English Hexateuch, multiple twining trunks and a formal mass of foliage at the top. To the left hand side of this, just above Eve's head, three rather more semicircular markings than elsewhere on the tree have red dots in them and presumably represent the fruit. A bright red serpent with a blocky dragon's head twists between the two main parts of the trunk, holding in its mouth a fruit, now sadly worn, which Eve takes with her right hand and with her left brings another fruit to her mouth. The interesting point here is that Adam mimics her stance almost exactly, but instead of receiving and eating the fruit his right hand is held up and his left makes a gesture of command or teaching. This gives rise to a variety of questions. Adam's pose indicates that he relays God's command not to eat of the tree to Eve, or that it expresses the passage, frequently quoted at the time, which says that Adam was not deceived, but Eve was.<sup>103</sup> Adam's pose distances him from the fall. To a modern mind it could imply that, whichever option is preferred, Adam is guilty. His fall was done in full knowledge and he 'was not deceived.' However, in my opinion, this would be an anachronistic interpretation. The twelfth century mind was less concerned with the 'fact' of Adam's transgression than with its symbolic content. In trying to establish how a twelfth century Premonstratensian canon would have seen this we have to consider the whole miniature, and in particular the relation between the creation of Eve medallion and the fall medallion. We have seen that in the former Eve is definitely a part of Adam, a part that the Logos removes from the man. Eve is then a part of man, or more generally the female element is a part of the male, but a part that can be removed. Her connection with the senses is shown by the fact that she greedily grasps a second fruit, while eating the first. It is this female element that is active in the fall. It is to Eve that the serpent gives his attention. It is she who takes the fruit and eats. The identical poses echo the 'Siamese twin' effect and imply the double nature of man. As we have seen, the female element (Eve) is

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<sup>103</sup> 1 Timothy, 2, 14 *et Adam non est seductus.*



associated with the senses. If we then equate Eve, the female element in mankind, with weakness in withstanding temptation, Adam must be seen as the mind that should control the senses and desires.

The fall scene can be interpreted as an allegory of the mind and the senses. While this was a common topos in written works, this is the first time it has been emphasised in just this way. Earlier works had brought the connection between Eve and the senses to the fore, but Adam's role was less clear. Generally speaking he followed Eve's lead and was drawn, reluctantly or not, into sin. Here the division between the senses and the mind is made clear. As in the St. Albans Psalter, there is an acknowledgement of sensuality in man's make-up. Adam sees and knows his weakness. It is his failure to govern his senses, his lower nature that causes disaster. The quotation from 1 Timothy continues *mulier autem seducta in praevaricatione fuit*: the transgressor is the woman, or the female element, and this medallion is a clear warning that the senses must be controlled. There is now a shift from the ninth century idea that the fall was man rebelling against God, pure and simple, to the cause of the fall being the senses rebelling against the intellect. The lower medallion on the left hand side shows the result of this rebellion. The expulsion is executed by the Logos, who pushes the pair out of the rather strange gates of paradise. The red nimbed Logos is central to the composition, and again Adam and Eve are huddled to one side, but not so completely as in the Moissac miniature. Eve holds a bunch of leaves before her genitals with her right hand and brings her left to her cheek. She turns gracefully to look back. Notably she has no breasts. Adam hangs his head and seems to be fighting the expulsion—he is half in and half out of the door, wrapping his left arm and leg around the portal.

Continuing the chronological progression we come next to the central lower medallion, the sacrifice of Abel. This echoes the colouration and simplicity of the upper central medallion and shows the youth kneeling, in his arms a lamb. His gaze is directed to the central figure of the Logos. The serenity of this scene is in direct contrast to the last scene. (fig. 39) In this Abel on the left has fallen and lifts his hands to protect his head, which is already bloodied, and is pushed down by the claw of the monster holding the medallion. On the right, clad in bright red, Cain holds a club over his head preparatory to bring it down on his brother. The appearance of Cain is in complete contrast to the delicately drawn features of the Logos, Adam, Eve and Abel. He is shown in profile with a large jutting nose, bulging eyes and red

hair. It seems to be a common tradition that the mark put upon Cain by God was red hair, though there are other candidates for the mark, circumcision being the main one. I have not been able to trace any source that would have been available to the makers of Add. 14788 that states Cain had red hair. Red hair seems to have been a mark of disfavour: the Egyptian god Seth was red-haired and red wigs were used to denote slaves in Classical comedies.<sup>104</sup> Red hair, in the Middle Ages, was regarded as an attribute of the Jews, possibly because of its traditional derogatory connotations. Cain was regarded as a *typos* for Synagoga and interestingly enough, heresy, a point cogently argued by Braude.<sup>105</sup> I think we can take it that, in the absence of any specific references to the mark of Cain being red-haired, that Cain is being depicted here as the archetypal Jew and murderer. This conforms to the tradition of Abel as typological Christ. In this initial this is made explicit. We are not shown the sacrifices of both brothers, as is usual, for example in Valenciennes Ms. 9, f. 1v. In the Parc Bible Abel kneels alone with his offering and looks up at God, holding his sacrificial lamb. The three central medallions of the vertical axis are linked, the Holy Spirit above, the Logos—though here probably seen as God the Father—in the centre and under Christ the sacrifice in the form of both Abel and the Lamb. Now the arrangement of the medallions becomes clear, on the left we have the human sphere, both before and after the fall; in the centre we have the divine. The right hand side is given over to the animals: and it is there Cain belongs. He was banished from the company of men, and according to one Jewish tradition that was certainly known in Middle English, although there is no indication it was known in this earlier period, the mark was horns on his head.<sup>106</sup> It is certainly not beyond possibility that Cain here represents both Jew and heretic, both often accused of bestiality. However I am not of the opinion that Braude's argument that dissatisfaction among the populace over tithes can account for the inclusion of Abel's sacrifice in this miniature. Not only is the 'non-payer' of tithes—Cain—not shown, but as work created for the canons themselves, rather than the general public as Braude's capitals were, such a point would be irrelevant.

<sup>104</sup> Ruth Melinkoff, "Judas' red hair and the Jews," *Journal of Jewish Art* 9 (1982).

<sup>105</sup> Pearl F. Braude, "'Cokkel in oure Clene Corn': Some Implications of Cain's Sacrifice," *Gesta* 7 (1968).

<sup>106</sup> Oliver F. Emerson, "Legends of Cain, Especially in Old and Middle English," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 21 (1906).

Indeed, I would go so far as to say that few of the miniatures showing the sacrifice of the two brothers point to tithe disputes.

The preaching of the first crusade had led to outbursts of anti-Judaism, especially in the German lands, and it is possible that the popularity of depictions of Cain and Abel in the twelfth century had as much, or more, to do with this as the struggle about tithes—Jews were no longer exempt from paying tithes.<sup>107</sup> While of a later date than Add. 14788, about 1170,<sup>108</sup> the German version of *Chanson de Roland* is ‘einen Kampf der Gottesstreiter gegen Satan, dem die Heiden dienen.’<sup>109</sup> The version of the *Rolandslied* found in Heidelberg Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. Germ. 112 dates from the end of the twelfth century and shows Ganelon wearing a cap often found to denote a Jew.<sup>110</sup> Of greater relevance is the Oxford *Chanson de Roland*,<sup>111</sup> dating from the same period as Add. 14788. Its colophon states that the author is one Turolde;<sup>112</sup> if this is Turolde of Fécamp,<sup>113</sup> then the Bodleian manuscript is a copy of an older one, since Turolde died 1098. This attribution is supported by the fact that the work is written in Norman-French.<sup>114</sup> Fitz in his analysis of the position and rhetoric of Ganelon in the Bodleian manuscript describes Ganelon as ‘typologically Jewish.’<sup>115</sup> He suggests that the narrative of *Roland* ‘projects a new order of Christianity, which stands in relation to the pre-crusading order as the New Testament era to the Old Testament era.’<sup>116</sup> His argument makes clear that there is a stricter division between Christians and ‘others’—others being pagans, Jews and Saracens; the Chateauroux manuscript of *Roland* describes the Saracens as the ‘*lineage de Cain*.’<sup>117</sup> The relatively peaceful co-existence of Jews with Christians came to an end with the crusades. He concludes ‘Abel’s

<sup>107</sup> Braude, “‘Cokkel in oure Clene Corn’: Some Implications of Cain’s Sacrifice.”

<sup>108</sup> Wilfried Werner, *Cimelia Heidelbergensia. 30 illuminierte Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg ausgewählt und vorgestellt von Wilfried Werner* (Wiesbaden, 1975).

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Brewster E. Fitz, “Cain as Convict and Convert? Cross-cultural Logic in the Song of Roland,” *MLN* 113 (1998).

<sup>111</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library Ms Digby 23.

<sup>112</sup> *Ci fait la geste que Turoldeus declinet.*

<sup>113</sup> Later abbot of Malmesbury and Peterborough, described by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as ‘a very stern man’.

<sup>114</sup> For a reconstruction of the probable provenance of Ms Digby 23 see Andrew Taylor, “Was there a Song of Roland?” *Speculum* 76 (2001).

<sup>115</sup> Fitz, “Cain as Convict and Convert? Cross-cultural Logic in the Song of Roland,” p. 813.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid., p. 812.

<sup>117</sup> Ibid., p. 814.

death, Christ's death, Roland's death, *Pinabel's* death are all necessary to convict Cain and his lineage literally . . . to restore difference between pagan and Christian, and to convert and mark the new Cain with the sign of the *Croisade*.<sup>118</sup>

This excursion into the *chanson de geste* is to point out that the *Parc Bible* can be seen as a visual parallel of this line of thought. Adam and Eve are deceived by the rhetoric of the serpent, just as Charlemagne was induced to undertake the unwise action of accepting the word (and hostages) of the Saracens. Cain's murderous assault is the treachery of the 'other', the Jew, the more so since Cain was seen as a typological Judas, the ultimate betrayer. The lower centre medallion, the sacrifice of Abel prefigures Christ's sacrifice, made necessary by the actions of the others. While it would be far too extreme to say that Add. 14788 puts the burden of sin on the Jews, there is more than a touch of anti-Semitism in the treatment of the sacrifice and murder. While the Germanic lands are generally regarded as the hotbed of anti-Jewish feeling in the twelfth century, it is clear from the *Chanson* and other sources this was certainly not confined to this area. Such fear and animosity that was aroused by Jews can be exemplified by the case of the death of William of Norwich in 1144.<sup>119</sup> The *Parc Bible* miniature by no means exonerates Adam and Eve, but makes a complex web of causes of sin. Not only does weakness lie within one's self, but there are external temptations that must be guarded against: the devil and his minions—here explicitly Cain and his descendents—are out to undermine the Christian. Just as Cain slew Abel, the Jews were accused of the ritual slaying of William of Norwich and many others, just as the Jews slew Christ. In the same way the devil tries to slay the Christian soul. The depiction of the sacrifice of Abel only, and its position in relation to the two medallions above it, adds a note of optimism. Not only has Christ sacrificed himself to bring about salvation, but the positioning of the medallions show the central and pre-eminent position of Christianity: the left hand scenes show the fate of man under the Old Law, the right hand medallions show those who do not fall under God's law or reject it while the central medallions show the three aspects of the triune God, spirit, creator and sacrifice.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid., p. 822.

<sup>119</sup> For a consideration of this and the spread of such tales see John M. McCulloh, "Jewish ritual murder: William of Norwich, Thomas of Monmouth, and the early dissemination of the myth," *Speculum* 72 (1997).

3.4 *The Admont Bible, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. Ser. n 2701*

This manuscript is one of the giant bibles, and is sometimes known as the *Gebhardsbibel*. It is dated about 1140 and comes from a Salzburg scriptorium;<sup>120</sup> whether it was originally made for a Salzburg house is unknown. Marginal additions in the form of hymns suggest that it was intended for a Cistercian foundation and that of Heiligenkreuzen has been suggested.<sup>121</sup> In the late twelfth or early thirteenth century it was at the monastery of St. Peter in Csátár, Hungary.<sup>122</sup> Despite the name, *Gebhard's Bible*, it is impossible that it was donated to Admont by its founder, Gebhard, the politician so deeply involved in the investiture contest. Gebhard died about half a century before the making of the Bible. Cahn is of the opinion that the Bible donated by Gebhard to Admont was an Italian giant Bible, whose format may have influenced the two early giant bibles from Salzburg, the Admont Bible and the slightly earlier Michaelbeuern, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Perg. 1. The large size of the Admont Bible has given some doubt as to its function, whether it was used for the liturgy as well as for readings in the refectory. While the rule of Benedict stated that the *lectio continua* must be observed the huge format of the Admont Bible makes uncertain that it was taken from church to refectory.<sup>123</sup>

Welchen 'Wert' diese Bibeln [giant bibles] darüber hinaus als Emanation einer die Einheit der biblischen Bücher propagierenden kirchlichen Reformbewegung bzw. Als reliquienartig verehrtes Stiftungsgut, das mit den Anfängen der religiösen Gemeinschaft verbunden war, haben konnte, wurde schön angesprochen.

Welche Funktion die Admonter Bibel von Beginn an primär innehatte, lässt sich nicht mit Bestimmtheit entscheiden. Wie die oben genannten Beispiele fungierte auch sie sehr wahrscheinlich als Stiftungsexemplar, das jedoch keinen bestimmten Empfänger mit Sicherheit zugeordnet werden kann.

<sup>120</sup> Andreas Fingernagel, *Die illuminierten lateinischen Handschriften süd-, west- und nordeuropäischer Provenienz der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz: 4.-12. Jahrhundert; Teil 1. Text. Mit Nachträgen zu Bd. 1* (Wiesbaden, 1999).

<sup>121</sup> Andreas Fingernagel, "The Admont Giant Bible," in *In the beginning was the Word. The power and glory of illuminated bibles*, ed. A. Fingernagel and C. Gastgeber (Cologne, 2003).

<sup>122</sup> Cahn, *Die Bibel in der Romanik*, p. 258.

<sup>123</sup> Andreas Fingernagel, *Die Admonter Riesensibel, Wien, ÖNB, Cod. Ser. n. 2701 und 2702* (Graz, 2001).

Für den liturgischen Gebrauch bietet die sorgfältig redigierte Abschrift der Admonter Bibel jedenfalls alle Voraussetzungen. Im Vergleich zu anderen bibeln der Romantik... ist der bibeltext vollständig wiedergegeben.

The two Bibles now in Vienna and Michaelbeuern differ somewhat in their representations of creation. The Michaelbeuern manuscript, sometimes called the Walter Bible, shows the six days of creation as six separate scenes on f. 6r. Whatever Italian influence there may have been, the style is clearly derived from Ottonian miniatures. The work of the sixth day is unusual since it implies that this was the creation of both man and woman. Adam and Eve sit side by side on a rock gazing at a nimbed Logos who clutches a scroll in his left hand and makes a commanding gesture with his right. While it is possible that this could be seen as the instruction to be fruitful and multiply, the pronouncement of the prohibition on the eating of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, or even the giving of dominion, these interpretations seem unlikely. There is no suggestion of a tree or animals and certainly no pairs that would give strength to such ideas. It would seem that the creation of mankind is shown and that would be in keeping with the other scenes. In that case it would seem to be a rare example of the Genesis 1, 27 supplying the text—*et creavit Deus hominem ad imaginem suam ad imaginem Dei creavit illum masculum et feminam creavit eos*. This is no ‘hands-on’ creation—in all the scenes except the creation of birds and fishes everything appears at the word and gesture of God. Not only do Adam and Eve stand for the creation of mankind, but also for all mammals; no other animals appear as products of the sixth day. Is this, then, a pessimistic view that groups man with the animals even before the fall? I think this is not the case. I suspect that the exigencies of space and the interest in mankind dictated the exclusion of the animals. Surely a pessimistic vision would have found room for the fall.

The Admont Bible has a very different content of the creation miniature on f. 3v. (fig. 40) Like that of the Michaelbeuern manuscript, it is divided into six scenes. Here, though, the creation of plants, fish, birds and animals are conflated into a single scene. This makes room for a scene that was found in the longer Anglo-Saxon iconographic cycles and was to reappear in the cycles of the Prayer Book of St. Hildegard and *Hortus Deliciarum*—the fall of Lucifer. The examination of the creation miniature in the Admont Bible is made difficult by the amount of wear and damage it has suffered, more than other miniatures. Notes have been added to the psalter that make it clear that this

was a bible with a liturgical function, which could explain the general wear, but not the greater extent of damage to f. 3v.<sup>124</sup> It is also difficult to determine whether the miniature was completed. Unlike most of the other miniatures it does not have gold background, and the red underdrawing is an essential part of the miniature as it now is. In the other miniatures it is scarcely visible and only occasionally plays a role in defining contours or features. Particularly puzzling are the outlines of angels in the bottom corners of scenes two and three that have been painted over with the background colour, but are still clearly visible. The symmetry of the design of four angels, one at each corner seems obvious, but then why were they not painted at least as fully as the upper angels? The context rules out any suggestion of 'dark angels', and more specifically the treatment of Lucifer shows that fallen angels were portrayed as demons. It seems more than probable that for some reason the original design underwent modification during the application of colour. Why this was, without further research, can be matter for speculation only. However, one reason suggests itself: the use of angels viewing creation and varying with the number of days is attributed to the Cotton Genesis recension, and was certainly used later in the San Marco mosaics. We have seen that the Carolingian Bibles also showed angels viewing creation. I suggest that both Carolingian tradition and design led to the inclusion of the four angels in these two scenes, but possibly someone felt that these may lead to confusion with those representing the days of creation. Two angels flank the seat of God in the first scene, so perhaps it was felt that reducing the numbers to two in the following scenes would eliminate any confusion.

Due to damage and wear it is difficult to determine whether the Logos is bearded in most of the scenes, but in this scene there is no doubt he has a small somewhat straggly beard. I think it is therefore probable that the faint marks on his chin in other scenes represent a beard. Again the wear on the miniature makes all the changes difficult to determine, but robes and toga change colour with each scene. Certainly His halo undergoes transformations, from red to blue, to blue-green to gold (twice) and back to red. In this first scene He holds a large blue-green book in his left hand and He holds up his right hand in a gesture of command. On the left a winged and nimbed angel holds a blue-green

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<sup>124</sup> Andrea Fingernagel, 'The Admont Giant Bible,' p. 95.

orb in his left hand, his right held up, index finger extended, indicating God. On the right a similar angel holds up both hands and gazes at Lucifer who lies at his feet. This figure lies face down at the extreme lower right. It has much in common with the Anglo-Saxon devils and ultimately those of the Utrecht, having five horny spikes of hair. It raises its upper body on its elbows, but is only visible as far as the top of the thighs. In this way, just as in Junius 11 and the Old English *Hexateuch*, the creation of the world and the existence of mankind are attributable to the fall of Lucifer; this scene places man in a wider context. Not only is the creation of the world shown, but the reason for this creation. This speaks against the ideas of Anselm and his vision of man's place in God's scheme. Here man and his world are created as a direct response to Lucifer's rebellion. The scene does more than place man as the potential successor to the fallen angels, it creates from the very beginning the prospect of evil. Evil is already in existence and a potential threat to the new-made world and to mankind. Since this is a creation miniature this could also be conflated with the separation of light and dark, as this was a common theme—Lucifer symbolising the dark while the two angels on either side of God represent light. The following scenes deal with the days of creation, the final scene being the creation of man.

In this mankind is represented by Eve, and the event is watched by a deer, a cow and a sheep, peering from behind a tree on the extreme left. Above, a winged and nimbed angel watches from heaven. The Logos stands holding up his left hand, before a sleeping Adam. Adam sits rather than lies or reclines, his head resting on his left hand. The Logos reaches out with his right hand and grasps the wrist of Eve. She seems to float up out of Adam's side from under his arm, emerging as far as her thighs. She looks up at the Logos, arching her body backwards to do so. Again Eve is seen as a removable part of Adam, a part that is not shaped or called into being by the Logos, but called forth by him to lead a separate existence. He draws her out of the sleeping male, almost like a conjuror pulling a rabbit from a hat. This quality, almost a magical quality, is seen in other scenes of the creation of Eve. While she is frequently drawn forth by the Logos holding her wrist, in at least two manuscripts, Harley 4772, f. 5r, and the Danish manuscript now in Berlin, Theol. lat. fol. 149, f. 3r, the Logos brandishes Adam's rib, rather like a magician's wand, and causes Eve to emerge from Adam. Eve is called forth and made visible: an element of mankind is known to God, Who makes this known to the reader. This female element is



revealed as both existing and separable. This contrasts with the immediate revelation of both male and female in the Michaelbeueren manuscript and the earlier works in which Eve is shown as a secondary but independent creation. Abelard described Adam as being 'at once her [Eve's] husband and father,'<sup>125</sup> thus her origin, but separate from her. Abelard use of 'parentum' may seem in contradiction to the idea that Eve was a part of Adam that was removed, but is in fact analogous. The view of the parts played by the sexes in conception was that the female provides the stuff (menstrual blood), while the man supplied the form or soul. Mankind is both soul and body and the division is here made apparent. The fact that the Logos draws the female out of the male can be regarded not only as a divine sanction of the separation, but a positive command.

#### 4. *The Attitude to Sin in the Late Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries*

To what extent can these four manuscripts be described as typical and in how far do they agree with written sources of the period? What shifts in attitude, if any, can be seen? The manuscripts of this third cluster are far less homogeneous than the two previous clusters. In the first cluster all the manuscripts originated in the lands of Charles the Bald and were in some way connected with his court, while in the second cluster the Anglo-Saxon influence was strong, and all were products of the monastic reform movement. The manuscripts presently under consideration can again be described as products of reform movements, but the emphasis is on the plural, and their geographic origins stretch across Europe—Salzburg, Dijon, Leuven to St. Albans. Their original owners vary too; the Bible of St. Bénigne and probably the Admont Bible were intended for Benedictine monasteries, the Parc Bible for a Premonstratensian house and the St. Albans Psalter for a female anchorite. In itself this diversity implies a wider concern for the subject, and this is reinforced by the different contexts. The St. Albans Psalter's miniature has no direct relation with the text; that of the Bible of St. Bénigne rests on a complex theological and typological basis; Add. 14788 has a direct relation to the text, while that of the Admont

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<sup>125</sup> *Tam virum quam parentem*. Peter Abelard, 'In assumptioni beatae Mariae', *Sermones ad virgines Paracletenses in oratorio ejus constitutiones*, PL 178: 542D.

Bible is an introductory miniature depicting the opening matter of the text. There is little variation in the scenes of the creation of Eve, and the interpretations and implications have already been discussed. Interesting is the chief deviation found among the fall miniatures: this is the role played by the devil in the St. Albans Psalter: this can be linked directly to the emphasis given to Satan both visually and verbally in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, but it can also relate to the 'female' as being weaker and more prone to sin. While it is possible that the Satan plus serpent figure apparently relates to the text in Timothy that woman was deceived, the fact that Eve looks directly into the eyes of the serpent combined with the iconographic programme of the St. Albans Psalter make this unlikely. I suggest that this is more akin to the scenes of the creation of Eve where the weakness that can lead to sin is made visible. In all these cases there is an acknowledgement of temptation, weakness, and the imperatives of the body and the world are not denied, but revealed so that the reader may be forewarned and so forearmed. In other manuscripts, such as the Admont Bible and the Tournai manuscript mentioned below, the fall of Lucifer is brought into relationship with the creation of the world, but also acts as a reminder of the evil in the world. The St. Albans Psalter expresses this evil and its threat to mankind more directly, making it conceptually a descendent of Junius 11.

The special and close relationship between man and his Creator has vanished. Mankind is now a part of creation as a whole. Perhaps the only expression of the 'hands on' Creator is to be found in the late eleventh century Lobbes Bible.<sup>126</sup> (fig. 41) In this the six days of creation are shown from the bottom, with the cross-nimbed Logos shown resting on the seventh. Interestingly, like the Admont Bible, the creation of the world is linked to the fall of Lucifer, who is shown tumbling from the bottom of the initial. Here the work of the sixth day is represented by various animals that look on while the Logos grips Adam by the shoulders. Adam is bearded and looks his Creator in the eye, his arms spread out before him. The way in which the two figure lean towards each other, the closeness of their heads, give an impression of intimacy and the special relationship between man and God. Here again, we can see the importance of recognition, not of the weakness and sensuality of man, but of this special relationship. Adam

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<sup>126</sup> Tournai, Bibliothèque du Séminaire Ms 1, f. 6r.

recognises, knows and acknowledges his God, while the Logos, by his tender bearing, displays the special place this creature will play in his plans. This tender attitude differs from that in the ninth century works, where man and God were shown as partners, albeit unequal partners in a social contract. Here, despite the fact that Adam is bearded and the Logos is not, the relationship depicted is far more that of a parent and child. This affectionate bearing contrasts with the commanding attitude of the Logos in the slightly later manuscripts of the first half of the twelfth century when Eve represents the creation of mankind. The creation of Eve is hinted at by the rib held in the left hand of the Logos, behind Adam's head. Does this imply that man is unaware, at this point, of the weakness in him? The twisting, falling Lucifer reminds the reader that evil still exists. Again there is the idea that the devil represents darkness and that the separation of light and darkness was synonymous with the fall of the devil. The devil here shows many of the characteristics of earlier representations of death or demons. His spindly body and legs stem from the demons of the Utrecht Psalter, the tail and claws are reminiscent of the *Mors* in the Leofric Missal, and his heavy features come from the giant death of the Utrecht. The twisting, almost misforming, brought about by the fall brings to mind the falling angels of Junius 11 and the Old English Hexateuch. The placing of the figure sets it outside creation, but still touching on it. The Lobbes Bible can be seen as a transition not only between the time when the creation of man was represented by Adam, but a period of greater distance between God and man and the closer relationship between God and the individual.<sup>127</sup>

The special relationship is reserved for God as Redeemer, the loving and forgiving God who claims those who are penitent and continually struggle to follow him, despite occasional backsliding. The relationship now is not between mankind and God, but between the individual and God. Man's responsibility for the state of his soul is just as great as it was a century earlier, but he is less severe with himself. He recognises

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<sup>127</sup> The slightly later Bible of Stephen Harding, Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale Ms 14, 1109–1111, has on f. 76r an initial that shows the creation of Adam. The shaping aspect is very apparent in the way in which the Logos moulds the knee of Adam who sits in the mud from which he is made. However, the loving relationship between man and his Maker is not expressed here. Both figures concentrate on the act of shaping. Nor can we regard this as the work of the sixth day, since this is not a creation miniature in the sense of the others we have considered in this chapter, but the opening to the descenders of Adam (Conflation chapters 5 and 10 of the Vulgate Genesis).

his shortcomings and trusts God to forgive and help those who truly try to follow his ways. The relationship is no longer that of a feudal lord and his vassal, a question of loyalty and mutual obligation, but that of a loving parent who can forgive the lapses of a child, and will help and raise that child. Perhaps the conflicting loyalties between Church and state revealed by the investiture contest, when both Pope and Emperor claimed to speak for God, increased the tendency to regard religion and the relationship with God as personal and individual, at least among those seeking spiritual comfort and salvation.

The miniatures deal more kindly with Eve than those of the previous cluster. She is no longer a seductress, delighting in her power and sexuality. She is by no means absolved and the sexual connotations remain, the tail of the serpent that winds between her legs in the Bible of St. Bénigne is a good example. The rather less hostile attitude to women reflects a general attitude:<sup>128</sup>

In the late eleventh and early twelfth century women played a larger role in the life of the church than at any other time in its history except, perhaps, for the fourth and fifth centuries. Women from all ranks of society not only supported religious institutions but also participated in activities that in other periods were regarded as the prerogative of men... Many respected churchmen were on familiar terms with holy women, and a few daring male and female hermits lived together in a chaste union known as syneisactism. Women at this time were regarded (among other by Abelard) as spiritually (though not physically) equal to men and had high prestige as visionaries.

The miniatures are more conservative than this picture painted by Constable: Eve was absolved from deliberate malice and wanton sexuality but shown still as weak and prone to sin. Occasionally she was given a place by Adam's side, such as in the Michaelbeueren miniature or in the Worms Bible<sup>129</sup> where the creation of Eve is the counterpoint to the *Fiat Lux* medallion and the Logos holds a banderol with a paraphrase of the words from Genesis 2, 18—*non est bonum esse hominem solem faciamus ei adiutorium similem sui*. Such writers as Abelard were influential and, in some circles, highly regarded, but his unorthodox notions were shocking to many. I would suggest that while the average cleric or monk may have been less savage in his distrust of the female than a century

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<sup>128</sup> Giles Constable, "Women and the reformation of the twelfth century" (paper presented at the Admont und die Renaissance des 12. Jahrhunderts, Admont, 2002).

<sup>129</sup> London, BL, Ms, Harley 2803.

earlier, he still regarded women and sexuality as deeply disturbing. As we have seen, the idea of Christ as mother, or even bishop or abbot as mother, was never part of the visual vocabulary of the period. The spiritual qualities of the religious and chaste woman, whether nun, wife or mother, were acknowledged, but the 'female' weakness, the lure of the senses and the demands of the body were recognised and faced. Women remained a danger. Those chaste incidents of syneisactism mentioned by Constable and other chaste unions were a means of testing resolution and chastity, which meant that the pull of sexual feeling was recognised. We have only to look at Christina of Markyate to see how the struggle was regarded and how much of a triumph it was to be able to resist this particular form of temptation. The awareness of sexuality was not diminished, perhaps it was even increased, by this open acknowledgment.

The following can only be regarded as highly speculative but may perhaps explain why some of the burden of guilt and blame was lifted from the shoulders of Eve. Mention has already been made of the anti-Judaism that accompanied and followed the first crusade. However there is a marked increase in the incidents of the depiction of the murder of Abel by Cain. The subject had been part of the larger narrative cycles and, as we saw, it was included as one of the few Old Testament subjects in the Odbert Psalter. This period saw it taken up into the Genesis initials and miniatures, linking it firmly with the fall. The scene in the *Parc Bible* has already been discussed but this was certainly not a solitary case. The scene appears on f. 7r of Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 1 as part of the Genesis initial. In this miniature the axis is the cherub with the sword that divides the upper two scenes from the lower. In the top scene a cross-nimbed Logos, standing on an orb on which a T map is drawn, presents Eve to Adam. Under is the scene of the fall, in which the fruit is clearly no longer a fig, but an apple. Two fruits are shown, one held by each of the human pair and that of Eve having been bitten into. This is one of the miniatures that hint at sexuality as cause for the fall, by bringing the movement of the eye from the dragon-headed serpent to Eve's genital area. The cherub demarcates the time before and after the expulsion. It is interesting that neither the creation of mankind nor the expulsion is shown, but the miniature gives a great degree of emphasis to Cain and Abel. In the sacrifice scene there is little difference between the brothers, but the final scene shows a brutalised Cain in the act of murder. Here the difference in size and copious blood lend an air of horror. Cain's skin

has been darkened and his hair is now reddish instead of the blond of the previous scene, he sports a beard and his features have been coarsened.

The curious page from the *Homilies of St. Basil* made for St. Lambert's Abbey, Liessies, like the Parc Bible, shows Cain with red hair.<sup>130</sup> This page is very different from other works and as such deserves some consideration, if only to add another dimension to the more typical works and to perhaps throw a light on the complex attitude to guilt and sin in this period. The abbey was founded in 790 but fell into disuse. In 1095 Theodric of Avenes, on whose land it stood, brought Benedictine monks to reopen the abbey. The page dates from roughly the first half century after this and before its period of greatest renown in the thirteenth century, nevertheless it is a work of considerable refinement. In style it is similar to the better-known Liessies Gospels of 1148, both works being notable for their symmetry, careful drawing and calm design. The Paris page is clearly unfinished, but there is sufficient to reveal an unusual emphasis in the iconography. (fig. 42) On the left St. Basil stands, a book in his left hand, while the crosier in his right hand bores through the mouth of the devil on which he stands. Next to this is a large miniature consisting chiefly of linked medallions, some still empty and the majority incomplete. At the top of the central section the cross-nimbed Logos stands hands outspread; at his feet is the tree of life filled with fruit, with under the personifications of the four rivers of paradise. Moving downwards there are two sets of double doors, one over the other, and between them an angel brandishing a sword in his right hand and holding the heavy chain that links the locks on the two sets of doors. Once again we have the angel marking where earth and paradise divide. At the bottom of the central section is a most curious scene. It is set in a quatrefoil shape and in the uppermost part we see the bust of the nimbed God. In his hands is an unwritten banderol that curves over a tree and down to the knees of the two figures sitting on the curves at either side of the quatrefoil. The tree bears fruit and round its trunk winds a fat, pink, stomp-head serpent, its head towards the woman seated on the right. If this is a fall scene, it is very unusual: both the man on the left and the woman on the right are fully clothed and neither touches a fruit. This is one of the least finished parts of the miniature, and it is possible that text on the banderol would throw

<sup>130</sup> Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Ms. 12 (single leaf).

some light on its significance. As it is, we can only try to interpret this from its context in the miniature as a whole. On either side of the central column of scenes there are seven roundels, alternating red and blue backgrounds. The lower six of these concern Adam and Eve's life after they have left paradise. Eve is shown in two of these, Adam in three and they both appear in one. Notably they are not dressed as in the bottom centre scene, but simply in loincloths. In the lowest two Eve is shown cutting a plant, while Adam fells a tree. Above these Adam shapes wood and Eve grinds corn: in the last two Adam works the stony earth and they both work to build a shelter, Adam using a drill and Eve a mallet. This is clearly an unusual and extensive depiction of the labours of the first parents. The next two miniatures show on the left God accepting the sacrifices of Abel and Cain, and Cain's murder of Abel. The two miniatures above these are very similar. In both, the cross-nimbed Logos stands before a man, and they hold a banderol between them. The right-hand roundel from the text on the banderol is clearly God commanding Noah to build the ark, and this is born out by the last four scenes which show the building of the ark, the placing of the animals on board, the sending of the dove and finally the return of the dove with the olive twig. In my opinion the left hand roundel with the blank banderol is God putting the mark on Cain and ordering his banishment. In the two Cain and Abel scenes Cain is shown with red hair, as is the figure in this scene. Furthermore his pose is that of Cain in the scene below. The pose of the Logos in the two banderol scenes is, at first sight, identical, but close examination shows that in the right hand scenes he has two fingers outstretched in a gesture of command, while in the left hand scene there is only one finger, giving an impression of accusation.

The two outer columns deal with life after paradise, the hard work, the first crime, the increasing sin that causes the flood, but it also shows God's mercy in giving second chances. Adam and Eve have to work hard, but they succeed in making for themselves food and shelter: and the earth and the human race survives because of God's command to Noah. In the light of this we can look at the two figures at the bottom centre scene again. They each clasp their wrist with their other hand. This, I think, is not to denote indecision, but restraint. The male and female there can indeed be seen as Adam and Eve beyond paradise, but they are also man and woman in the world. They are the inheritors of both human weakness and God's grace, but whether they accept the latter is their decision. As in other works the weakness, and, in this

case, the sinfulness of human nature is recognised—as is temptation, shown in the form of the serpent. Knowledge and acknowledgement of this is their defence, knowing they can be on their guard and literally hold their hand.

In the manuscripts of this period Eve is dealt with, if not kindly, less severely. There is a new emphasis on Cain's crime. It has been mentioned in the previous chapter that Cain's crime was thought by some to be the decisive factor in the fall of man. It is possible that this new interest in showing the first murder shows a shift in the apportioning of guilt. Cain was identified as the archetypal Jew and this was linked, not only to the incidents described in Genesis 3, but brought into connection with the crucifixion of Christ. This is made clear in the account Thomas of Monmouth wrote in 1149–1150 of the slaying of William of Norwich and is taken up in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.<sup>131</sup>

In his [King Stephen's] time, the Jews of Norwich brought a Christian child before Easter and tortured him with all the torture that our Lord was tortured with; and on Good Friday hanged him on a cross on account of our Lord, and then buried him.

This accusation of ritual murder was a new phenomenon and 'the accusation at Norwich was an independent creation, and the myth which inspired deadly attacks against Jews for centuries to come was an expression of the distinctive culture of twelfth century Europe.'<sup>132</sup> Langmuir credits the myth of Jewish ritual sacrifice to Thomas of Monmouth and his desire to serve William of Norwich for his own salvation. Thomas extended the complot to murder a Christian youth to Europe. He claimed to have heard from the Jew, Theobald of Cambridge, that Spanish Jews met each year in Narbonne to decide in which place the ritual sacrifice to show their contempt of Christ and to revenge themselves for their marginal position should take place. In 1144 this place was Norwich and all the synagogues in England knew of it.<sup>133</sup> It seems on the face of it that such wild tales would find little credence, but clearly they did so and this implies a willingness to believe and a general anti-Semitic tendency already in place. This seems to have spread with

<sup>131</sup> Dorothy Whitelock, ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (London, 1960).

<sup>132</sup> Gavin Langmuir, "Thomas of Monmouth: Detector of Ritual Murder," *Speculum: A Journal of Mediaeval Studies* 59 (1984).

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 835.



the first crusade: Epstein finds traces of anti-Semitism in Macedonia and attributes it to the crusader influence.<sup>134</sup> There was a dichotomy in attitudes to the Jews; theoretically Jews were tolerated in canon law, and here we can think of the *Decretum Gratiani* of c. 1140.<sup>135</sup>

The concept of *tolerantia* was chiefly developed as an answer to the question of how ecclesiastical authorities should deal with the practices of Jewish religion. Jewish rites were considered an evil that had to be tolerated; the major evil that was thus prevented was the forced conversion of the Jews, for conversion to Christianity had to be a matter of free will... The same arguments for tolerance applied to other unbelievers, notably Muslims. Canon law mostly treated Jews and Muslims under the same heading...

This attitude compares with much of what happened in practice during the early twelfth century. Writing of those setting forth on the first crusade Richard, a monk of Cluny wrote:<sup>136</sup>

Yet before proceeding thither (to the Holy Land) they crushed the Jews through almost all of Gaul, except those who wished to be baptised, in great slaughter. For indeed, those who had taken up arms against the rebels of Christ... said that it would be unjust that they should permit the enemies of Christ to live in their own land.

The attitude to Jews is also linked to a fear of sexuality and abhorrence of bodily functions. Guibert of Nogent expresses his revulsion for such matters, particularly in respect of Jewish and Muslim bodies. 'This is not surprising given the widespread importance of the body as a locus for the expression of medieval anti-Semitic ideas and sentiments.'<sup>137</sup> Guibert relates several incidents that connect Judaism to sex and sexual perversion, from a monk, under the influence of a Jewish doctor making a libation to the devil of his own sperm and tasting the same, to the 'Judaizing' Jean of Soissons who kept holy vigils only to rape women coming to make their own vigils.<sup>138</sup> Sexuality and sexual

<sup>134</sup> Ann Wharton Epstein, "Frescoes of the Mavriotissa Monastery near Kastoria: Evidence of Millenarianism and Anti-Semitism in the Wake of the First Crusade," *Gesta* 21 (1982).

<sup>135</sup> Istvan Bejczy, "Tolerantia: A Medieval Concept," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 58 (1997).

<sup>136</sup> Cited Epstein, "Frescoes of the Mavriotissa Monastery near Kastoria: Evidence of Millenarianism and Anti-Semitism in the Wake of the First Crusade."

<sup>137</sup> Steven F. Kruger, "Medieval Christian (Dis)identifications: Muslims and Jews in Guibert of Nogent," *New Literary History* 28 (1997).

<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

temptation was linked to Jews, perhaps thereby, in a period of extreme anti-Judaism, taking some of the blame for such sin from women and redirecting to the Jew. Jews, in Guibert's work, present a vague but omnipresent menace. Not only are they perverse in themselves, but their malevolence drives them to try to seduce the Christian. Black magic, perverted sex, dubious medical practices were all attributed to the Jews. Kruger sees Guibert's anti-Semitism as a means of reaffirming Christian identity. This can be taken a step further by considering the place of the 'other' in medieval life and iconography. Borrowing the concept of the 'other' from anthropology, the almost ritual banishment of sections of the community that are 'different'—sodomites, prostitutes and Jews—can be seen as helping to define what a Christian was, by setting him against what he is not. This argument can also apply to women, or the female. Medieval Christian society was male orientated. Most theological and didactic works were by men, and most often celibate men. For them, women were the 'other', but more than that, female meant the weakness that the Christian must overcome. By associating sin, sexuality and femaleness these elements could be put together to create not just a scapegoat, some thing to blame for man's sinful condition, but a defined area that could be seen and recognised and therefore guarded against. This female element was not confined to women, and women could aspire to become 'men in their souls.' In the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries women as individuals and positive female qualities were recognised as having great worth. Their intrinsic weakness and the 'female' in everyone remained something to guard against, but at the same time there arose the wave of anti-Jewish feeling. Whether the two were connected is impossible to say, but I suggest that as a result of both, for a time at least, the Jew took over some of the burden of guilt laid on Eve.

The burdened Jew was quite literally depicted in this period. Gaston IV Le Croise, one of the more prominent crusaders, began the building of the cathedral of Oloron-Ste-Marie about 1102 after his return from the Holy Land. The most famous part of the church is the troumeau of the portal held up by the two 'enchainés'. Perhaps because of the crusader connection these have been identified as Saracens. However, consideration of their clothing points to them being Jews.<sup>139</sup> If the

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<sup>139</sup> Jean and C. Roux Pardies, *L'art Roman a Oloron-Sainte-Marie* (Oloron-Sainte-Marie, 1973).

Oloron figures are compared to those of the severely damaged troumeau of Arles cathedral we can see a strong resemblance in attitude. Arles has four figures supporting the column, none of whom could be mistaken for Moors or Saracens. It is more than possible that the heavy features of the Oloron figures have misled people into seeing negroid facial characteristics: however the heavy or brutalised features seem to be a general mark of evil and given to any enemy of Christ. In these publicly available sculptures a particular enemy of Christ, the Jew, is marked out and undergoes the punishment of supporting Christ's edifice. The 'other' is identified, his fate made apparent and that can act as a warning to all those who would be seduced by the presumed wiles of the Jews. The Jews presented an obvious and topical scapegoat: Jews and Muslims were brought under one heading, that of a defeated enemy. Jerusalem was in Christian hands, but the crusader kingdoms were under pressure and, as every government knows, one of the most effective ways to engender enthusiasm for a war is to brutalised and dehumanise the enemy, to pile blame on him.

The miniatures we have discussed bring Cain's role to the forefront and by giving him red hair he is clearly identified with the Jews. The early twelfth century miniatures do not show Eve as deliberately seductive, but they do show the violence attributed to the Jew. Eve and 'female' weakness are not absolved from blame, nor is Adam shown as guiltless, but their fall is given in a relatively straightforward manner. In some miniatures the role of the devil is emphasised, both as the cause of creation and as the existent evil in the world. To a large extent the miniatures reflect what was written in texts of the time, the kinder attitude towards women and 'femaleness', the anti-Judaism, the general feeling of optimism and the recognition of human weakness. The chief discrepancy is the relationship between man and God. The texts show this to be loving, individual and private, basically a parent-child relationship. The miniatures show a distant God, one that creates by the power of the word, and then retires, or appears only as a judge. In my opinion this is the result of the change of emphasis from God the Creator to God the Redeemer, when the tenderness of the texts is expressed in the scenes of the crucifixion and lends itself far better to private and intimate devotion. God the Redeemer is the God of the individual. God the Creator is the God of mankind.

### 5. *Death in the Late Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries*

The early eleventh century's ambivalent attitude towards death developed in various ways in the following decades. The optimism displayed in the Uta Codex remained, but found new forms, or rather, it adapted older ones. However, this was tempered with warnings that often took a form similar to a triumph over death, but showed the uncertainty of this triumph. The demonic quotient increased still further, as did the ties with sin and hell. Indeed, at first glance the visual personifications seem to be fully oppositional and horrific. Of the two basic anthropomorphic types found in the earlier decades the demonic becomes dominant, while the dragon makes a re-appearance in a different context. Whatever form death takes, it combines the aspects of sin and horror with hope and humanity. Versions of the *super aspidem* motif dominate, but this shows two complementary trends, tending to take this further from Christ, and tying death ever more closely with sin. The dragon is the most common form of the creature trampled upon, but other beasts and demons are found, and in one case human figures.<sup>140</sup> In proportion, the number of manuscripts with a figure that can be seen as death at the foot of the cross is very much smaller. In general during this period the chalice, either at the foot of the cross or held by Ecclesia, is used as a symbol of eternal life, rather than the defeated figure of death. Occasionally the snake or dragon and the chalice are found in combination, such as on f. 35r of a manuscript in the Vatican.<sup>141</sup> In place of a dragon or serpent, the cross impales a medallion in which is found a demon on f. 77r of a manuscript in Berlin.<sup>142</sup> The increased optimism of the period is shown in the fact that once again the dead rising from their graves are depicted under the cross. This can now be combined with a reference to the harrowing of hell, since in some manuscripts Adam, no longer a symbol of mortal man and death, but the first father, is explicitly named.<sup>143</sup> The number of illustrated apocalypse manuscripts is never great, and in this period is confined to Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms Bodley 352 and *Liber Floridus*. The oldest known copy of the latter, generally thought to be the autograph version, is in the University Library, Ghent. However the miniature of

<sup>140</sup> London, British Library Ms Lansdowne 383, f. 108r.

<sup>141</sup> Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica Regina Ms latino 12.

<sup>142</sup> Berlin, Staatliche Kupferstichkabinet Ms 78.A.1.

<sup>143</sup> E.g. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Ms Lat.qu.198, p. 320.

the four horsemen of the apocalypse is missing in the Ghent manuscript, so here the Wolfenbüttel manuscript, which is fairly faithful to the older version and still lies within the period under consideration, will be examined.<sup>144</sup> The figure of death disappears almost completely from the harrowing of hell scenes. It is still to be found on f. 24r of the Winchester Psalter.<sup>145</sup> This shows Christ, accompanied by a winged and nimbed angel, bringing forth Adam, as the first of the fathers, from the hell mouth, while Eve clutching the *crux hastata* looks on. Three figures lie at the entrance to the hell mouth, a large bound figure with cloven hooves that can be identified as Satan, a second darker and rather bear-like figure, which if we consider *Nicodemeus*, must be Hades, and finally a small serpent. This serpent is trampled under Christ's feet and is thereby identifiable as death. In the St. Albans Psalter, p. 49, we see Satan bound and three small, dark demons standing on the hell mouth, looking over their shoulder in dismay as Christ leads forth the fathers. It is impossible to distinguish any of these as death and in my opinion they must be regarded as generic demons.

### 5.1 *The Dragon Defeated*

For the first time we can say that there is a dominant image of death, that of a dragon being trampled upon. This can take the classical form of Christ trampling on the beasts, but other and varied forms are used.<sup>146</sup> In considering these forms we must take into consideration how the defeated figure is portrayed and whether it is conflated with or elided to other forms that alter or modify the reading. This period saw an enormous proliferation of the defeated dragon: it is the most common beast trampled, sometimes two together,<sup>147</sup> but other beasts are to be found,<sup>148</sup> as are human figures and demons or devils.<sup>149</sup> As well as being intrinsic to the original *super aspidem* motif the use of the dragon had both pragmatic and decorative value in this period. The great increase in the use of inhabited and historiated initials enabled artists to fully exploit the possibilities of imaginary beasts. In many

<sup>144</sup> Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf I Gud lat. 1.2.

<sup>145</sup> London, British Library Ms Cotton Nero CIV.

<sup>146</sup> Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale Ms 295, f. 30v and New York, Pierpont Morgan Library Ms 641 f. 66v.

<sup>147</sup> Orleans, Bibliothèque Municipale Ms 13, p. 112.

<sup>148</sup> Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale Ms 169, f. 81r.

<sup>149</sup> Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts Ms 12 (single leaf).

cases these are purely decorative, but the theological significance of various animals and birds also meant that they could be used to add another dimension to an initial. The dragon was especially suitable for forming the tail of the letter Q and being shown beneath the feet of either a sitting or standing figure. Long tails and necks enabled them to be twisted or entwined to form other letters or to be almost hidden in, or indeed part of, elaborate vines or foliage.

In this period Christ as victor over the dragon of death loses ground to other figures claiming that victory. The most common of these are saints<sup>150</sup> or Bible personages such as David,<sup>151</sup> closely followed by the archangel Michael. The depictions of Michael give rise to a number of questions. Firstly, while a number of these can be seen as truly trampling on the dragon—and spearing it—others show only Michael slaying the beast, such as in the earlier Tiberius Psalter. In such depictions as Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms 321, f. 29v we can speak of a variation on the classic theme. (fig. 43) In other works Michael slays the dragon, but does not trample it as can be seen in the initial A to the Apocalypse in the Bible of Stephen Harding.<sup>152</sup> (fig. 44) The question is how far can such depictions be regarded as the defeat of death? The obvious connection is with both the apocalyptic struggle with the beast as described in Revelation 12, and the earlier struggle in which Lucifer was cast out of heaven. However, the iconography does not fit exactly with either of these. Traditionally the fall of Lucifer shows a demonic figure and his followers being thrown down from heaven, as we have seen in both Junius 11 and the Old English Hexateuch. Perhaps somewhat closer to the initials considered here is a Mont St. Michel manuscript of the very late tenth century.<sup>153</sup> This shows the archangel spearing Satan, a figure clearly derived from the demons of the Utrecht Psalter, but this is not part of either the apocryphal account or the fall of Lucifer. Instead it is a presentation frontispiece in which the monk Gelduin offers the work to the monastery's patron saint. In this it is outside the narrative context and takes on the purely metaphorical meaning of the defeat of evil, and can, perhaps, be regarded as a step towards the initials of the later period. The various dragons defeated by Michael do not conform

<sup>150</sup> Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale Ms 537, f. 59r.

<sup>151</sup> London, British Library Ms Lansdowne 382, f. 57r.

<sup>152</sup> Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale Ms 15, f. 125r.

<sup>153</sup> Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale Ms 50, f. 1r.

either to traditional iconography or the description in Revelation as a being red, with seven heads, ten horns and seven diadems<sup>154</sup>—the traditional iconography frequently omits the diadems. Nevertheless, these scenes—mostly initials—would seem to refer to Revelation 12.7 and 9.<sup>155</sup> Perhaps the reference to the dragon being the great serpent, who is the devil and Satan, gave the early twelfth century artists the freedom to use the idea and expand upon it, conflating it with Revelation 13.8 and the second beast to which the dragon gave his strength and was worshipped by all those who were not inscribed in the book of life.<sup>156</sup> The connexion between death and the first beast that persecuted the seed of the Woman Clothed in the Sun seems to have been made earlier with the Leofric *Mors*, and, as noted earlier, this was very much the eschatological death, the death of the soul.<sup>157</sup>

The traditional Christ trampling the beasts is still to be found in such manuscripts as Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms 295, f. 30v, but other elements creep in. On f. 305v of the *Livre Noir* we find a figure seated with two dragons under him.<sup>158</sup> In spite of the fact that this is a book of saints' lives, the figure must be identified as God, if not specifically Christ. The crosier and the plain nimbus could point to a bishop, but the mandorla and the arc upon which the figure sits tilt the balance of probability to this being a depiction of God. One of the most curious of the Christ versions is to be found on f. 108r of the Shaftesbury Psalter.<sup>159</sup> (fig. 45) This shows a double Godhead, two figures both cross-nimbed and bearded, the smaller seated on the knee of the larger and holding an orb. The larger figure holds a bannered *crux hastata* and both figures sit on an arc with their feet resting on three human figures under them, the *crux hastata* piercing the eye of the nearest. Two of these recumbent figures are crowned and the third wears a rich robe. The British Library declares this iconography to be the Pantocrator and Christ at the harrowing of hell with kings,

<sup>154</sup> *draco magnus rufus habens capita septem et cornua decem et in capitibus suis septem diademata*. Revelation 12.3.

<sup>155</sup> *et factum est proelium in caelo Michael et angeli eius proeliabantur cum dracone et draco pugnabat et angeli eius . . . et proiectus est dracoille magnus serpens antiquitus qui vocatur Diabolus et Satanas qui seducit universum orbem proiectus est in terram et angeli eius cum illo missi sunt.*

<sup>156</sup> *Et adorabunt eum omnes qui inhabitant terram quorum non sunt scripta nomina in libro vitae agni qui occasisus est ab origine mundi.*

<sup>157</sup> See preceding chapter.

<sup>158</sup> Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale Ms 1406, f. 305v.

<sup>159</sup> London BL Ms Lansdowne 383.

a heretic or Judas at their feet.<sup>160</sup> This is understandably brief, but seems to me to be more and less complex than the initial warrants. In many ways it is a very literal visual representation of psalm 109 that it illustrates. The two Christ figures with their hierarchical size distinction are clearly an expression of *Dixit Dominus Domino meo sede a dextris meis* while the three figures are *inimicos tuos* who are made into a footstool. These enemies and the orb surely refer to *dominare in medio inimicorum tuorum* and *confregit in die irae suae reges*. However, it is difficult to see how this could refer to the harrowing of hell, other than the trampling on death motif, but the British Library identifies the recumbent figures as kings and a heretic or Judas, not as death. A further objection is that the larger Christ holding the *crux hastata*, traditionally associated with the harrowing, and impaling the eye of the foremost crouching form, is the speaker, with the smaller Christ on his right and clearly intended to be the ruler. Psalm 109 can, however, be seen as a reference to the last judgement, depictions of which were beginning to be popular in the twelfth century. In this sense the figures under the feet of the two Christs can be seen as suffering eternal death, but not as that death itself.<sup>161</sup> A curious factor is the insistence on the royal status of two of the figures. Kauffmann has pointed out the proliferation of royal regalia in the Shaftesbury Psalter, but this is presented as a positive factor and related to God and the Virgin.<sup>162</sup> Kauffmann suggests that the Shaftesbury Psalter is, in fact, a copy of a manuscript made for the nuns of Shaftesbury Abbey and intended for Queen Adeliza.<sup>163</sup> It is possible, but unlikely that the two defeated kings could refer to her own unhappy relations with her husband Henry I and his successor Stephen. The theme of the initial is not entirely new. A forerunner can be found a century or so earlier in Ælfwine's Prayer Book where on f. 75v we find the famous depiction of the 'Quinity'.<sup>164</sup> The figures of the two aspects of Christ are augmented by those of the Virgin with the Christ Child on her knee, and the Dove of the Holy Spirit perching

<sup>160</sup> <http://www.collectbritain.co.uk/personalisation/object.cfm>.

<sup>161</sup> *Iudicabit in nationibus implebit cadavera conquassabit capita in terra multorum.*

*De torrente in via bibet propterea exaltabit caput.* He shall judge among nations, he shall fill ruins: he shall crush the heads in the land of the many.

<sup>162</sup> C.M. Kauffmann, "British Library, Lansdowne Ms. 383: the Shaftesbury Psalter," in *New Offerings, Ancient Treasures. Studies in Medieval Art for George Henderson*, ed. Paul Binski and William Noel (Stroud, 2001), pp. 264–265.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 271–273.

<sup>164</sup> London, British Library Ms Cotton Titus D xxvi–xxvii.



on her head. The central Christ figure's feet rest upon a devil of the usual Anglo-Saxon type, naked with peaked hair locks, under which we find a hell mouth gaping. To either side of the hell mouth we find a naked human figure with bound feet. These are clearly labelled 'Arius' on the left and 'Iudas' on the right. This is presumably the basis for the British library's identification of the foremost figure in the Shaftesbury Psalter as either a heretic or Judas. However, the Lansdowne figure is not naked, although at first glance this appears to be the case; he wears a pink robe with full sleeves and a gold embroidered neck. The two crowned figures cannot be immediately equated with the other figures in the 'Quinity' miniature. Nor can these three defeated figures be fully equated with the crouching demon-like figure found in the D initial of psalm 109 in the Maidstone part of the Lambeth Bible made twenty years or so later.<sup>165</sup> In my opinion the three kingly figures can be better connected to the investiture contest and the general struggle between Church and king. The Lateran Council had ratified the Strasburg agreement only a few years before, and it may be assumed that feelings were still uncertain. England had known its own problems between Church and Crown.

The seated and standing figures have further variations. The aspect of Christ's power in defeating death can be seen when he actually slays a dragon, in an attitude very similar to the depictions of Michael,<sup>166</sup> while the majestas motif can be worked out with the dragon playing an extremely decorative role.<sup>167</sup> The depictions of Christ triumphing over the dragon of death seem to have been particularly popular in northern France. An interesting variation from the same region is to be found on Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, 428, f. 24. This contains various works of St. Ambrose and was made at Jumièges at the end of the eleventh century. (fig. 46) It shows Christ with a dragon under his feet, but not striking the beast down, nor is he shown in majesty. Instead Christ is here depicted as a teacher. The dragon forms the tail of the Q and Christ rests his foot on its head. Although the inner oval of the Q is reminiscent of a mandorla, and was probably intended to invoke such an association, this cannot be regarded as a majestas depiction. Christ is seated on a throne, but shares the space with two

<sup>165</sup> Maidstone Museum and Art Gallery, f. 32r.

<sup>166</sup> Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale Ms 513, f. 53v.

<sup>167</sup> Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale Ms 5, f. 16v.

other figures, who are not even nimbed. These two figures, in spite of the short tunic of the left-hand one, must be seen as monks because of their tonsure. The one on the left holds an object on his knee that the Rouen library describes as a 'diptych', but is surely hinged wax tablets, and the instrument in his right hand is a stylus.<sup>168</sup> This would be in accordance with the book held on Christ's knee and fact that the monk on the right has a desk on his lap and dips his pen into the inkhorn. The feet of this monk too, rest upon the dragon as he listens intently to Christ. These factors, along with Christ's teaching gesture, point to the fact that Christ is instructing the two monks. This instruction, given the dragon, must surely be how to emulate Christ's victory: Christ has defeated sin and death, but the victory should not be his alone. His sacrifice brings life only if his words are heeded and his ways followed.

Rouen 428 forms a link with some of the depictions of saints, or others, *super aspidem*. Another Normandy manuscript from Saint-Pierre de Préaux, and perhaps a little later, contains part of Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job* and shows a monk, possibly Gregory himself, seated at a desk, writing.<sup>169</sup> He inhabits, once again, the letter Q, the body of the initial being formed by two dragons that are joined at the tail. Gregory's footstool rests on the join, while the tail of the Q is formed by a third dragon biting into the common tail. These versions of the *super aspidem* motif give a new aspect to the instruments of battle against sin and death—the written word. Numerous saints are shown with a dragon at their feet and emphasis is laid on the status of the saint and his authority due to the written word, and especially Holy Writ. On f. 2v British Library, Royal 6 B.vi, we find St. Ambrose in the initial D seated, blessing and holding both crosier and book, his feet resting on the head of a dragon. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, 539, f. 59r has St. Anselmus, feet again resting on the head of a dragon, flanked by monks holding a codex and a scroll. A dragon slinks away under the feet of St. Jerome, shown writing,<sup>170</sup> while a serpent is trampled by a tonsured bishop, probably St. Dionysius or St. Eleutherius, holding up a

<sup>168</sup> Such wax tablets are to be seen in various manuscripts such as the Eadwine Psalter f. 5v and in a French manuscript dating from c. 1150, Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, NKS 218 4<sup>o</sup>, f. 46v. The initial E is formed from the figure of Macrobius writing.

<sup>169</sup> Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale Ms 498, f. 26v.

<sup>170</sup> London, BL Ms Arundel 91, f. 31v.

book on f. 86r of the same manuscript.<sup>171</sup> Another Norman manuscript of the *Moralia in Job*<sup>172</sup> shows a scribal monk at his desk, pen and knife in hand, his feet resting on a dragon. These works, and others with the same theme of the scribe with a dragon under his feet, show clearly the importance attached to the written word in combating sin and death. We must remember that the majority of saints shown *super aspidem* are depicted calmly sitting or standing, blessing, writing or holding a book, not physically battling or wounding the dragon. The word of God and, if we consider such saints as Ambrose, Gregory and Anselm, the words of fathers and theologians, were not just a spur to the reader or even simply directives, but also armour. Christina of Markyate held to her virginity by reciting the psalms, and others testify to the strength of the scriptures as a means of withstanding temptation. Interestingly the defeat of death and sin spreads downwards from Christ. The *super aspidem* is no longer reserved for God made man, or even the heavenly creatures or saints that have proved their piety and holiness. The scribes in the two Rouen manuscripts, both probably older than the more famous Cîteaux manuscripts in Dijon, show not only the importance attached to Gregory's work, but unimbed scribes at work. It is possible, of course, that in both cases Gregory was intended, but it seems unlikely that, if this were the case, the figures would be unimbed. I suggest that here we see one of the ways the ordinary monk can combat sin and death—by studying and reproducing the word of God and its exegesis. The *super aspidem* motif has descended from being reserved for Christ, through the heavenly being, Michael, and the holy saints, to the devout monk. This is very much in accord with the sense of optimism of the period, but it is more than that: it links the idea of God as a loving father who will forgive the repentant sinner to that of the need for that sinner to truly work for his salvation.

5.1.1 *The Cîteaux Moralia in Iob, Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Mss. 168, 169, 170 and 173*

Perhaps the most interesting depiction of the ordinary Christian who triumphs over sin and death is to be found in the Cîteaux *Moralia in Job* (fig. 47) This work made in the first third of the twelfth century

<sup>171</sup> The British Library favours Dionysus, <http://www.collectbritain.co.uk/personalisation/object.cfm>.

<sup>172</sup> Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale Ms. 497, f. 116r.

is now in Dijon and divided over four manuscripts. On f. 111v of ms. 173 the opening of book 29 has the initial D that is formed by a lion and a dragon, but the victorious warrior who stands in triumph on their heads is not Christ, or even a saint. The figure is not dressed as a monk and is not tonsured: his dress is that of a contemporary layman and he is armed with a sword and a leaf shaped shield. Can we then say this is the ordinary Christian who can follow in Christ's footsteps and overcome death? In his perceptive study of the Cîteaux *Moralia*, Rudolf points out the importance of the audience for whom it was intended.<sup>173</sup> He draws a distinction between the attitudes of the first and second generation Cistercians towards the vocabulary, both written and pictorial, of violent spiritual struggle, and to whom such expressions were addressed. The first generation, which produced the *Moralia*, addressed itself to its own community, while the second generation, typified by Bernard of Clairvaux, used such language 'directed to individuals or groups that were seen by the second generation as belonging to a less committed spiritual state than their own, not in those [writings] intended for strictly internal consumption.'<sup>174</sup> Gregory had written the *Moralia* for monks and the Cîteaux copy was intended for the monks of its own house. What must we then think of the distinction made between the figures that fight dragons—that on f. 111v is only one of several—and the monks seen at their daily work? I am of the opinion that those figures, tonsured and in monks' habit, that chop down trees, cut corn and so on stand for the Cistercian order, with its return to the strict Benedictine Rule of poverty—their robes are often tattered—and manual work. The fighting figures, on the other hand, would seem to work on different levels. They are, without doubt, *milites Christi*, not persons as such, but souls engaged in the fight against evil. The fact that the Dijon manuscripts were intended for internal use would indicate that these soldiers of Christ are the souls of the monks of the community. However, I think it is permissible to expand this to the soul generally. While it is true that the exhortations of the work are directed to the monks of Cîteaux, the monks were men with human souls, so while we can say that in relation to the Dijon manuscripts the monks of Cîteaux are shown to have the power to fight and conquer

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<sup>173</sup> Conrad Rudolph, *Violence and daily life: reading, art and polemics in the Cîteaux Moralia in Job* (Princeton, 1997), pp. 5–8.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

sin and death, this also means that the human soul is capable of fighting and winning.

One figure is named, or seems to be named, by a *titulus* in the collection and is to be found on f. 88v; not unnaturally this figure is Job. He forms part of yet another initial Q, the tail formed by a devilish figure with the *titulus* “Behemoth”, and kneels before a crossed-nimbed Christ who holds a pair of scales. (fig. 48) The *titulus* “IOB” is to be discerned on the sword held in the kneeling figure’s right hand. Christ stands on the head of Behemoth, making a new version of the *super aspidem* motif. Why is Behemoth used here, and what is meant by that usage? Behemoth is, of course, mentioned briefly in Job, but Gregory expounds more fully on it. In my reading of this initial there is a complex play of passages from both Job and the *Moralia*. Rudolf has shown that there ‘is a vague relation between the visual vocabulary and the literality or sense of the text,’<sup>175</sup> and that ‘the artist...was forced to introduce imagery that was idiosyncratic, that came from elsewhere in the *Moralia in Job*, or that was external to it.’<sup>176</sup> In his analysis of the miniature on f. 88v,<sup>177</sup> Rudolf identifies elements of the miniature with the passage it introduces, but is clearly puzzled to account for the sword and has little to say about the use of Behemoth instead of a more conventional dragon. However, there are other references that would account for these elements that are extraneous to the immediate text. In Chapter XV of Book 5 Gregory states *Behemoth istius sub draconis specie*, which would account for the particular form this initial takes, while Chapter XXIV deals with the spiritual sword and how it may vanquish Behemoth. The sword is linked to the scales held by Christ in verse 29 of chapter 19 of the Book of Job—*fugite ergo a facie gladii quoniam ultor iniquitatum gladius est et scitote esse iudicum*. In chapter 40 of Job it is described how God spoke to Job and told him to take up the fight against the proud and the mighty and how his own right hand can save him. The latter part of chapter 10 and chapter 41 describe the power of Behemoth and Leviathan. Job, by his patience in adversity, is able, though God, to bring down the proud. God’s testing of him and his resolution in withstanding the wiles and horrors brought upon him by Satan bring him his just and due reward. The *Moralia* and the strict

<sup>175</sup> Ibid., p. 41.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid., pp. 50–52.

monastic ideas prevalent at Cîteaux emphasised the need for physical and spiritual trials, that the Christian soul may be strengthened and made firm in God. The message of the initial on f. 88v is that the Christian soul can, through God, triumph if it is prepared to be obedient and faithful to God<sup>178</sup>—as the kneeling figure—and to fight evil. Christ has triumphed over evil, and in handing the sword marked *iob* to the kneeling figure he shows him that he should emulate Job, and gives him the means whereby his own right hand can save him. The figure emerges from the curve of the Q coming into the benefits of God's justice after his trials.

Some copiously illustrated copies of the *Moralia* such as Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 15675, made at Affligem about the same time as the Cîteaux copy, show very literally the role of Satan in Job's troubles. There is no attempt to give a visual exegesis of either Job or Gregory's text. The Cîteaux version shows a deeper theological level than this, stimulating the reader to connect various passages of both the *Moralia* and the Book of Job, and to reflect on the meanings in connection with his own life and hope of salvation. It is interesting to note that in another copy of the *Moralia*,<sup>179</sup> slightly older than the Cîteaux version and roughly contemporary with the two Norman manuscripts,<sup>180</sup> on f. 6r there is another initial Q which shows Job, covered in sores and sitting on the dung heap, being handed bread by his wife. Job's foot rests on the head of the dragon that forms the tail of the Q. This is a curious beast, having an almost human head. It is still a far cry from the dracontopede that was to make its appearance in the depictions of the fall in the very late twelfth or early thirteenth century, but perhaps can be seen as a very early ancestor. The head of the dragon resembles in many ways that of the Utrecht giant. The beard and hair are less shaggy, but the bulbous nose and bulging eyes are present. This can be seen as imparting the same message as Dijon 173, f. 88v; through his physical and spiritual suffering Job can conquer sin and death and be worthy of God. The use of Behemoth and the dragon, and indeed demons in *super aspidem* depictions, indicates that sin, death and evil generally were becoming ever more closely identified. Cyril of Jeru-

<sup>178</sup> It is interesting to note, especially in view of Gregory VII's letter to him, that William I of England is shown enthroned on British Library Cotton Domitian II, f. 22r his feet resting on part of a dragon's tail.

<sup>179</sup> London, British Library Ms Royal 6 C vi.

<sup>180</sup> Late 11th to early 12th century.

saalem had written that Christ by his baptism had defeated Behemoth and Leviathan ‘that the mouth of death might henceforth be stopped, and all might say, “O death where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?”’<sup>181</sup> Poesch points out that in the texts of the *Liber Floridus* ‘the devil, the Behemoth, the Antichrist, the Leviathan, and the Serpent are interrelated or virtually one and the same, implying that each and all are facets of the power of the devil...’<sup>182</sup>

## 5.2 *The Demonic Death*

In this period the demonic Death takes three forms—the fourth horseman in the extant versions of the illustrated Apocalypse in the *Liber Floridus* manuscripts and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 352, as a variety of the *super aspidem* motif, and the death figure in the Eadwine Psalter.<sup>183</sup> The Behemoth in Dijon 173 is indeed a demonic creature since there it has nothing reminiscent of the ox-like being described in Job, or indeed found in *Liber Floridus*.<sup>184</sup> St. Basil on the loose leaf of Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts, Ms. 12 has already been mentioned, but other saints show their victory over the devil. A small devil with green hair and green furred lower body with clawed feet grasps the crozier with which St. Martin pierces him.<sup>185</sup> Perhaps the most curious of these is to be found on f. 156v of British Library, Arundel 91. (fig. 49) This Passional made in the early twelfth century at St. Augustine’s Canterbury has numerous historiated initials, including more than one that presents the saint as crucified. One of these is that of St. Theodoret who is shown against a T cross as a young man, unnimbed and clutching two spiny dragon-headed snakes, with a devil crouched at his feet. The legend of St. Theodoret was that he was a presbyter in Antioch who refused to hand over the church’s treasures to Governor Julian, the uncle of Julian the Apostate. His defiance led to his decapitation by the authorities in 362. Since his martyrdom was not by crucifixion and had nothing to do with snakes we must regard this initial in a purely metaphorical sense. This is very much the triumph

<sup>181</sup> Cited Lois Drewer, “Leviathan, Behemoth and Ziz: A Christian Adaptation,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 44 (1981).

<sup>182</sup> Jessie Poesch, “The Beasts from Job in the *Liber Floridus* Manuscripts,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 33 (1970).

<sup>183</sup> Cambridge, Trinity College Ms R.17.1.

<sup>184</sup> Wölfenbützel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf, 1 Gud. Lat, f. 41v.

<sup>185</sup> Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale Ms 112, f. 132v.

of Christian faith, with the saint in control. He grasps the snakes firmly and shows neither fear nor weakness. The devil at his feet, a green human body with claws and a wolf-like head, clutches ineffectively at the saint's ankles. Physical death may claim Theodoret, but his spirit receives eternal life. Theodoret is shown here not passively undergoing martyrdom, but as a powerful opponent of paganism and champion of the Christian faith. In this he is allied to the numerous knights and soldiers of Christ, who fight evil within, as Theodoret does without. In many ways this typifies the mood of many after the first crusade, not only the Church triumphing over the heathens who held the Holy Land, but the inner strength of those who either as crusader, cloistered, recluse or simply devout Christian fought and won.

### 5.2.1 *The Apocalyptic Death*

There was a strong apocalyptic flavour to the period under discussion that was often linked to Church reform.<sup>186</sup> This was also a manifestation of a degree of optimism as is seen in Hildegard von Bingen's *Scivias*,<sup>187</sup> and culminating later in the century with the teachings of Joachim of Fiore. It is not surprising then that we find illustrated versions of the Apocalypse once more. However, the fourth horseman shown in the versions of the Apocalypse from this period is a startling contrast to the earlier Apocalypses. Whereas the Trier Apocalypse showed nimbed figures for all four of the riders, the Valenciennes version showed ordinary men, and the Bamberg Apocalypse of c. 1000 depicts the four horsemen as youths, unthreatening and radiating a contemplative calm, the *Liber Floridus* and Bodley 352 make the fourth horseman fully demonic. The number of existing copies of Lambert of St. Omer's *Liber Floridus* testifies to its popularity over a period of four hundred years. Although it is a collection, a miscellany of texts brought together by Lambert, it shows in its iconography a close attention to detail of the text of Revelation. As noted earlier the diadems crowning the heads of the dragon are frequently omitted, but not in the *Liber Floridus*. To enhance the understanding of the miniatures they are liberally provided with *tituli*. This is less an attempt at visual exegesis as an exposition of Revelation and its commentators. The shift in the view of the fourth

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<sup>186</sup> E. Randolph Daniel, "Exodus and Exile: Joachim of Fiore's Apocalyptic Scenario," in *Last Things: Death and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carol Walker Bynum and Paul Freedman, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, 2000).

<sup>187</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 127.



horseman is, then, all the more remarkable. The presentation of the four horsemen differs from that in the earlier works, each having its own field in the upper two registers of f. 11v of the Wölfenbuttel manuscript, but differing in direction. (fig. 50)

The first three horsemen are shown as apparently normal young men, each carrying or receiving the attribute associated with him in Revelation. Only about the third horseman can doubts be raised. He wears a Phrygian cap and his feet are reversed. Is this an indication that the third horseman, his attribute and text about the price of grain are linked to anti-Semitic feeling? Given the reputation for physical deformity that was attributed to the Jews, and that they were seen as the bringers of malice and disaster, it is possible. However, the indications for this are slight and such a reading must be regarded as highly speculative. In is a different matter when we consider the fourth horseman. There is very little ambiguous about this creature; he is clearly a descendant of earlier non-apocalyptic deaths, particularly the *Mors* of the Leofric Missal, and shows characteristics in common with the Behemoth in the Cîteaux *Moralia*. This is the oldest Apocalypse known to us in which *Infernus* is shown as a hell mouth. Given the careful *tituli* of the other three riders, those on the *Mors* field require explanation. They are much briefer but also extra-textual. The fourth horseman is designated as *mors improba*. The adjective is extra textual and while it strengthens the demonic aspect of death it does not derive from any earlier pictorial representations known to us. A long line of exegetes, including Caesarius of Arles, Bede, Beatus, Ambrose Autpertus, Alcuin and, most importantly for the consideration of the *Liber Floridus*, Haimo of Auxerre identify the fourth rider as both the devil and death.<sup>188</sup> This seems to have been another case when written sources express an idea long before visual sources. Totally outside the text of Revelation is the naked figure, his peaked hair marking him as a demon, who points to his mouth and has the *titulus* 'Fames'. Jordan accounts for this by declaring that the two methods of death are described, by the sword and by famine. This does not account for the third method mentioned, *bestiis terrae*.<sup>189</sup> In his commentary Haimo of Auxerre stresses that this hunger

<sup>188</sup> Several of these writers saw the last three horsemen as aspects of death, and therefore of the devil.

<sup>189</sup> Jordan, "The iconography of Death in western art to 1350".

is not due to lack of bread or water, but the word of God.<sup>190</sup> Klein believes both the *Liber Floridus* and Bodley 352 to be derived from a fifth century manuscript. Comparing texts it seems that Haimo of Auxerre used the fifth century Vulgate. He interprets the *bestiis terrae* as Nero, Domitian and others who persecuted the sainted martyrs. However, the use of the figure *Fames* makes a link with the third horseman. Is death the result of being famished for the word of God? The *Liber Floridus* expresses a shift in how the fourth horseman was seen. He is no longer a hopeful sign of the last things of earlier illustrated works, but a truly demonic and evil figure—the adjective *improba* reinforces the visual message.

The vision of the fourth horseman on f. 5v of Bodley 352 is equally demonic. This German manuscript is slightly older than Lambert's encyclopaedic work and is richly illustrated, containing, among other works, Haimo of Auxerre's commentary. Here too, death is winged and he is dark, with large pointed ears and a snake's tongue. He is armed with a spear and the pale horse, just as in the *Liber Floridus*, moves to the left. However, *Mors* himself sits astride his fire-breathing mount backwards and clutches the snake/tail instead of reins. In Bodley 352 there is most probably a strong reference to the investiture struggles and more particularly, the papal schism. In 998 the anti-pope John XVI had already been mutilated by his rival Gregory V and forced to ride backwards. This form of humiliation was still practised in the time of Lambert: Calixtus II captured his rival, Gregory VII whom he mounted backwards on a camel and made him use the tail instead of reins.<sup>191</sup> An Italian decree of 1131 stated that all who betrayed trust, such as Judas, Caiaphas and Pilate, must sit backwards on an ass and hold its tail.<sup>192</sup>

Earlier writers had identified the apocalyptic death with the devil, now this idea was unequivocally expressed pictorially. Sin and death had become even more closely identified. Not only was eternal death the wages of sin, but sin was being seen as death—no longer simply a cause but almost synonymous.

<sup>190</sup> ...*non panis, non sitim aquae, sed audiendi verbum Dei*. Haimo, *Super Apocalypsin* PL 118. c. 1028.

<sup>191</sup> Ruth Melinkoff, "Riding Backwards: Theme of Humiliation and Symbol of Evil," *Viator* 4 (1973).

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*

### 5.2.2 *The Eadwine Psalter, Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms. R.17.1*

The demonisation of death as depicted in the copies of the Utrecht Psalter has already been noted in connection with the Harley Psalter. Heslop has noted various changes in the details of the illustration to Psalm 1 in the Eadwine Psalter<sup>193</sup> and is of the opinion that these add ‘all kinds of explanatory detail and visual commentary.’<sup>194</sup> He goes on to say that the Superbia Master had different priorities than those expressed in the Utrecht Psalter, including a sense of ‘hierarchy, order and opposition... that are entirely Romanesque in character.’<sup>195</sup> However, he draws no conclusions other than the choice of righteousness and sin, symbolised by *Superbia*—here shown as a male—is made clearer. Certainly a number of these changes can be seen as indications of a change in mentality. (fig. 51) Instead of the *beatus vir* studying the law, protected and guided by an angel, Christ sits on a pedestal, flanked by two angels. Here, then, the emphasis has changed from the blessed man who studies the word of God, to Christ as teacher and origin of the Word. This makes Christ both closer to and more distant from the reader—closer in the sense that the law comes directly from God, without the intervention of the written word, and more distant in the sense that the human element is removed. Christ becomes the blessed man, which is perhaps in keeping with the emphasis placed on Christ’s humanity and his role as example in this period. It also emphasises the difference between the worldly *Superbia* and *Sancta Ecclesia*. The demons are not only more varied, but bestialised. Instead of the anthropomorphic demons of the original, the Eadwine makes them monsters. All are covered in fur, two have muzzles and one has a tail. Horns, claws or cloven hooves place these creatures far from the human. The most demonic of the figures in the Utrecht, the demon on the right of the throne, still has serpents wound round his legs, but he carries a flaming torch in each hand instead of more snakes. The snakes that sprang from his head like hair have been replaced by horns, his nose is beaked and he is fanged. The two lower demons are given prominent genitalia and this forms a link with the debater who turns to *Superbia*; under his split

<sup>193</sup> T.A. Heslop, “The psalm illustrations,” in *The Eadwine Psalter: Text, image, and monastic culture in twelfth century Canterbury*, ed. M. Gibson, Heslop, T.A., Pfaff, R.W., Publications of the Modern Humanities Research Association (London and University Park, 1992).

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*

skirt his genitalia are also visible. Pride may be the chief of sins, but clearly sexuality ranked very high as a cause of downfall. Death also shows demonising trends, but these are slightly less extreme. He ceases to be truly anthropomorphic and acquires dark blue, shaggy fur, but neither claws nor hooves. His head becomes monstrous with a hooked nose, huge mouth and staring eyes, and the locks of hair that stream out behind him in the Utrecht Psalter become curving green horns in the Eadwine. There is perhaps a hint of sexuality in the holding of one of the doomed between his thighs, and certainly the horrific aspect has increased as he no longer simply holds the damned in the pit of hell, but is in the act of consuming one of them. Death is again even more closely allied with sin, the bestial and horrific aspects emphasised. Death and evil are inhuman, even though sin in the form of *Superbia* can be attractive. The transformation from the human type death to a bestial monster implies that man's fate is intended to be other: it is a hideous warning, and the link to sexuality shows one aspect of the bestiality. It is notable, too, that in the harrowing of hell scene on f. 279r the human figure of death remains. Christ stands on the reclining figure whose right leg overhangs, not the pit of hell, but a hell mouth. The artist responsible for this and many other miniatures has neither the freedom of style or interpretation of the *Superbia* Master, but clearly the hell mouth was an almost automatic choice for his depiction of hell, since his other details follow the original so closely.

### 5.2.3 *London, British Library, Ms. Harley 3667*

In a reversal of the change in the depiction of the Fourth Horseman and the Utrecht 'copy', the demonic death of the *Sphaera Apulei* loses his demonic characteristics. This is perhaps a sign of the closer identification between sin and eschatological death, and a growing emphasis on physical death. This can be seen on f. 4v of a medical treatise from 1122–1135, probably originating in the Peterborough scriptorium and associated with texts either by Abbo of Fleury or brought with him when he was attached to Ramsey and adapted by Byrhtferth.<sup>196</sup> This miscellany contains a third illustrated *Sphaera Apulei* and is clearly closer to the Tiberius manuscript than the Leofric Missal. Here again *Vita* is placed above *Mors*, but the demonic features of the Leofric '*Mors*' that had already been weakened in the *Tiberius* manuscript have now

<sup>196</sup> London, British Library, Ms. Harley 3667.

virtually disappeared. He has no horns, claws or tail and his nimbus is neither draconic nor serpentine, but identical to that of *Vita*, apart from the *titulus* 'Mors'. Despite the British library's identification of the two figures as Christ/life and Satan/death the only difference between the two is in their clothing. *Vita* is dressed in a long robe and cloak while *Mors* is barefoot and clad in a loincloth that reaches to mid-shin. The attributes that made the two earlier versions so clearly represent eternal life and eternal death—the crown or cross-nimbus and clawed hands, wings and dragon-nimbus—have been omitted. The supernatural status of the figures is made clear by their nimbi; whether their eschatological significance is still as forceful is very doubtful. The Leofric 'Mors' brought physical death into the equation, but the emphasis lay on the eschatological functions of the figures. Harley 3667 swings the balance the other way. Life is still to be preferred to death, but this death is no longer synonymous with eternal damnation.

### 5.3 *The Other Side of the Coin*

Harley 3667 can be seen as a symptom of optimism; if physical death is not an immediate portal to eternal life, it does not necessarily lead to damnation. However, while there are countless examples of saints and even ordinary men shown trampling the dragon of sin and death, this victory was not to be regarded as easy or automatic. Christ had made redemption possible by his sacrifice; his example and his teachings showed how his followers could emulate him, but the effort, the continual fight against evil and the lower elements in man, were essential if the Christian soul was to prove itself worthy. God would forgive, but only the truly repentant who struggled to conquer his sinful nature. Rudolf has pointed out, quite rightly, that the Cîteaux *Moralia* was intended for internal use and its character is exhortatory. However, in his emphasis on the spiritually advanced nature of its readers he sometimes loses sight of the warnings given by the miniatures. For example, he points out that on f. 36v of 169 the two men escape the attacking lions by climbing a tree, the meaning of which is ultimately God saving the soul.<sup>197</sup> This he sees as a very ambiguous iconography. The passage it introduces tells of how when 'holy men' are subject to too much prosperity or adversity they retreat to their hearts, but they will be tormented

<sup>197</sup> Rudolph, *Violence and daily life: reading, art and polemics in the Cîteaux Moralia in Job*.

by dreams, the purpose of which is to purify them. 'Only the relation of the men to the lions—the soul and that which would destroy it—is distinctly apparent'.<sup>198</sup> He draws his conclusion from the text of Psalm 7:2–3 and the similarity to that passage's illustration in the Utrecht Psalter. Again he is clearly puzzled by the sword. However, there are indications that we should look more closely at both the illustration and the passage. Two matters are immediately apparent and for which Rudolf gives no explanation—the smaller lion standing on the back of the larger and the fact that the man lower in the tree has already been seized by the lion. In considering the passage we can see that the two lions, larger and smaller, could stand for success and adversity in the world from which the soul flees. Worldly success is an obvious danger, but adversity can prove the downfall of the soul, simply by being less obvious, a source of spiritual pride perhaps, since lions have frequently been used as symbols of pride. The man with the sword can indeed be seen as the Judge who terrifies with dreams, but the theme of the Judge and the sword bring us to the Behemoth initial on f. 88v. The sword is a means of purification given by God and exemplified by Job. In the tree-climbing initial it does more; the Judge cuts away the branch that the lower man reaches for. Here we can regard 'lower man' as metaphorical. He has already been seized by the lion and if allowed to reach up to his brother, could drag him down, both the victims of sin. By cutting away the lower branch, the Judge also cuts away the 'lower man'. This initial plays out the *continuing* battle of the soul against sin and death. This was something that was greatly emphasised at Cîteaux, the soul cannot rest or feel secure in its salvation, but must continually strive to improve itself. After each failure it must continue and not be discouraged, but after each success it must not rest on its laurels. The incentive to do so can be seen in the first volume of a Bible made in Lincoln c. 1100.<sup>199</sup> Here monstrous foliage entwines an initial T, but the sword-wielding climber is not entangled, as in so many other initials in manuscripts of this period, he has his eyes fixed on a *Majestas* depiction just above him—a reminder to the reader that he must fix all his effort and attention on following God and his word.

This aspect of the continuing fight for perfection is the reason for the initials that Rudolf characterises as 'violence'. These were the

<sup>198</sup> Ibid., p. 36.

<sup>199</sup> Lincoln, Cathedral Library Ms A.1.2, f. 70v.

crusaders of the soul and spirit, fighting not just the external, but the internal, the enemy within. While the Anglo-Saxon works of a century earlier recognised the fatal flaw in humanity and warned against it, the monastic reformers of this period advocated a vigorous fight against weakness and sin. One could succeed in quelling one fault or desire, but succumb to another. The soul must be constantly on guard. The various figures in the Cîteaux *Moralia* can be seen as representing different levels of spiritual states. Monsters, obviously enough, are evil and sin, while the fully human figure is spiritually advanced enough to fight successfully against the temptations of the world and human existence. The *semihomo* is somewhere between the two, still struggling to subdue his lower nature. The various *semihomines* can show which particular weakness they have yet to conquer.<sup>200</sup> However, the Cîteaux *Moralia* is by no means unique in its iconographic repertoire of the fight against sin and death. Stylistically there are links with England that Walliser attributes to the advent of Stephen Harding.<sup>201</sup> Whether the iconographic similarities can be said to arise from this is very doubtful. I am inclined to think that, given the wide range of scriptoria that produced similar images, that these are an expression of widely held ideas. Certainly other Cîteaux works had the same sort of themes, notably the Bible of Stephen Harding, a clear example of which is to be found on f. 128v of ms. 14.<sup>202</sup> Here, in the introductory initial to the Book of Wisdom, a *semihomo* is locked in battle with a dragon, gripping his opponent's forelegs, his hind claws clutching the underbelly of the beast and mirroring the dragon's claws that grip his chest. The branched tail of the *semihomo* holds that of the dragon, while another branch twists between the legs of the man who attacks the beast with his sword. The twisting branch of the *semihomo*'s tail is reminiscent of the serpent that weaves between Eve's legs in the St. Bénigne manuscript.<sup>203</sup> The man is armed with sword and shield and stands on the end of the dragon's tail. This would seem to illustrate *quoniam in malivolam animam non intrabit sapientia nec habitabit in corpore subdito peccatis*.<sup>204</sup> The man's position does not seem to be very secure, despite holding a sword at the dragon's

<sup>200</sup> Rudolph, *Violence and daily life: reading, art and polemics in the Cîteaux Moralia in Job*.

<sup>201</sup> Franz Walliser, *Cistercienser Buchkunst; Heiligenkreuzer Skriptorium in seinem ersten Jahrhundert 1133–1230* (Heiligenkreuzer, 1969), p. 18.

<sup>202</sup> Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 12–15.

<sup>203</sup> Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 2.

<sup>204</sup> 1:4.

throat. The dragon has pushed its head over the shield, bringing it right up to its opponent's face so that they are literally nose-to-nose. A curious feature is that both man and dragon extend their tongues until they almost touch. Does this imply that their true battle is with words? It has something in common with ms. 172 f. 122r where a man stands on a dragon while wrestling with another, taking its ear into his mouth. The Stephen Harding Bible gives a much more sombre picture than that of f. 111v of ms. 173.

Various English manuscripts, mostly somewhat older, use the iconography of the mounted knight slaying a monster that is found on f. 20r of ms. 173. Another copy of the *Moralia* made very early in the twelfth century, possibly for St. Andrew's, Rochester, shows a mounted knight spearing a dragon, but again not all is well.<sup>205</sup> The knight himself is in less danger than the figure in Stephen Harding's Bible, but while he concentrates on the head of the dragon that beast has seized the hind leg of the knight's charger in the mouth of the head that sprouts from its tail. This is a lesson that the dangers of sin creep up unexpectedly. The horseman hacking his way through clinging foliage in the *Life of St. Birinus*, a Winchester manuscript from the late eleventh or early twelfth century, fares rather better, seemingly make his cautious but successful way through.<sup>206</sup> The motif of the soul caught in vines does not seem to have been used at Cîteaux, but the Heiligenkreuzen daughter house made considerable use of twisting vines and foliage; however, this seems to have been entirely decorative with no threat or struggle depicted, and in the works of this period rarely combined with a human figure. While the entangled foliage was extremely decorative and can be regarded as an aspect of the fashion for decorated initials it was also frequently used in a didactic manner. An early example of this is to be found in a late eleventh century copy of St. Aldhelm's *In praise of virginity*.<sup>207</sup> This has features in common with the tree climbing men of the Cîteaux *Moralia*. Here, too, the man can be regarded as the soul endeavouring to flee the dangers of sin—and given the context we must assume here this is sexual sin—in the form of a dragon. However, unlike the upper figure in the Cîteaux *Moralia* initial this man has not reached safety; the dragon makes a grab for his right foot while he is entangled in the

<sup>205</sup> London, BL, Ms Royal 6.vi, f. 79v.

<sup>206</sup> London, BL, Ms Cotton Caligula A VIII, f. 121r.

<sup>207</sup> London, BL, Ms Royal 6 B.vii, f. 4r.



foliage that echoes the form of the dragon's tail. However, another reading is possible that does not exclude the first but may be regarded as complementary to it. Caught in the toils of sin the soul is unable to escape its consequence—that of death and damnation.

### 5.3.1 *Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 321*

The climbing figure motif is to be seen in several other works, notably in Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale 321. This work is another copy of the *Moralia in Job*, though slightly later than the Citeaux version, and probably comes from Tours itself. It is a much richer work with deep rich colours and much gilding. While many of the themes are similar to other works, for example on f. 330v there is an initial of Job *super aspidem*, and f. 70v is basically the same as Dijon 173, f. 20r., the emphasis here is on the entangling foliage and climbing. On f. 3r four men climb on each other's shoulders to escape a dragon that has already seized the leg of the lowest. Here there is no foliage, the only help or hindrance is their fellows, but from then on the emphasis is creatures caught in the twining rinceaux. On f. 222r a warrior seizes a dragon by the foot but the sword with which he will slay it is entangled in vines, while a bird pecks out his eye. (fig. 52) Perhaps it is easier to distinguish between sin and death here, at least death in the sense of damnation. The figure follows the tradition of trying to defeat death, but with his eyes fixed on that object, he seems unaware of the fact that he is trapped and made powerless by the vines that coil round his limbs and hold his sword fast. The bird must then represent spiritual blindness that prevents the soul from realising less obvious dangers. The majority of creatures entangled in vines and threatened or pursued by monsters are naked suggesting very strongly that these must be seen as souls.<sup>208</sup> Not all of these are fully human: a number of initials, as well as one or more human figures, have a *semihomo* that is goat-headed and on f. 197v two of these *semihomines* are entwined with a lion and bird. On f. 212v a double bodied dragon looks on while a human tries to catch the *semihomo*, but the main message would seem to be capture and impotence of the human soul in the snares of the world. This is particularly evident on f. 259r. (fig. 53) This is an initial P, the down-stroke being inhabited by three dragons, the upper, autophagic, the

<sup>208</sup> For the visual expression of the soul in the Middle Ages see Markow, "The iconography of the soul in medieval art".

lower two menacing the man in the bottom part of the loop. He is threatened not only by the dragons, but also by an archer at the bottom of the down-stroke who aims at him. In the upper part of the loop a second man is hopelessly entangled, one branch of the vine strangling him. This can be seen as the multiple dangers of the world and its consequences. Most particularly we can regard the motif of the soul entangled as a warning against the world, and that which would hold a soul in this world preventing it conquering the monsters of death and sin. Tours 321 is especially rich in this metaphor, but it is found in other works, for example Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale 481, f. 121v. This is most explicit; a man caught in the foliage of the initial N is hauled down by a devil, but many of these works would seem to imply that while the soul is busy fighting obvious dangers it can be caught by small and insidious sins. The general import of these is to be ever watchful and not to be blinded to the faults that remain after the conquering of one or two. The fact that most of these works are copies of the *Moralia* would seem that Gregory's message that, while one may be victorious in dealing with one sin one can succumb to another, was thought to be of prime importance.

### 5.3.2 *The Ambiguity of the Semihomines*

The fight of the less spiritually advanced can be seen in a number of initials that show the efforts of *semihomines* to conquer the dragon. The ambiguity of such works is demonstrated by f. 70v of Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale 112. This collection of homilies, made in northern France in the second quarter of the twelfth century for the abbey of St. Armand, is sober in style with an abundance of zoomorphic initials, mostly of dragons or other monsters, although there are a few of saints and one of Christ with *Ecclesia* as his bride. The initial P on f. 79v is the only one that combines a *semihomo* with a dragon or other full monster. (fig. 54) The loop of the P is made from an autophagic serpent with foliage sprouting from it. The down-stroke is formed by a youth holding the serpent in his left hand and pointing to its bear-like head with his right. He holds the serpent and stands on an autophagic dragon with seeming unconcern. It is only when examined more closely that his nature becomes apparent. The green of his legs is not the cloth of his green shirt, but the skin of his legs. The semi-monstrous nature of the young man is shown by his feet that are, in fact, claws. This youth, at first sight seeming so normal and even victorious, can be a warning both to those who think they have conquered sin and

death and to those who are deceived by appearances. His claws grip the neck of the dragon at his feet, but the dragon's tail winds between in his legs. Even more significant is, that while he points to the serpent with his right hand, he points to himself with his left.

The Bible of Stephen Harding uses strange creatures in the same way to point a message. Particularly elaborate is the initial P on f. 99v (Ms. 15), the opening to the First Epistle to the Corinthians. This brings into play various aspects of the Epistle. Much of this is concerned with division among the Christians of Corinth, and this can be regarded as being symbolized by the rather odd anthropomorphic figure that spews a dragon out of his mouth, the dragon in turn biting him in the leg. The strange arrangement of figures on which the anthropomorph is standing, I think, must refer to chapter 3, vv. 10–13 and the foundation on which the Christian is to build.<sup>209</sup> Paul warns that they should not regard themselves as building on him or Apollos, but on Christ. The down-stroke of the P shows clearly the warning that they must look to the true foundation of their faith. The link between the human element and the bestial here is increased in other works, particularly when the dragon becomes half human such as in Vendôme, Bibliothèque Municipale 26, or decreasingly so, for example, in Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale 250 t. II, f. 175v, and ending in simply a dragon body with a human head in Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, 13, p. 465. These dragons can no longer be regarded as death. Death in the eschatological sense is both implicit and inherent in them, but their primary function is to symbolize sin. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that at least certain *semihomines* symbolize the sinful body, its subjection to the senses and the temptations of the flesh and the world. One of the most common monsters used in this respect is the centaur, frequently associated with the lower elements in mankind. An initial T in a late eleventh century copy of Priscian's *Grammatica*<sup>210</sup> shows the familiar figure of

<sup>209</sup> 10. *secundum gratiam Dei quae data est mihi ut sapiens architectus fundamentum posui alius autem superaedificat unusquisque autem videat quomodo superaedificet.*

11. *fundamentum enim aliud nemo potest ponere praeter id quod positum est qui est Christus Iesus.*

12. *si quis autem superaedificat supra fundamentum hoc aurum argentum lapides pretiosos ligna faenum stipulam.*

13. *unusquisque opus manifestum erit dies enim declarabit quia in igne revelabitur et unusquisque opus quale sit ignis probabit.*

<sup>210</sup> Cambridge, Trinity College Library Ms O.2.51, f. 46r. See C.M. Kauffmann, *Romanesque manuscripts 1066–1190*, ed. J.J.G. Alexander, *A survey of manuscripts illuminated in the British Isles* (London, 1975).

the climbing man. (fig. 55) He is naked and has reached the junction of the cross and down-stroke and points to the right, his legs twining round the struts. James in his catalogue of Trinity College manuscripts describes this as 'Centaur. Bird biting a man's leg.' However bird is not an accurate description here. At first glance the creature looks like a swan, but closer examination reveals that it has no beak, but a muzzle, small ears and a short mane and can be better described as a griffin or variety of dragon. The T is deliberately formed to call to mind a cross, and the similarity is increased by the two lunettes at the end of the cross piece of the T which show two busts, very much in the manner that *Sol* and *Luna* are depicted in crucifixion scenes. The down-stroke of the T impales both the griffin/dragon and the centaur at the base. This latter figure aims his bow at the man seated above him, but there is no arrow knocked, though the bow does support the griffin/dragon. The traditional place for death, under the cross, has been taken by these two enemies of the man. They seem to symbolize both sin and death, nor are they defeated inactive figures, despite the impalement. Christ's death on the cross has defeated death and sin and is the road to salvation for the righteous, but even seeking redemption the soul is prey to dangers, and if he falls to sin then eternal death can still claim him. The figure of the *semihomo* in the initials is certainly a decorative device, but also has a didactic function. It is a creature both sinful and mortal, and a warning to the reader never to cease in his fight to combat sin and the world.

#### 6. *Sin and Death in the Late Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries*

The number of manuscripts and initials that contain figures that symbolise or had symbolised death in this period is enormous. Obviously the use of dragons in initials was not new, even the warrior battling the dragon had precedents,<sup>211</sup> but it is the extreme proliferation of this that is significant. While the first trace of a motif or subject is clearly of importance, the spread and acceptance gives a better indication of a shift in mentality. The use of dragons and other monstrous creatures had a decorative function, but I do not think we can dismiss this outburst

<sup>211</sup> C. 800 the Corbie Psalter, Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale Ms 18, f. 67r is a very early example.

as simply fashionable or aesthetically pleasing. It is true that fantastic creatures seem frequently to be added to initials almost at random, but we must consider why such creatures were so popular. It is clear that in a number of works at least they fulfilled a didactic and exhortatory function, being allied to at least the sense of the text. In his analysis of the Cistercian statutes in regard to art and ornamentation Rudolph points out that even when the 'distractive' initials found under Harding were jettisoned, the use of historiated initials for didactic purposes was well established.<sup>212</sup> As far as I know no attempt has been made to catalogue dragons, centaurs, monsters, *semihomines* and other grotesques in Romanesque manuscripts, let alone relate them to their context. Such a catalogue falls outside the scope of this study, but I suggest that if such work were undertaken it would reveal patterns that would point to an underlying iconography that was both didactic and cautioning. Camille has pointed out the 'reverse' commentary of later marginalia<sup>213</sup> and these figures sound a warning to the too optimistic. The images give a balance, an encouragement, but also a warning. Not only has Christ defeated death and saints have followed him, but it is also possible for the devout believer who truly strives for God. The images of the defeated dragons and demons are counterbalanced by those who drag down the insufficiently aware. It is interesting to note that these scenes of saints and men defeating the dragon of sin and death and those of the soul entangled and struggling seem to be confined to manuscripts from France, especially northern France, England and the Low Countries. German illuminators did indeed make use of twisting foliage in their initials,<sup>214</sup> although this was often less intricate and elaborate than the manuscripts from the more westerly part of Europe, but this was simply a case of decorative foliage without figures either triumphant or struggling. Heiligenkreuzen manuscripts from the period, probably greatly influenced by Cîteaux, have the occasional dragon, but these are not combined with either humans or *semihomines*. The only 'entangled' human that I know of is that of a man climbing through a foliated

<sup>212</sup> Conrad Rudolph, "The 'principal Founders' and the early artistic legislation of Cîteaux," in *Studies in Cistercian art and architecture*, Cistercian studies ed. Meredith Parsons Lillich (Kalamazoo, 1987).

<sup>213</sup> Michael Camille, *Image on the edge: the margins of medieval art* (London, 1992).

<sup>214</sup> An example of an historiated initial with much intertwined foliage that in no way affects the subject of the scene can be found in Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek, Cod. Bibl. Fol. 57.

initial S, and he is in no manner threatened or in danger.<sup>215</sup> This may indicate that the optimism found in the Germanic lands a century earlier was still intact. The lack of the motifs in the Germanic lands lends extra weight to the idea that there was a didactic purpose to their usage in the more western parts of Europe. This is not to maintain that the countless initials of monsters, *semihomines*, warriors and entangling foliage in every case were a carefully worked out exegesis of the text. Doubtless many were used almost automatically, but the very frequency of use points to the fact that the maker wanted to hammer home a message to their readers. It is also necessary to consider the aspect of violence. These initials have been described as being gratuitously violent and also had their violence defended. Once again, I consider that this is to project modern notions onto the past. Present day campaigns often use, and are frequently criticised for using, controversial means to bring their message over. The violence in the works under consideration would not have been regarded as controversial, but simply as a forceful way in which to express both the dangers that surround the Christian soul and the measure of the soul's triumph over sin. In fact we may almost say that violence is lessened. Carolingian art used violence to depict the struggle between the righteous and the unrighteous, very often using human as both the instruments and the victims of violence. By shifting some of the violence to mythic, symbolic and metaphorical creatures violence is given a degree of abstraction that sets it at a remove from factual violence. The metaphor remains: the world of the late eleventh and early twelfth century Europe might have been more peaceful than the previous periods but violence was still part of everyday life, and the traditional metaphors still expressed the battle between good and evil.

Death had been defeated by Christ and was capable of being defeated by man, but was still a powerful force to be reckoned with. The initial on p. 173 of the St. Albans Psalter has already been discussed in the section dealing with that manuscript. However, this can be seen as a very potent, if subtle warning; at first glance it appears that the woman is trampling on the dragon, but the beast is slyly biting her in the foot. She has not conquered death, but has been caught by it. Compared to the Uta Codex, death has regained some power, but this is at the expense of identity. Sin and death had always been closely associated;

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<sup>215</sup> Heiligenkreuzen Stiftbibliothek, cod. 256, f. 2v.

sin was the cause of eschatological death and only by defeating sin could death be avoided. In this period we have a great emphasis on this defeat, not only by Christ but by the follower of Christ. The idea initiated by the Uta Codex has gained ground and taken visual form. The instructions on the cross have been transferred to visual symbols, but with a change in emphasis. The Uta crucifixion laid stress on following Christ by good works, by loving God and man. The '*Mors*' of the Leofric Missal showed the dangers of a life insufficiently dedicated to God, but gave no further details of how the believer was to conduct himself. The works of roughly a century later have turned inwards and are concerned with the purification of the self. This tendency was already in place in the earlier period, and we have seen how Anglo-Saxon works in particular acknowledged the inner weaknesses and faults of man. The miniatures of the period under discussion show a more positive attitude, but perhaps one less confident than that shown by Ottonian works. They express a need to reach ever-greater perfection, while the acts of charity and devotion to God recommended by the inscriptions on the cross of the Uta Codex were outward and visible signs of that love of God and of others. This emphasis on the inner self is a reflection of the desire of many to flee the world, indeed the distaste of many canons and monks for pastoral work. They sought their salvation, not in good works in the physical world but in meditation, increasing harmony with God. It is the individual's relationship with God and concern for his own salvation that speaks out of these initials. Missionary zeal has become internal, intent on making the soul worthy of salvation.

On balance the initials show the use of the carrot and the stick. No longer is the damned an amorphous mass of the 'unrighteous', but also potentially the good man who does not strive hard enough, who becomes blind to spiritual danger, who gives up or is too easily content. They acknowledge the sinful nature of man, but also encourage the reader to develop his innate spark of the divine to reach the happiness for which Anselm said men were intended. In this connection it must be noted that there are several miniatures of the fall from the Germanic lands. The fall shows an outward act of sin, something concrete, an action, while the initials showing the dangers that beset the Christian soul are metaphors for the secret and hidden sin, the thoughts and intentions. We have seen that the fall miniatures acknowledge the secret faults, and by acknowledging them, find the means to fight them, before they find expression in action. However, just controlling the hidden inner

sinfulness was not enough. Christina of Markyate did that, but with God's help, managed to ban it altogether. The 'entangling' initials are perhaps more subtle than Christina's story. Her temptation was one of lust and the flesh, whereas many of the initials warn against complacency and spiritual pride or blindness. One thing all these have in common is the emphasis on the continuing struggle, ever striving further and accepting hardship, both physical and spiritual, as a means of self-purification. An indication of this can also be seen in the number of copies of *Moralia in Job* that were made during this period. This internalisation of the struggle blurs the lines between death and the cause of death. In defeating one the individual defeats the other. In this there is a dichotomy: in the 'victory and danger' initials blame lies with the individual and his individual sinful nature; in some cases sexuality is shown as one of the dangers, but little emphasis is placed on it. The fall miniatures show a tendency to externalise sin and death. Sexuality is still seen as a great danger, but there are indications that a degree of blame was to be laid at the door of the Jews. The Jews were a symbol of those who rejected Christ, not just those of the Jewish faith, but also Muslims and heretics. In particular, Jews were frequently held to work maliciously for the corruption of the Christian soul. Amongst others, Guibert of Nogent accused them of sorcery and traffic with the devil. Perhaps both traits, internal and external, can be seen as indications of the atmosphere of the times when there were many ways to God—retreat from the world and living the contemplative life, or receiving absolution for sin by slaying God's external enemies. At least two of the fall miniatures were made for canonical foundations, and Bynum has shown that these had a more pastoral bias, albeit a concern for the soul rather than bodily well-being, than the truly monastic houses. Symptomatic for this division between internal and external is Peter Abelard's theoretical basis for the distinction between sin and crime. Obviously all crimes are sins, but not all sins are crimes. He gives various criteria for defining a crime—it must be a mortal sin, it must 'scandalize the Church' and harm the community and, most interestingly in this context, it must be perceptible to the senses.<sup>216</sup> In many ways we can say that the fall miniatures deal with 'crime'—and Abelard counted adultery as one of the great and unforgivable sins that

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<sup>216</sup> Virpi Makinen and Heikki Pihlajamäki, "The Individualization of Crime in Medieval Canon Law," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 65 (2005).



constitute a crime—while the ‘victory and danger’ initials deal largely with the sin that only God sees. In this sense there is a division between the physical death, which could be meted out by worldly authorities as a punishment for a crime, and the spiritual death that only God could inflict as a punishment for the sin only He could see.

The division between internal and external can also be seen in the miniatures of the creation of Eve. It has already been noted that Eve represents a part of man that is removable and that part is susceptible to the senses. It is the part that lies open to the world and its temptations, and is the conduit by which those temptations reach the inner rationality and spirituality of man. Eve is the counterpart of the *semi-homines*, often entangled in the world and, sometimes unwillingly, bringing down the soul, sometimes an active danger to it. It has been noted that while Eve is not deliberately seductive in a number of miniatures she is brought into connection both with the forces of evil and with sexuality. Again it can be considered that sexuality is an obvious danger to the spiritual health of the soul, and the ‘victory/danger’ initials tend to warn of more insidious dangers. The warnings can be seen as part of the emphasis on the recognition of sin and weakness if these are to be combatted successfully.

It has already been noted that there is a great emphasis in written sources on the kind and forgiving nature of God, something that is sometimes expressed in crucifixion miniatures. However, this period saw the establishment of scenes of the last judgement as a major theme. Scenes of the last judgement in previous periods seem to have been sporadic, to judge from the small number that have come down to us. This period saw not only an increase in such scenes and depictions of Christ as Judge with a sword issuing from his mouth that are to be found in several manuscripts, but it also saw the beginning of the great last judgement timpana. It would seem that the monk and the cleric—and the rich and educated layman or woman—was allowed a glimpse of Christ’s mercy while for the population as a whole greater emphasis was laid on judgement: the scenes of the damned being more graphic and often more easily visible than those of the blessed.<sup>217</sup> There is a sense of last things to be seen, not only in these depictions but also in the apocalypses made in the period. While Bodley 352 and the *Liber Floridus* can be regarded as truly illustrated apocalypses, a further copy

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<sup>217</sup> Attitudes to sin and death in ‘public art’ will be discussed in chapter five.

from c. 1100 must also be considered.<sup>218</sup> This has a prefatory miniature showing Christ in majesty surrounded by the evangelist symbols and holding the Lamb and the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove in the upper register and St. John and the angel in the lower register.<sup>219</sup> There are two points of interest in this manuscript that contains both the text of the Apocalypse and Berengaudus' commentary. The text of the Apocalypse begins on f. 1v and is marked by an initial A that is formed by a man wrestling with a dragon. While, of course, dragons abound in apocalypse illustration this clearly does not belong to that tradition but conforms more to the initials that we have been considering and could be a reference to a passage from Berengaudus.<sup>220</sup>

For it is of no profit to those who read and hear the commandments of God if they do not practice that which they read and hear. For there are many who read and hear God's commandments, but it does not help them if they are present in body, but absent in mind.

It could, in fact, tie in with the Berengaudus commentary. This, probably ninth century, work became extremely popular in the thirteenth century, something that has been brought into connection with the followers of Joachim of Fiore. This optimistic commentary counterpoints the devilish versions of *Mors* shown in the *Liber Floridus* and Bodley 352. While it is important to note that these two manuscripts are based on Haimo of Auxerre's commentary with its insistence that the fourth horseman was both death and the devil, Berengaudus' work was also being copied. For Berengaudus all four horseman were Christ, and all connected to a phase in the eschatological history of the Church. His standard formula for all the riders is that the rider is truly the Lord, and he adds for the white horse that he protects his saints, for the red that he lives in the saints, for the black that he shows the justice of the law and for the pale horse that he lives in his prophets. A century and a half later the maker of the Douce Apocalypse,<sup>221</sup> again based on Berengaudus, paraphrased the commentator by saying that Christ was

<sup>218</sup> Longleat House, Ms. 2.

<sup>219</sup> For a fuller description and the manuscript's possible place in the tradition of illustrated apocalypses see Michael A. Michael, "An illustrated 'Apocalypse' manuscript at Longleat House," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* (1984).

<sup>220</sup> *Nam nihil proficiet eis qui legunt aut audiunt mandata Dei, si non non servant ei, quae legunt vel audiunt. Multi namque sunt, qui mandata Dei, audiunt aut legunt, sed nihil eos iuvat, quia cum corpore praesentes, mente sunt absentes.* Berengaudus In Apocalypsin PLXVIII col. 845. Cited Nolan, *The Gothic visionary perspective*.

<sup>221</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms Douce 180.

death to sinners as he was life to the elect. The initial could then be seen as an imperative to fight sin. The fact that Berengaudus not only had readers but was being copied at this time is another indication of the complexity and ambiguities of this period.

All in all, we can say that in this period sin and death became not only ever more closely entwined, but death also began to take on the attributes of sin. Death is by no means fully assimilated into sin, but the tendencies are there. Death becomes more and more horrific and less and less human. It is a snare whose bait is sin, and sin is frequently disguised. Those who are able to recognise temptation for what it is see the double face of sin and death. Sin is insidious, but capable of defeat by those strong and pure minded, and with the defeat of sin comes the defeat of death. Sexuality is still seen as a threat, but in the miniatures and initials there is less blame attributed to women as the initiators of sexual actions, thoughts and desires. Occasionally we see women used as the instrument with which to tempt men, but the sexual connotations of the *Beatus* miniature in the Eadwine Psalter counterbalance this to some extent. The extreme distrust of women and sexuality that was shown in at least two earlier manuscripts has lessened, and occasionally we find miniatures or initials which show women, other than the Virgin, in a positive light, not only passively accepting suffering for Christ's sake, but actively fighting evil. The women rejecting temptation in the St. Albans Psalter are a case in point, or the St. Benoît Bible f. 370r. However there is no trace of the maternal Christ in the visual vocabulary of the period and woman was still a symbol of sin and particularly sexual sin. This is apparent in a copy of Gilbertus Porretanus' *Commentary on the Psalms*.<sup>222</sup> This commentary on psalm 56 has an initial M formed from a monstrous head from which spring two dragons. The head and the dragons threaten the figure of a woman, by seizing her buttocks. This presumably refers to those who have set snares for the psalmist, but have fallen into these themselves. Here the woman can be seen as both the weakness of the flesh and sexual desire and the means by which the Christian (male) soul is tempted. Theoretically this could depict the danger to the female soul as well, but since the manuscript was very probably made for the Abbey of the Holy Trinity in Vendôme, and, while this abbey traditionally enjoy the patronage of ladies of rank, the intended readers would have been

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<sup>222</sup> Vendôme, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 20, f. 80v.

monks. There is a possible tendency to anti-Semitism or anti-Judaism, which may have led to a diffusion of the attribution of guilt in some cases. However, anti-Judaism was directed to an external threat and enemy, a perceived evil of flesh and blood, a pernicious influence on the Christian world. The initials are directed towards the inner sin and weakness in man. It could be said that the two trends symbolised the two movements, crusading and withdrawal from the world.

The various symbols of death move more and more towards becoming symbols of evil: death becomes more and more demonic. The fourth horseman, once portrayed as a sign that the last days were coming, is now unequivocally shown as evil and demonic. The giant of the Utrecht and Harley Psalters has become bestialised in the Eadwine Psalter. The dragons, demons and other monsters can be defeated by man, but also prey on the unwary. Man can defeat death and sin, but he must be constantly on his guard, never being satisfied with his spiritual state. The miniatures of the period are harsher than the written sources. While Christ's loving and forgiving side is shown in crucifixion miniatures, those we have dealt with here show the snares of backsliding and the fate of those less than totally dedicated. God has given man a sword with which to fight evil, but the miniatures do not show forgiveness for those who fail to wield it with due effectiveness and vigour. In this movement towards the identification of sin and death with each other the *Sphaera Apulei* in the British Library stands as a stark contrast. In the three known illustrated versions the demonic content of *Mors* has gradually decreased with time. The oldest version, in the Leofric Missal, is a dreadful and frightening figure; glowing horns, spurs, wings and his nimbus of six dragons make it very clear that physical death can lead to the terror of eternal death. The *Mors* of the Tiberius Psalter has lost the horns, his spurs and claws are minimal, the goat's ears have vanished and even the wings and dragons are smaller and less dangerous looking. Nevertheless the Tiberius *Mors* is still an infernal figure, a warning to the unrighteous that after physical death this fate could await them. The youngest of the three *Sphaera*, Harley 3667, unlike the earlier two versions, is not found in a liturgical book but in a scientific textbook. As has already been noted the *Sphaera* were used by doctors and physicians as well as by priests. The figure of this *Mors* has nothing demonic about it, there seems to be no intention to terrify the reader or even set him to examining his soul. In the context of the work and the function of the *Sphaera* this marks a change. The function of the *Sphaera* was to predict whether an illness would be fatal or not, that is,

whether physical death was imminent. The earlier works concentrated on the consequences of physical death, the possibility of eternal death if the invalid had had insufficient care for his soul. Physical life meant the chance to mend a way of life and become a candidate for eternal life. The slight differences between *Mors* and *Vita* in Harley 3667 suggest that the prime emphasis here lay on the physical state of the patient: not eternal death, but physical death had moved centre stage. Eschatological death was being gradually absorbed by the cause of death and in this manuscript we see the first indications that physical death was becoming more central.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### RESPONSIBILITY, REDEMPTION AND THE DEMISE OF DEATH

The fall of man was becoming steadily a more acceptable subject for visual expression. During the second half of the twelfth century manuscripts with depictions of the fall steadily increased: it could be said to have become a usual, if not very common subject. Unlike earlier periods, there is no hiatus in the number of manuscripts with visual representations of the fall, but from around 1100 they appear with increasing frequency. Obviously the ideas and mentality of the makers and users did not change suddenly. It then becomes a question of how to divide the period into manageable sections and to do justice to the very real changes evident in the century. These changes are apparent when we look at both miniatures and texts from the beginning and the end of the twelfth century. As well as the wider social and political changes, new attitudes to both the natural sciences and theology affected how sin and death were viewed. Certain tendencies can be seen in the earlier half of the century that become more prominent later, but generally speaking, we cannot assume a gradual transition at a regular rate any more than we can expect attitudes to change with a date. Certainly the period from around 1140 to 1170–75 displays attitudes of both the earlier and later periods. The question is whether the miniatures give any idea of the *general* trend of ideas concerning man's relation with God among the plethora of confusing and frequently contradictory texts. The same applies to the underlying economic situation, changes are very gradual and often more noticeable when due to political factors and trade; politics and religion were frequently intertwined. The relationship between the Church and secular rulers continued to be uneasy. The great enthusiasm for the crusades waned somewhat, especially after the débâcles of the second crusade. Both the French and the Anglo-Norman kingdoms became far more centralised and bureaucratic. Much of the intellectual curiosity of the late eleventh and early twelfth century became a disciplined search for definitions. Certain women continued to play important roles, but despite the honouring of marriage as a sacrament, the view of women became increasingly

negative, as did that of the Jew. There seem to have been two almost contradictory trends, the one to enforce conformity on divergent groups, the other to be prepared to compromise or negotiate. The rise of the vernacular and works of fiction for recreation show a tendency towards secularisation, but at the same time there was a great emphasis on personal piety and esteem for visionaries. Many scholars see a change or turning point in many areas around the mid-twelfth century; but perhaps it would be truer to regard these as a culmination of trends or the resolution of varying tendencies.<sup>1</sup> In the same way that the various elements that distinguish Gothic architecture can be found earlier, but found their synthesis in the second half of the twelfth century, many divergent trends came to a resolution in the later twelfth century.

## 1. *General Context*

### 1.1 *Social Change*

The twelfth century, in general, was a time of prosperity and expansion. In the second half of the century the trade between north and south Europe increased, witness the rise of the Flemish towns and the export of English woollens, the more widespread use of luxury goods such as silk, wine and spices among northern elites. The Levant trade, in spite of the crusade, was highly profitable and here we see a sense of the compromise and practicality that was a characteristic of the period. In 1198 Innocent III replied to the Venetians who had complained that due to the excommunication of all those who ‘have anything to do with the Saracens either directly or indirectly...so long as the war between them and us shall last’ that city was

suffering great loss by this our decree, because Venice does not engage in agriculture but shipping and commerce. Nevertheless, we are led by the paternal love which we have for you to forbid you to aid the Saracens by selling them, giving them, or exchanging with them, iron, flax, pitch, sharp instruments, rope, weapons, galleys, ships, and timbers, whether

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<sup>1</sup> For example, Constable, *The reformation of the twelfth century*, p. 73 and Robert Chazan, *Medieval Stereotypes and Modern Antisemitism* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1997), Constable, “Women and the reformation of the twelfth century”, Klaus Jacobi, “Logic (ii) The later twelfth century,” in *A history of twelfth century western philosophy*, ed. Peter Dronke (Cambridge, 1988).



hewn or in the rough. But for the present and until we order to the contrary, we permit those who are going to Egypt to carry other kinds of merchandise whenever it shall be necessary. In return for this favour you should be willing to go to the aid of the province of Jerusalem and you should not attempt to evade our apostolic command. For there is no doubt that he who [tries] shall be under divine condemnation.

This is not only an obvious inducement to get the reluctant Venetians to take part in an attempt to recover Jerusalem, left in Muslim hands at the end of the third crusade, but it also shows that trade was of great importance and recognised as such. In fact the letter is recognition of the legitimacy of trade, even with the enemy—as long as this did not involve actively helping the enemy wage war.

Commerce was playing an ever increasing role; the fairs in Champagne had expanded both in size and importance, and a regular trading network was set up, involving partner, agents, specialist transporters, courier service and credit facilities.<sup>2</sup> This use of symbolic money among the internationally trading merchant class became the norm in the second half of the twelfth century and implies not only a good deal of confidence in business partners, but in expanding markets. The safety of precious metal or land was no longer the chief means by which prosperity could be gathered; many nobles and even royalty were deeply in debt to moneylenders. A new class of rich merchants arose, but these cannot always be fully distinguished from older nobility. The acceptance of the principle of primogeniture safeguarded patrimony, but led to a class of landless younger sons, some of whom made their way in the world through trade; nor were landed nobles averse to the advantages of trade, the obvious examples being Henri le Libéral of Champagne and his wife, Marie. Perhaps the extent to which trade was accepted can be seen in the language used in the courtly literature of the time. Chrétien de Troyes at the start of *Yvain* puns:<sup>3</sup>

*Artus, li buens rois de Bretaine  
La cui proesce nos ansaingne,  
Que nos soïns preu et cortois,  
Tint cort si riche come rois*

<sup>2</sup> R.D. Face, "Techniques of Business in the Trade between the Fairs of Champagne and the South of Europe in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Economic History Review* 10 (1958).

<sup>3</sup> Cited Eugene Vance, "Chretien's Yvain and the Ideologies of Change and Exchange," *Yale French Studies* 70 (1986).

*A cele feste, qui tant coste  
Qu'an doit clamer la pantecoste*

However, Vance's suggestion that Chrétien's romances can be seen almost as an allegory of trade, 'the  *fictive*  knight errant of romance is strikingly similar to the  *real*  travelling merchant,'<sup>4</sup> seems somewhat farfetched, as does his contention that the Château de Pesme Aventure 'is a thinly veiled criticism of the exploitation of labor in a nascent textile industry lying just to the west of Champagne in Flanders'. This seems unlikely if only for the fact that much of his patrons' prosperity was based on that industry, nor is any evidence given as to why Chrétien would concern himself with such industry. There are numerous examples of language that could be seen as indications of a 'trade mentality': the gown given by the Queen to Enide is described as being worth a hundred silver marks, and Kay's refusal to stay at Arthur's court even if his pay was a measure of gold each day, are two such examples. Against these we must weigh other examples, such as Chrétien's insistence that the value of the shirt given to Alexander lay in the fact that Sordemors had woven one of her hairs into it; that due to his treachery the Count Angres was not to be ransomed, but suffer the death penalty, and the cup given to Cligès was to be valued for its workmanship rather the gold from which it was made. Perhaps the most telling anti-mercantile simile is the description of Fenice's memories of Cligès that were described as being unlike moveable treasure, but a strong house that would withstand any attack or disaster. In fact, by concentrating only on a part of the vocabulary Vance obscures the very pronounced patron-client ethic that was surely the ideal of his audience. This manifests itself not only in descriptions of Arthur's court and its wealth, which the king distributes to his followers, but in the generosity of Arthur's clients to their own dependents. Lanvin, in Marie de France's tale, shares the wealth he gets from his fairy love with poor knights: Alexander loads ships full of horses, silk and other riches so that he can act as patron to others once Arthur has accepted him. The emperor impresses on his son that generosity is the finest of virtues. Whatever the vocabulary, it is clear that in the idealised world of Chrétien everything depends on the patron-client relationship. Finke and Shichtman have analysed this relationship in

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 59.

the work of Chrétien's contemporary, Marie de France.<sup>5</sup> While they argue for the position of intellectual property in this relationship, they also stress that 'Literary patronage is but one specific instance of a social institution that organized social, political, economic, and cultural relations at every level of society.'<sup>6</sup> Marie and Chrétien were not writing for the same audience: Marie's was the royal Anglo-Norman court and that of Chrétien the ducal court of Champagne, and later that of Flanders. This latter audience Vance describes as being in a society 'where the lesser nobles... were beginning to lose or forsake their inherited martial privileges.'<sup>7</sup> This seems to have been true, to a certain extent, throughout Europe, but in the 'economy of love' described by Chrétien this world does not really impinge: the exchange of goods and services, loyalty and prestige may be precisely laid out, but it is not expressed in terms of money but of love and friendship. Whatever the incursions of a bourgeoisie in the real world, the fantasy world of the audience of Romance turned on the socio-economic basis of the patron-client relationship.

Finke and Shichtman show that the 'new men,' lesser nobles and upper bourgeoisie, were part of the system, but that they were becoming integrated into the relationship is obvious from many other sources. The lines between upper and lesser nobility were becoming blurred and even those between the free and the unfree. In a period when government was becoming more centralised, not only on the larger scale practised by Henry II and Philip Augustus, but also the various counts and other minor rulers, the importance of efficient administrators is scarcely to be overestimated. It is true that such men owed their loyalty directly to their lord, but they were also rewarded with lands, and wives who brought them land, wealth and position, just as Arthur endowed his followers with *Femmes e teres*.<sup>8</sup> This trait was to be seen in the German lands where *ministeriales* not only were sometimes extremely wealthy, but sometimes were called counts.<sup>9</sup> The relative power, wealth and importance of an individual were not dependent on his status as free or unfree, but on

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<sup>5</sup> Laurie A. Finke and Martin B. Shichtman, "Magical Mistress Tour: Patronage, Intellectual Property, and the Dissemination of Wealth in the 'Lais' of Marie de France," *Signs* 25 (2000).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Vance, "Chretien's Yvain and the Ideologies of Change and Exchange."

<sup>8</sup> Marie de France, *Lanval*, v. 17.

<sup>9</sup> Sabina Flanagan, "For God Distinguishes the People of Earth as in Heaven": Hildegard of Bingen's Social Ideas," *Journal of Religious History* 22 (1998).

his particular situation. In a study of the marriages of the unfree of the lands of various northern French abbeys Berkhofer found that the bailiffs or 'mayors' were part of a network of family relations that could include both free and unfree, 'mayors', counts and even a bishop, and that there was frequently a contest between 'mayor' and abbot about status.<sup>10</sup> Certainly many of them must have been wealthy since sureties were offered of 500 or even 1000 pounds. Miller's study of estates in England showed that the majority in the twelfth century were 'farmed' by stewards who could grow rich on the proceeds afforded by innovations and an expanding economy, while the holder of the land was tied to a previously defined amount.<sup>11</sup> Thus throughout north-western Europe the socio-economic divisions were in flux. Lesser nobles or even the unfree could rise to prominence, becoming patrons in their turn. The tendency to try to make offices hereditary could lead to the rise of a previously obscure family; while the lesser importance attached to the military function of the nobility could lead to the eclipse of a previously great family. Nevertheless, the socio-economic relationship was still chiefly expressed in terms of patron and client, even if this was now very much more complex than the relatively direct hierarchical relationships of the Carolingian period.

#### 1.1.1 *Women as Rewards and Patrons*

Finke and Shichtman try to demonstrate that women in Marie's *lais* can function as independent patrons, dispensing wealth and/or sexual favours at no behest but their own. There is no doubt that Marie's fairy lady in *Lanval* can do both, but then she is not of this world. The queen's attempt to make Lanval the object of her (sexual) patronage is unsuccessful. However, there are numerous examples of female patronage, both in literature and in reality. Eleanor of Aquitaine is probably the prime example of a woman who ran her own system of patronage and bestowed her sexual favours—and sometimes her wealth and position—on men of her own choosing. Even Eleanor could run foul of the system as was clear in her quarrel with Henry II. Eleanor was known, among other things, as a patron of troubadours who extolled the power of women over men. The melancholy lyrics of the trobaritz

<sup>10</sup> Robert F. Berkhofer III, "Marriage, Lordship and the 'Greater Unfree' in Twelfth Century France," *Past and Present* (2001).

<sup>11</sup> Edward Miller, "England in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries: An Economic Contrast?," *Economic History Review* 24 (1971).

show this power to be far less than their male counterparts would have us believe.<sup>12</sup> Marie's *lais* show women as part of the rewards given by a patron to his client for faithful service, and rulers used this as a regular means by which to reward especially the new bureaucratic elite. In romances it is probably truer to say that, except in cases such as the fairy lady, women functioned within the patronage system of their menfolk. They dispensed patronage but almost as a deputy, perhaps due to a sense of fitness or propriety, such as when Enide receives a gown from the queen. This episode shows the importance of the right sort of patronage, the right patron. Erec refuses to allow Enide to accept a gown from her cousin, the count's daughter, although he allows her to accept a horse, for the practical purpose of getting her to court. Enide's ragged appearance at court, together with her great beauty spells out the relationship between patron and client. By appearing in rags she is clearly the suppliant and the queen her patron. The queen's generosity to such a suppliant places her above the danger afforded by Enide's beauty that was to be acknowledged by Arthur's kiss. At the same time the relationship between the queen and Enide mirrors that between Arthur and Erec. In the same way, the queen 'gives' her maid, Sordemors, to Alexander, but they still need Arthur's consent to wed. Women were a channel through which patronage could be solicited or given, and there is little reason to think that many women functioned as fully independent patrons in reality.

In the romances king and queen bestow wives on their clients, and as far as the main protagonists are concerned this is a benevolent act to bring the lovers together. However there are many instances of a forced marriage being threatened. In these circumstances it is worth looking at the functions of women in real patronage relationships. Rulers arranged advantageous marriages for their advisors and intimates: marriage to an heiress could bring a 'new man' wealth, prestige and possibly a title. It was also a relatively easy way for a ruler to reward a follower, without damaging his own personal holdings. Marriage for a wealthy, but unfree, man could mean the chance to escape his status, or at least that his children would be free. Exogamy of the unfree sometimes brought problems for the lords of the contracting parties, and in particular it could cause them to lose highly trained and wealthy

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<sup>12</sup> My thanks to Hannie van Horen for much information on the language of the *trobaritz*.

serfs: charters often make provision for the acknowledgement of the servile status of the couple, or one of the two, and insist on the servile status of children of the marriage, including the right of the lord to control their marriage.<sup>13</sup> The decretal on marriage, *Dignum est*, issued by Pope Hadrian IV in 1155, in theory, should have removed a lord's control over the marriage of his serfs. In essence *Dignum est* asserted that the consent of both parties was the only ground for a valid marriage. However, it is clear that consensual unions were certainly not the only ones after 1155. Lords, while unable to annul serfs' marriages that had taken place without their consent, could still make such marriages very difficult, and in cases of exogamy could have recourse to the courts to enforce their rights over the serf. There is no reason to think that no pressure was put on free girls to marry, indeed given the patronage network it seems likely that they would be given little choice. Even in romance we can see a reference to *Dignum est* in *Erec et Enide* when the count who finds Enide by the side of the seemingly lifeless Erec marries her although she refuses to consent.<sup>14</sup>

Free women could be seen as an asset, in fact a property that could be disposed of to the best advantage. In such cases this was often part of the patronage network or the building up of family alliances. The importance of this aspect can be seen when we consider Gratians *Decretum*, c. 1140 and its attitude to the crime of *raptus*. Traditionally the crime for *raptus* was the death penalty, but appealing to a sense of Christian love and abhorrence of shedding blood, he advocates excommunication for a stated period. He also gives a new definition of the crime, including the fact that the victim must be abducted from the house of her father, and there must have been no previous marriage agreement between the parties. The punishment for ravishment in this way could simply be the marriage of the two parties, subject to the consent of the victim.<sup>15</sup> In 1200 Innocent III gave his consent to this arrangement. This meant that while a couple wishing to marry had

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<sup>13</sup> Berkhofer, "Marriage, Lordship and the 'Greater Unfree' in Twelfth Century France."

<sup>14</sup> *Lors ont le chapelain mandé  
Si con li cuens l'ot comandé,  
Et la dame ront amenee,  
Si li ont a force donee;  
Car ele mout le refusa* (4767–4771).

<sup>15</sup> Kathryn Gravdal, "Chretien de Troyes, Gratian, and the Medieval Romance of Sexual Violence," *Signs* 17 (1992).

the means of forcing parents to agree, it also meant that the victim was placed in a position whereby she had little alternative than to agree to a marriage. This could be used by both a suitor, rejected by her father, to gain possession of land and other wealth, or by suitor and father, acting together, to force a union on which they had agreed, but was rejected by the girl. Gradval contends that 'Chrétien presents ravishment as an act of overpowering love that is not inherently criminal... both twelfth century writers [Chrétien and Gratian] study rape as male experience, offering a lesson on the harm it does to patriarchy; to kings, to fathers, to husbands, and even to the assailants themselves. Conversely, both authors textualize sexual violence as a romantic narrative (implying that it is quite a compliment "to the ladies").'<sup>16</sup> Gradval's view has a pronounced feminist slant and she gives less weight to various factors than perhaps they deserve, and which have importance for this study. She points out that Chrétien's rapists and would-be rapists are either from a socially inferior class or from some foreign land. To my mind this is important, as it not only separates the 'good from the bad', but it sets a standard that was expected of a Christian. The noble knight would do no such thing. Women in Chrétien's works, while frequently beautiful and good, can be a source of deliberate temptation as the maiden in *Le Chevalier de la Charrette*. In this episode Lancelot not only rescues the maiden from what appears to him to be rape, but is dedicated enough in his love for Guinevere to withstand her attempted seduction. In virtually all the tales of rape and attempted rape the cause is the extraordinary beauty and desirability of the female.

These tales give a secular setting to the didactic works that emphasise the need to withstand temptation. However beautiful the maiden, no true knight will take her by force: he will not succumb to his animal desires. The romances and *lais* had a chiefly secular and wealthy audience and were intended as entertainment, but they reflect the ideas of the time. To withstand temptation was good; those that succumbed to it were outside the community. Even when a knight such as Ywain, by his behaviour, sets himself outside the community, he can, through hardship and effort, reinstate himself. This is virtually the same message as was found in the theological works—fight temptation, the imperatives of the body and the lures of the world and riches (literal in the case of the romances and those of the soul in the case of theological works) will be

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 585.

the reward. Even if you fail, with true repentance you can retrieve your position. Notable is that temptation is usually, though not invariably, in the form of a woman. Frequently the lovely temptress is the mistress of wealth, as Lancelot's siren or the queen in *Lanvin*. Such women can be seen as symbolising the lure of the world, with a great emphasis on sexuality. Here the message given deviates from that in theological and didactic works. In the latter, while in the twelfth century marriage was regarded as a sacrament and praised as being good and natural, it was still second to virginity. Virginity is the higher, more desirable state. In the romances this is not the case: they culminate in mutual sensual delight. For the knight his bride is his reward: for the lady the love of a valiant knight is to be preferred above continued virginity. The romances stress the sexual feeling of the protagonists, but emphasise that these are within the bounds of true and faithful love. Love and fidelity are the virtues here; even the adulterous love of Lancelot for Guinevere is shown, on his part, to be devoted. If Guinevere loved him, then *il mile tanz a li*—he loved her a thousand times more.<sup>17</sup> Here, then, even adulterous love is shown to be true, but that of the woman is less than that of the man. Other indications of 'female weakness' can be seen in the romances and *lais*. While Chrétien stresses the true love of Enide, she succumbs to the gossip of Erec's father's court rather than believing that he remains the valiant knight she married. The wife in *La Fresne* is subject to jealousy and spite, and when caught in her own lies is prepared to murder her child to hang on to her reputation. The love of the wife in *Bisclaveret* is not sufficient to prevent her nagging her husband until he tells her he is a wer-beast, then her love turns to fear and she plots his downfall. These women are not shown as inherently evil in the beginning, but through flattery, fear or the world's opinion, make mistakes of greater or lesser degree.

The 'villains' of the pieces are frequently driven to their villainy by the overwhelming beauty of a woman. *Equitan* describes how the good king and lord is so overwhelmed by the beauty of his seneschal's wife he is driven to despair and to adultery. Despite his fitness as a ruler he comes to a bad end, along with his paramour. This is a basically good man who is tempted by feminine beauty: worthy of note is the fact that, in the beginning at least, the wife does nothing to seduce him: he already desires her before he sees her, and he seduces her. Simply the

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<sup>17</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms f. 794, 4690–4691.



report of a woman's loveliness is sufficient to start a trail of disaster. There is, then, under the adventure and eroticism of the romances and *lais* a layer of moral didactic that points out the need to withstand temptation, the danger represented by the world. The various personages can be seen as a translation of the *miles Christi*, semihomines and monsters found in the initials of the previous chapter. Feminine beauty is shown as the greatest danger, a symbol for all the temptations of the world. In the knight who persists in his honour, the sexual response to beauty—and then always allied to wisdom and goodness—will lead to an honourable union, in which sexual gratification is subject to pure love and honour. The weak knight whose sexual urges take no account of honour will be defeated by goodness of the lady and/or her knight. The lady is frequently shown as succumbing to the blandishments, threats or fear invoked by the man whose lust she has aroused. Both men and women can and do succumb to sin, and this sin is sexual and outside the patronage system. The lady who is worthy of the honourable knight is given to him, by father, king, queen or, in the case of *Lanvin*, the lady herself. Such a bestowal brings with it riches and honour, as well as the sexual favours of the woman.

### 1.2 *Church and State*

The relationship between rulers and the papacy, despite the agreement reached at Strasbourg, continued to be strained. Frederick Barbarossa's relationship with a succession of popes varied from the outright hostile to temporary alliance. At the beginning of his reign Frederick was in the position of having the support of a large number of the upper clergy in Germany, who were less than contented with papal power. Perhaps the highlight of the struggle was the letter of Hadrian IV, written in 1157 that implied that Frederick received his earthly power from the Church. The incident was smoothed over, but the power struggle continued and only ended in 1177 when in Venice the emperor kneeled before the Pope.<sup>18</sup> The succession of anti-popes in the reign of Alexander was another symptom of the struggle for the control of the Holy See. This was not only between Pope and Emperor, but between

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<sup>18</sup> Giles Constable, "Dictators and Diplomats in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries: Medieval Epistolography and the Birth of Modern Bureaucracy," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 46 (1992).

the various factions, both political and hierarchical, within the curia and beyond. It is understandable that in a decree of the 1179 Lateran Council Alexander tried to set new rules for the election of a pope. In this it was declared that unanimity, which had been the ideal, was no longer required but a two-thirds majority would suffice. He went on to say that,

if anyone, trusting to the nomination of one third, shall usurp for himself the name—the real authority he cannot—of a bishop he himself, as well as all those who shall have received him shall be subjected to excommunication, and shall be punished by the privation of all their holy orders; so that the holy Eucharist, except on their deathbeds, be denied them.... Moreover if any one be elected to the office of pope by fewer than two thirds...he shall by no means be accepted, and shall be subject to the aforesaid penalty if he be unwilling to humbly abstain.<sup>19</sup>

Both the ‘explanation’ of Hadrian for his insult to Frederick and the provision for papal elections show something of the willingness to compromise. It has been suggested that Alexander, while in Venice for his talks with Frederick Barbarossa, had been influenced by the efficacy of the Venetian system for choosing a Doge.<sup>20</sup>

The struggle for authority can also be seen in the relationships between Henry II and Hadrian IV, partly as recounted by John of Salisbury, who was on good terms with the Pope and, intermittently, also with Henry. John, ‘was perhaps the most able and influential representative of his time’ of the clericalist theory, something which would seem to have cost him, for a time at least, Henry’s good will.<sup>21</sup> He was certainly present, whether as an official member of Henry’s diplomatic mission or as the representative of the archbishop of Canterbury, during the negotiations over the future of Ireland. Hadrian agreed to Henry’s plans to conquer that land, but in such terms that made clear that this was a papal grant as given in John’s *Metalogicon*:<sup>22</sup>

*Ad preces meas, illustri regi Angelorum, Henrico secundo, (Adrianus) consessit et dedit Hiberniam iure hereditario possidendam, sicut littere ipsius testantur in hodiernum diem. Nam omnes insule de iure antique ex donatione Constantini, qui eam*

<sup>19</sup> Ernest G. Henderson, *Selected Historical Documents of the Middle Ages* (London, 1910).

<sup>20</sup> Josep M. Colomer and Iain McLean, “Electing Popes: Approval Balloting and Qualified-Majority Rule,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 29 (1998).

<sup>21</sup> Giles Constable, “The Alleged Disgrace of John of Salisbury in 1159,” *English Historical Review* 69 (1954).

<sup>22</sup> John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon* book IV, ch. 42. Cited *ibid.*, p. 68.

*fundauit et donauit, dicuntur ad Romanam Ecclesiam pertinere. Aunulum quoque per me transmisit aureum, smaragdo optimo decoratum, quo fieret inuestitura iuris in gerenda Hibernia...*

It is clear from this passage that the Pope was not simply agreeing to Henry's proposed annexation, but considered Ireland his to grant. Indeed, according to John all islands belonged to the Church, and by extension this could apply to England and thus the Pope could claim hegemony over Henry's kingdom. This might even be regarded as more extreme than Hadrian's letter to Frederick Barbarossa. Hadrain accused certain English bishops of putting Henry's interest before those of Rome and took a number of English churches under direct papal control and protection.<sup>23</sup>

The relations between Church and State received theoretical attention from John of Salisbury in *Policraticus*. While laying emphasis on the work of the just ruler to protect the weak and punish the wrongdoer in the Carolingian tradition, there is a new emphasis on the role of law. It is impossible, says John, that the will of the ruler 'should be found opposed to justice.'<sup>24</sup> His power comes from God who 'merely exercises it through a subordinate hand, making all things teach his mercy or justice... For it is not the ruler's own act when his will is turned to cruelty against his subjects, but rather the dispensation of God for His good pleasure to punish or chasten them.'<sup>25</sup> He goes on to say that 'the authority of the prince depends upon the authority of justice and law; and truly it is a greater thing than imperial power for the prince to place his government under the laws.'<sup>26</sup> He quotes approvingly, Crisippus' statement that law extend over all things, both material and divine.<sup>27</sup> For John, God is the ultimate authority and wordly authority secondary to that of the Church.<sup>28</sup>

The prince is, then, as it were, a minister of the priestly power, and one who exercises that side of the sacred offices which seems unworthy of the hands of the priesthood. For every office existing under, and concerned with the execution of, the sacred laws is really a religious office... and so

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., p. 69.

<sup>24</sup> Book four, ch. I.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., ch. II.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., ch. III.

he in whose hands is the authority to confer a dignity excels in honour him on whom the dignity itself is conferred.

While John clearly advocated a system of harmony between ruler and Church it is notable that this is in no way an arbitrary relationship of a good ruler obedient to the Church, but rather of both being servants of a higher law or equity. It is this idea of rightness, of an order that goes beyond simply the interest of Church or state—although it is implied that if both were functioning properly it would be in their interest—that dictates John's view. God's divine order is not arbitrary, but subject to the laws that are inherent in God's justice and mercy. In this John goes beyond the struggle for supremacy between ecclesiastical and worldly authority, beyond who is God's primary representative on earth. The two authorities could also be regarded as having disputed ground in respect to the punishment of crime. John may have advocated the earthly ruler, as the executive arm of divine law; for Gratian the matter was rather more complex. The relationship between the priest's power to remit sins, as symbolised by the keys, and that of the worldly authorities charged with punishing crime was problematic. If the hearing of confession and remitting of sins was not sufficient, that called the power of the priesthood into question; but if sinners could by these means be pardoned by God, then the enforcement of earthly justice, supported by the Church in canon law, was dubious. Gratian did not fully separate the two spheres of the Church, as he might have done. For Gratian the question of obedience to authority was limited to morally indifferent commands and must not extend to any that would transgress divine law. Divine law was an integral part of the Christian community and way of life and must be regarded as higher than any earthly authority.<sup>29</sup>

The struggle between Church and Crown was highly complex and certainly not confined to who was the higher authority. Economics and administration, revenue and politics all played a role in both ambitions and strategies. Inter-dynastic rivalry and rebellion complicated matters, not only in respect of Frederick Barbarossa's nobles and his struggle with the Lombards, but the increasing ambitions of Louis VII and Philip Augustus, especially in respect of Normandy, were a source of conflict in which the Church was an important factor. It would appear

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<sup>29</sup> Stanley A. Chodorow, *Christian Political Theory and Church Politics in the Mid-Twelfth Century: the Ecclesiology of Gratian's Decretum* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1972).

that the Plantagenet monarchs pursued a less subtle policy than the Capetian kings. The Constitutions of Clarendon of 1164 laid very great restrictions on the powers of the Church, especially the use and powers of the church courts, but also restricting travel without the king's consent. More particularly article seven protects royal officials and tenants-in-chief.

No one who holds of the king in chief or any of the officials of his desmesne is to be excommunicated or his lands placed under interdict unless the lord king, if he be in the land, or his justiciar, if he be outside the kingdom, first gives his consent, that he may do for him what is right....

Article 10, is even more far-reaching.

If any one who is of a city, castle, borough or desmesne manor of the king shall be cited by archdeacon or bishop for any offence for which he ought to be held answerable to them and despite their summonses he refuses to do what is right, it is fully permissible to place him under interdict, but he ought not to be excommunicated before the king's chief official of that vill shall agree, in order that he may authoritatively constrain him to come to his trial. But if the king's official fail in this, he himself shall be the lord king's mercy; and then the bishops shall be able to coerce the accused man by ecclesiastical authority.

Such clauses severely restricted Church power by removing or limiting the ability to apply the most effective sanction of excommunication. By reissuing the canons of Lillebonne Henry II attempted to bring about a similar situation in Normandy. Obviously the appointment of bishops, frequently wealthy, influential and of great political importance, continued to be a major area of contention. The Concordat of Worms had apparently regulated the matter, but there was still room for both manoeuvring and for conflict. The Plantagenet kings were highly successful in getting members of their family or close advisors and officials appointed in England and Normandy, but had considerably less so in the more southern Angevin territories.<sup>30</sup> Philip Augustus' strategies seem to have been based, not only on the support he could expect from a candidate for an (arch)bishopric, but also on the financial gain to be expected from an empty *sedes*. It has even been suggested that the later twelfth century popes deliberately discouraged economic growth in

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<sup>30</sup> Ralph V. Turner, "Richard Lionheart and the Episcopate in His French Domains," *French Historical Studies* 21 (1998).

secular areas so as to make the revenues from the sees in those areas insufficiently attractive to the Capetians for them to risk excommunication or interdict.<sup>31</sup> The need for the support of bishops is shown by the defection of the once loyal Norman bishops at the end of the twelfth century. It would seem that Philip Augustus was fairly successful in getting candidates appointed who would support him rather than having their first allegiance to Rome, and was perhaps more subtle in bringing more litigation to royal or comital courts instead of ecclesiastical. In the long run his less confrontational policy was more successful than the heavy-handed and frequently violent methods of the Angevin rulers.<sup>32</sup> Indeed the war-like policies of the Plantagenets were one of the reasons why the Norman barons and people were prepared to shift their allegiance to Philip Augustus. This, together with the complexity of the feudal relationship between the Capetian and Angevin rulers, the secure power base in the Île de France, the growth of the myth of the French nation centred on the king and the general intellectual and theological trend to build hierarchical systems led to a swing in the balance between England and France.<sup>33</sup>

### 1.3 *The Crusades*

After the enthusiasm and success of the first crusade, the failure of the second led to a great deal of disillusionment. Bernard of Clairvaux's apology for the second crusade lays the blame, not with the Pope or with himself: they were no more to be blamed, he says, than Moses was for the failings of the Israelites whom he led out of Egypt. He characterises those who went on the second crusade as 'rebellious and unbelieving.' They perished due to their own iniquities, and neither Bernard nor the Pope should blame themselves, even if those who judge by results blame them.<sup>34</sup> After the crusade failed to achieve any

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<sup>31</sup> Bruce Bueno de Mesquita, "Popes, Kings, and Endogenous Institutions: The Concordat of Worms and the Origins of Sovereignty," *International Studies Review* 2 (2000).

<sup>32</sup> For example Richard I, as Henry II's viceroy in Aquitaine, devastated the monastery of Thouars in 1178 because they had elected a bishop without his knowledge and consent. Turner, "Richard Lionheart and the Episcopate in His French Domains."

<sup>33</sup> Ralph V. Turner, "The Problem of Survival for the Angevin 'Empire': Henry II's and His Sons' Vision versus Late Twelfth-Century Realities," *The American Historical Review* 100 (1995).

<sup>34</sup> PL 182: 741–745. Trans Brundage.

of its goals there was more emphasis on the crusades as a professional military undertaking rather than a spontaneous upsurge of emotion from the ordinary faithful to combine pilgrimage with military objectives. In the summer of 1187 Saladin and his army defeated the Christian army at Hattin and soon afterwards regained Jerusalem. About six months later both Richard the Lionheart and Philip Augustus took the cross and pledged to regain Jerusalem, but delayed their departure for three years. This delay, at least partially, was due to their mutual suspicion and distrust. Bertran de Born addressed to Conrad of Montferrat, the defender of Tyre:<sup>35</sup>

*Siengner Conrat, eu sai dui rei qu'estan  
d'audar vos. Ara entendatz qui  
lo reis Felips es l'uns. quar va doptan  
lo rei Richart, es el lui dopt'aissi.  
Ar fos unsequecs d'elz en boia  
D'en Saladin! Pos van de Deu gaban  
Quar son crosat e d'anar mot no fan*

Bertran's admitted his own reluctance to go on crusade, despite feeling it to be his duty. If it does not please his ladylove he will stay behind. Troubadours 'evinced disillusionment with the outcome of the crusades against the infidel.'<sup>36</sup> The *Gesta Francorum* describes men who refused to go on crusade as being characterised as womanish by sending them distaffs and their womenfolk urging them to go, thereby giving a rather different picture to that painted by Bertran.<sup>37</sup> Ramey has shown that the *Jeu de Saint Nicolas*, written just after the end of the third crusade by Jean Bodel, is a plea for conversion by peaceful means and points out that the Emir d'Outre l'Arbre Sec says:<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Lord Conrad, I know two kings who failed  
to help you. Now listen who they are  
King Philip is one because he suspects  
King Richard, who suspects him too.  
I wish they were both in  
the chains of Saladin. For they boast of God  
because they took the Cross, but say no word of going

Poem 41, stanza 3. Cited Lindsay Diggelmann, "Exile and the Poetic Standpoint of the Troubadour Bertran de Born," *Pavergon* 22 (2005).

<sup>36</sup> Lynn Tarte Ramey, "Jean Bodel's *Jeu de Saint Nicolas*: A Call for Non-Violent Crusade," *French Forum* 27 (2003).

<sup>37</sup> Sarah Lambert, "Crusading or Spinning," in *Gendering the Crusades*, ed. Susan B. and Sarah Lambert Edgington (Cardiff, 2001).

<sup>38</sup> Saint Nicholas, it is despite myself that I worship you, and by force. Of me you shall have nothing but the skin/bark; in word I become your man, but my faith is in

*Sains Nicolais, c'est maugré mien  
 Que je vous aoure, et par forche.  
 De moi n'arés vous fors l'eschorche:  
 Par parole devieng vostre hom  
 Mais li creanche est en Mahom*

Ramey does not consider the name given to this emir, but surely this is of importance for how we read this character's speech. He refers to *l'eschorche*—bark—and that is all Christianity will have from him, the outer appearance, and that surely ties in with his name *Beyond the Dry Tree*. There are numerous references to a dry tree in the Bible, but in the Middle Ages it was most commonly seen to refer to the cross and Christ with reference to Luke 23:31. This usage was very evident in various crucifixion scenes where the cross is shown bursting into leaf or flower as the green tree, that is, as the tree of life. Some miniatures such as the opening ff. 7v, 8r in Angers Bibliothèque Municipale 24, discussed in chapter 2, shows the cross as the dry tree until Christ's death and sacrifice transform it into the green tree of life. The emir's name shows his rejection of grace and salvation: he is not even the dry tree, capable of being transformed, but beyond that. Because of this I feel that Bodel does not in any sense question Christianity, but I do agree with Ramey's point that Bodel was advocating non-violent conversion.<sup>39</sup>

Many other sources seem to agree that the 'Holy Land [was] a setting for crusader valour.'<sup>40</sup> Certainly, ruthlessness was displayed and an eye to the military necessities, as when Richard the Lionheart ordered the slaughter of two thousand seven hundred Muslim hostages at Acre. The *Iterarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* puts the blame for this on Saladin and adds that those carrying out the beheading 'gave heartfelt thanks, since with the approval of divine grace, they were taking vengeance in kind for the death of the Christians whom these people had slaughtered...'<sup>41</sup> The chronicler also says that 'King Richard always hoped to overwhelm the Turks completely, to crush their impudent arrogance, to confound Moslem law, and to vindicate Christianity.'<sup>42</sup>

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Muhammad. Jean Bodel, *Jeu de Saint Nicolas*, v. 1507–1511. Cited Ramey, "Jean Bodel's *Jeu de Saint Nicolas*: A Call for Non-Violent Crusade."

<sup>39</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 10.

<sup>40</sup> Diggelmann, "Exile and the Poetic Standpoint of the Troubadour Bertran de Born."

<sup>41</sup> Book IV.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*



The chronicler gives a picture of Richard that seems to be the basis for the legends round him—leaping first ashore when attacking the Cypriots and challenging their emperor to single combat, being still sick but being carried in a silken litter ‘so that the Saracens might be awed by his presence and also that he could encourage his men for the fight.’<sup>43</sup> Philip Augustus, on the other hand, the chronicler shows as weak and impetuous, so desolated by the defeat suffered by the French at Acre that he would not even mount his horse. The various chroniclers sought to glorify their subject. Frederick Barbarossa had not delayed as long as Richard and Philip, but met his death while trying to cross a river in 1190. The account is worth comparing with that of Richard’s chronicler, being rather more moderate. Frederick’s chronicler describes the sun, heat and difficult terrain and goes on to say:<sup>44</sup>

The Emperor, who had shared in all the dangers, wished both to moderate the heat and to avoid climbing the mountain peak. Accordingly, he attempted to swim across the very swift Calycadmus River. As the wise man says, however, “thou shalt not swim against the river’s current” [Ecclesiastes 4:32]. Wise though he was in other ways, the Emperor foolishly tried his strength against the current and power of the river. Although everyone tried to stop him, he entered the water and plunged into a whirlpool. He who had often escaped great dangers, perished miserably. Let us comment the secret judgement of God, “to Whom no man dares say: Why have you acted thus,” when he takes such or so many men in death. The Emperor was, indeed, a knight of Christ and a member of his army. He was taken up while on a laudable mission to recover the Lord’s land and his cross and thus, even though he was taken unexpectedly, we may believe that, without doubt, he was saved.

This is interesting as not only is it less uncritical of Frederick than Richard’s chronicler was of his hero, but it also gives a view of the question of salvation, especially in relation to Urban’s promise of the remission of sins. Because Frederick was on a crusade, the fact that he had no time to make confession or receive either absolution or the extreme unction, meant that his salvation was secure. The question of salvation is raised in the correspondence between Philip of Flanders and Hildegard von Bingen in 1176–1177. By this time Hildegard was recognized as a prophetess and her advice sought by many. Philip was rumoured to have vowed to go on crusade to show his penitence of

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., book III.

<sup>44</sup> *Historia de Expeditione Frederici Imperatoris*.

the atrocities committed in his war with England, accusations of being the cause of death of his brother, and have not only having Walter of Fontaines beaten to death, but also causing his corpse to be dishonoured.<sup>45</sup> Philip's crusading vow can be seen as intending a pilgrimage of expiation and serving God's cause. Nevertheless, other considerations played a role 'the *iter Ierosolimitanum* changed into an occasion for personal prowess and knightly pride...'<sup>46</sup> Philip saw the crusade as a furtherance of his family's traditional links with Byzantium and the kingdom of Jerusalem, an opportunity for personal prestige and glory, and the chance to extend the political influence of Flanders. This is probably why he asked Hildegard about the advisability of remaining in the Holy Land. Hildegard had less concern for the physical fight with the Saracens than Philip's spiritual fight against his sinful nature. She likened him to Adam and upbraided him for his 'negligencies and sins and all your unjust judgements.'<sup>47</sup> While acknowledging the value of the fight to preserve Jerusalem she maintained that this only had merit if he meditated on his sins and sought to follow God. It would seem that there was a division between spiritual leaders, such as Hildegard and Bernard of Clairvaux, who laid the emphasis on the opportunity presented by the crusades to make amends for sin in a spirit of true repentance, and those who saw it as the chance for personal prestige and political advancement.

Interestingly, various documents show a great animosity towards the Greeks. Richard's chronicler describes them as treacherous and cowardly. Frederick, in a letter to Leopold of Austria written in 1189 says that 'the emperor of Constantinople, although he ought to be bound by brotherly love, has from the very first violated all the oaths that are known to have been sworn by his chancellor at Nuremberg... we can in future have no confidence in the words and oaths of the Greeks'. In the same year the ex-queen of Jerusalem, Sibylla, wrote to Frederick telling him 'never believe the Grecian emperor', a 'persecutor of the church of God has entered into a conspiracy with Saladin, the seducer and destroyer of the holy Name, against the name of our Lord Jesus Christ' and that the emperor refuses to allow provisioning of Jerusalem.

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<sup>45</sup> Miriam Rita Tessera, "Philip Count of Flanders and Hildegard of Bingen: Crusading against the Saracens or Crusading against Deadly Sin," in *Gendering the Crusades*, ed. Susan B. Edgington and Sarah Lambert (Cardiff, 2001).

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81.

<sup>47</sup> Cited *ibid.*, p. 83.

All this shows the deterioration in relations between the east and west and is a far cry from Urban's plea to liberate the eastern Christians from the Turks.

#### 1.4 *Outside the Community: Jews and Heretics*

Not only was animosity shown towards the Greeks, and naturally, the Muslims, but Jews and heretics were increasingly attacked. The late eleventh and first half of the twelfth century had seen an intellectual assault on Jews, with Peter the Venerable probably the most vociferous.<sup>48</sup> Interestingly, one of the accusations against the Jews was that they lacked reason. The emphasis laid on knowing God through reason, advocated by Anselm and his followers, pointed to a new complaint against the Jewish literal interpretation of the Hebrew Bible (Old Testament). The proof that Christ was the Son of God, the Messiah and the Redeemer was there, according to Christological reasoning, and they decried the Jews as having no capacity to read their own Holy Book on a spiritual level. The logic of such writers Odo of Cambrai, Peter Abelard and Peter the Venerable was a Christian logic, but they felt that those who could or would not follow it were lacking the human capacity for reason. It has been claimed that in this there was an attempt to make the Jew inhuman. This depends on the definition of inhuman, and while such writings were an attempt to denigrate Jews they did not suggest that they were another species. The efforts of Thomas of Monmouth in the case of William of Norwich and the attacks on the Jews of the Rhineland at the start of the first crusade were the signals that Jews were being further marginalised. Jews were generally found in towns, but among other things the growth of guilds restricted their activities. Money lending, or more precisely usury, has always been associated with the Jews, but many twelfth century Jews were unhappy about lending for profit and using Christian middlemen. Generally speaking, from the thirteenth century the moneylending activities increased at the expense of trade, possibly due to the reduced opportunities for Jews in commerce.<sup>49</sup> The possibilities for Jews declined, but often they had a

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<sup>48</sup> For a detailed account of the anti-Jewish polemics of this period see Anna Sapir Abulafia, *Christians and Jews in the Twelfth century Renaissance* (London and New York, 1995).

<sup>49</sup> Alfred Haverkamp, "The Jews of Europe in the Middle Ages—excursions through time," in *The Jews of Europe in the Middle Ages; catalogue of the exhibition The Jews in Europe*

special relationship with the local ruler, often financial. In the south of Francia, especially the Languedoc area, Jews prospered and could reach high positions.<sup>50</sup> Generally speaking this relationship deteriorated. In 1182 Philip Augustus expelled Jews from the royal domains and in the 1190s more French lords expelled Jews from their territories.<sup>51</sup> From the end of the twelfth century lords made 'takings' in their territories, that is levied an extensive and heavy tax on Jews. The result of this was that many Jews migrated to neighbouring areas where they bribed, often heavily, the ruler there to accept them. Many of the thirteenth century anti-Jewish measures had their roots in this increasing distrust and marginalisation of the later twelfth century.

The Christian polemics against the Jews also had their effects. Until circa 1170 Jewish exegetes were satisfied with responding to Christian interpretations without resorting to anti-Christian treatises as such. The first sign of a new feeling was a translation into Hebrew of a ninth century Judeo-Arabic text that was indeed anti-Christian. The threat to Judaism was shown by the writing around this time of two polemical Jewish works written in Christian Europe.<sup>52</sup> It would seem that these were written in direct response to those works that accused the Jews as lacking reason and the authors were conversant with these works—Jacob ben Reuben translating into Hebrew parts of Gilbert Crispin's work *Disputations with a Jew*.<sup>53</sup> To these Jewish writers it was the Christians who were irrational, foolish and stupid, and that led them to misunderstand the prophecies. These works were directed against Christian belief, but tinged with a degree of racism. The anti-Jewish writings were again directed at belief and, nominally at least, had as an objective the conversion of Jews to Christianity. One of their points was the inclusiveness of Christianity that had no regard for race or sex, while Judaism was dependent on birth. In this sense such works cannot be called anti-Semitic, but this is not to say that there was no

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in the Middle Ages, Speyer and Berlin, 2005, ed. Speyer Historische Museum den Pfalz (Speyer, 2005).

<sup>50</sup> John M. O'Brien, "Jews and Cathari in Medieval France," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 10 (1968).

<sup>51</sup> William Chester Jordan, "Jews, Regalian Rights, and the Constitution in Medieval France," *AJS Review* 23 (1998).

<sup>52</sup> Daniel J. Lasker, "Jewish-Christian Polemics at the Turning Point: Jewish Evidence from the Twelfth Century," *The Harvard Theological Review* 89 (1996).

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 169.

anti-Semitism, that is a racially based antipathy. It is in this light that we must look at the claim that Jews were lacking in reason.

Peter the Venerable was probably the most vehement writer against the Jews in the twelfth century. In the *Adversus Iudeos* he ‘gradually left debate about ideas behind in order to indulge in a frontal attack.’<sup>54</sup> The second part, in which this attack occurs, was probably written at the time of the second crusade, another indication that anti-Jewish and anti-Semitic tendencies seem to be linked to the crusades and their rhetoric. In the latter part Peter attacks the Talmud—possibly gaining his knowledge of it from a converted Jew, since there appears to have been no Latin translations available.<sup>55</sup> He compares Jews to Cain, in that they killed their brother, Christ, and wonders if they have no more senses than an ass, which hears but does not understand.<sup>56</sup> Nevertheless, his aim is to bring the Jews to repent and accept Christ. His polemic against the unreasonableness of the Jews fitted into a gradually building stereotype.

In 1171 around thirty Jews were accused of crucifying a Christian child at Easter and were burned by Theobald V of Blois.<sup>57</sup> Numerous theories were put forward to account for the accusations of ritual murder by Jews, one of which was that Jewish men were subject to numerous physical defects that only Christian blood could cure, including haemorrhoids and, curiously, menstrual bleeding. The earliest reference to this I have been able to find is in the first book of Jacques de Vitry’s *Historia Hierosolimitana abbreviate*, probably written circa 1212, but it is clear that he is repeating a report that was already in circulation. Due to the response of the Jews at the crucifixion who cried out that Christ’s blood should be on their hands and those of their sons, Jewish men, says Jacques, ‘have become unwarlike and weak even as women, and it is said that they have a flux of blood every month.’<sup>58</sup> Like women Jews were deemed to be cold and phlegmatic, unable to purge their

<sup>54</sup> Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Order and Exclusion: Cluny and Christendom face heresy, Judaism, and Islam 1100–1150, Conjunctions of Religion and Power in the Medieval Past* (Ithaca, 2002).

<sup>55</sup> Ibid., p. 302. For a discussion of the extent of Peter’s knowledge see Iogna-Prat, pp. 302–305.

<sup>56</sup> *In Sermo in laude dominici sepulchri.*

<sup>57</sup> Irvén M. Resnick, “Medieval Roots of the Myth of Jewish Male Menses,” *The Harvard Theological Review* 93 (2000).

<sup>58</sup> *Imbelles enim et imbecilles facti sunt quasi mulieres. Unde singules lunationibus, ut dicitur, fluxum sanguinis patiuntur.* Cited *ibid.*

bodies of impurities. Lack of physical exertion was also attributed to Jewish males who were thought to lead a sedentary 'womanish' life. In fact the prejudices and polemics of the Christian apologists robbed Jewish men not of their humanity but of their masculinity. They were put on a par with women, creatures who were also impure, lacking reason and the inheritors of a terrible sin. Women could rise above their sex, become men in their souls, and Jews could 'reinstate' their true masculinity, their real humanity by accepting Christ. The female menstrual cycle was seen as a specific punishment for Eve's transgression, thus, although it obviously takes a great leap of logic, Jews were punished for their sin in the same way. The connection between their part in the crucifixion and the myth of the menstruating Jew is demonstrated by some thirteenth century sources that claim that the men menstruated only at Easter. Augustine had stated that the female part of reason was that concerned with the senses, apprehension of the physical world, while the masculine part of reason is that of transcendent truth, the higher reality.<sup>59</sup> The Jews' apparently stubborn refusal to see the symbolic truths of the Old Testament and their insistence on giving it a literal interpretation meant to the Christian polemicists that the reason displayed by Jews was not the higher, masculine spiritual reason, but the lower, feminine physical reason. The theoretical inclusiveness of Christianity was dependent on conformation to a system of belief and behaviour that strove for an ideal that was masculine not only in metaphor but in essence, and increasingly controlled by a centralised authority. Those outside this system were marked as such. Later, Jews would be forced into a dress code, and the stereotyping that was already evident in the depictions of Cain was to increase and spread. Masculinity was the metaphor of the Christian soul, endowed with spiritual reason: the typological reasoning rejected by the Jews stamped them as something less than men.

Another group, or rather number of groups, which found themselves outside the system of accepted belief, but still largely part of the society of north-western Europe, were the heretics. The twelfth century seems to have been particularly rich in heretical movements, possibly due to the eager search for a personal religion and contact with God,

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<sup>59</sup> For a discussion of the role of the female reason see A. Kent Hieatt, "Eve as Reason in a Tradition of Allegorical Interpretation of the Fall," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 43 (1980).

but also due to the increasingly systematised dogma and ritual. These were possibly spread from the monasteries such as those of the Cluny network with their close connections, and certainly influenced by the increasing claims to power and decision by a number of strong-minded popes; even the efforts of centralisation of secular power led to a greater degree of uniformity of ritual and belief. Heresy was nothing new of course, but from the mid twelfth century the attack upon unorthodox belief gathered momentum. Peter of Bruis's teaching had begun as early as 1119–1120 and was chiefly centred in southern France, Septimania and Gascony. There the ecclesiastical authorities were reasonably successful in combating it, but twenty years later Peter the Venerable was horrified by the effects of Peter of Bruis's teaching in Provence and launched an attack, *Contra Petrobrusianos*, possibly moved by the threat the heresy posed to Cluniac income.<sup>60</sup> Peter the Venerable's attack, of course, was purely literary in the form of sermons and letters to be read aloud. However, the violence of the anti-heretical reaction—Peter of Bruis was burned on his own fire of crosses in St. Gilles-du-Gard—is a precursor of the violence of the crusade against the Cathars in the early thirteenth century.

At roughly the same time that Peter the Venerable was beginning his onslaught on the Brusians, Everwin of Steinfeld, prior of the Premonstratensian foundation near Cologne, was appealing to Bernard of Clairvaux to preach against heretics, the wild beasts and monsters, as he calls them. Bernard's response was that heretics should be defeated by argument, not force—*capiantur, dico, non armis, sed argumentis*.<sup>61</sup> However, he later uses the same arguments against the heretics that Peter the Venerable used against the Jews—that they were incapable of understanding logic, and charged them with lack of learning. He accuses them of sexual excess and deviation, of being cowardly, of impurity and of being 'spewed out by the Body of Christ, which is the Church.'<sup>62</sup> Much of Bernard's attack on heretics of various types rests not only on their unorthodox beliefs, but on their rejection of papal authority, of the defection of monks and clerics to the heretical movements and the

<sup>60</sup> Iogna-Prat, *Order and Exclusion: Cluny and Christendom face heresy, Judaism, and Islam 1100–1150*.

<sup>61</sup> Cited Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania, 1145–1229*, York Medieval Press (York, 2001).

<sup>62</sup> *cum propterea vos corpus Christi, quod est Ecclesia, tanquam pollutos et immundos expuerit*. Cited *ibid*.

perceived threat to the Church as a body and institution. His message to the faithful as to how heretics should be treated was ambiguous. He stated that they should be won over by argument, but if they proved obdurate they were to be cast out. It cannot be said that he recommended violence, but did not condemn it, saying that zeal of the mob is praiseworthy and it is better to wield a righteous sword than to lead others into error.<sup>63</sup>

The second half of the twelfth century saw not only the enormous increase in the Cathar movement but also the rise of the Waldensian heresy. This arose in the 1170s, and writing some 150 years later Bernard Gui in his *Inquistor's Manual* said:<sup>64</sup>

The principal heresy, then, of the aforesaid Waldensians was and still remains the contempt for ecclesiastical power... The erring followers and sacrilegious masters of this sect hold and teach that they are not subject to the lord pope or roman pontiff or to any prelates of the Roman Church... Also they assert that they cannot be excommunicated by the roman pontiff and the prelates, and that they ought not to obey any of them, when they order or command the followers and teachers of the said sect to abandon and abjure it, although the sect has been condemned as heretical by the Roman Church.

Alan of Lille saw the birth of the Waldensian heresy and what he saw disturbed him greatly, called the members of the sect 'ravening wolves' and accused them of sloth. It is clear that Alan saw part of the danger as an undermining of the ecclesiastical and social order. His attacks are less virulent than Bernard Gui's but also bring out the points of obedience to ecclesiastical authority, the use of oaths and validity of absolution.

Of the many heretical sects of the period the Cathars are the best known and probably presented the greatest danger to the established Church, and incidentally, to the secular authority as seen by the French monarch. The Cathars had many sympathisers and adherents among the nobility of Languedoc and were not seen there as a strange presence. However, various incidents in the period 1160–1180 increased the alarm felt by both the Church and civil authorities. The first secular

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<sup>63</sup> *approbamus zelum, sed factum non suademus; quia fides suadenda est, non imponenda. Quamquam melius procul dubio gladio coercentur, illius videlicet qui nonsine causa gladium portat, quam in suum errorem multos trahere permittuntur. Dei enim minister ille est, vindex in iram ei qui male agit.* Cited *ibid*.

<sup>64</sup> Jeffrey B. Russel, ed., *Religious dissent in the Middle Ages*, Major issues in history (New York, London, Sydney, Toronto, 1971).



legislation against heretics took place not in France, but in England at the Assize of Clarendon in 1166, whereby any sheltering heretics were to be expelled and their houses burned.<sup>65</sup> The earliest mention of the word Cathar that we know of was by Eckbert of Schönau, whom he described as ‘a race most pernicious to the Catholic faith, which, going with great subtlety, they destroy like moths.’ He goes on to say that in Germany they are known as Cathari, in Flanders as Piphles and in France Texterant, because they are weavers.<sup>66</sup> He describes them as very talkative but extremely ignorant and that they claim that ‘the order of the Priesthood is altogether lost in the Church of Rome, and in all the Churches of the Catholic faith, and that the true Priests are not to be found except in their sect.’<sup>67</sup> Female visionaries joined the attack on heretics: Eckbert’s famous sister, Elizabeth of Schönau, and Hildegard von Bingen both wrote against the Cathars. In France Henry of Clairvaux carried on from Bernard. His works show a shift from argument to the necessity that secular authorities should take steps against heresy. In a letter to Louis VII dated 1178 he described the king as the propagator of the faith and the vanquisher of infidels.<sup>68</sup> Henry’s writings show an increase in the imagery of sexual perversion as a metaphor for Cathar beliefs and thereby strengthening the perception of sexual excess attributed to the Cathars. The accusations of sexual immorality and perversion increased in the later twelfth century, and the Third Lateran Council 1179 banned homosexual acts. There is more than a suggestion that heresy was associated with homosexuality and bestiality—in thirteenth century France the alternative word for Cathar ‘bougre’ gave rise to ‘bougerie’ denoting not only heresy but also homosexuality and bestiality. Alan of Lille suggested that the word ‘Cathar’ came from a ritual of kissing a cat’s rump. The accusations of bestiality and homosexuality had the intention not only to deter potential converts but to degrade and ridicule the sect members, making them something less than their orthodox opponents.

Little is known directly of the Cathar writings themselves, most of our knowledge of them is taken from the polemics against them or filtered through the formalities of later court proceedings. However, the thirteenth century tract *Liber de duo principibus* shows that one of

<sup>65</sup> Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania*, 1145–1229.

<sup>66</sup> Cited Russel, ed., *Religious dissent in the Middle Ages*.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania*, 1145–1229.

their concerns was how to reconcile the evil in the world with a good and loving God. They proposed a second deity to whom such things were attributable and this was the God of the Old Testament, the God of Creation.<sup>69</sup>

...they [Catholics] say that according to Genesis the lord is the creator of the visible things of this world: the heaven and the earth, the sea, men and beasts, birds and reptiles... But I say that the creator of the visible things of this world is not the true God. And I prove this from the evil of his words and deeds and the changeableness of his words and deeds as described in the Old Testament... It is evident enough to the wise that the true God could not be this creator who mercilessly tempts men and women to destruction.

It would seem that the idea of evil and good in connection with nature and the natural world was a preoccupation of many in the twelfth century.<sup>70</sup> Hildegard von Bingen gives almost a mirror image of the Cathar idea, using the metaphor of nature and the visible, showing its dependence on God and spirit. God and creation are linked not only by the act of creation, but by the visible as indicator to the invisible. She says that the visible world was 'created so that God's name be known and glorified, that in it be seen not only the things that are visible and temporal, but the things that are invisible and eternal.'<sup>71</sup> Certainly Hildegard's God was no tempter; that was 'The ancient dragon' who particularly wanted the fall of woman, 'because he recognised that her childbearing was the root of the whole human race. Hating her mightily, he said to himself he would never cease to pursue her...'<sup>72</sup> However exceptional Hildegard was regarded both in her own time and later, she was recognised by both secular and ecclesiastical authorities as the voice of God. Her cosmology seems inclusive, but her writings still reflect the theoretical inclusiveness of Christianity. In theory all were welcome in the Church, but it seems that some were more welcome than others. Hildegard was unusual in that, due to her status as a prophet, she was allowed to travel and preach, but she spoke against women as priests

<sup>69</sup> Cited Russel, ed., *Religious dissent in the Middle Ages*.

<sup>70</sup> For an overview of the ideas of the period on natural virtue and virtiue by grace see Istvan Bejczy, "The problem of natural virtue," in *Virtue and ethics in the twelfth century*, ed. Istvan Bejczy and Richard G. Newhauser, Brill's studies in intellectual history (Leiden, Boston, 2005).

<sup>71</sup> Cited Augustine Thompson, "Hildegard of Bingen on Gender and the Priesthood," *Church History* 63 (1994).

<sup>72</sup> Cited *ibid*.

and was accused of only allowing the free and noble women into her foundations.<sup>73</sup> Her attitude to heretics conforms to this. The Church was becoming more centralised, its doctrine more controlled: all were welcome, if they conformed. There was less room for discussion, and that which took place within the Church could relatively easily go beyond the bounds of that which the Church permitted. It was still a great way from the Paris condemnations of 1277, in which even Thomas Aquinas came under scrutiny, but indications of such developments can be seen in the later twelfth century. Perhaps it can be said that the western Church was in the process of defining itself by what it was not. The schism of 1054 made a final separation with the Eastern Church: the Muslims, Jews and heretics served to further define what was expected of the twelfth century Christian. According to Iogna-Prat Cluny was, in a large measure, responsible for this. ‘The tyranny of the single Christian ring’ convinced ‘mankind of the iron law of their condition—sacrifice, exchange with the other world—the disciples of Christ could hope to spread across the whole world, turning it all into Christendom.’<sup>74</sup> In *Adversus Iudeos* Peter the Venerable wrote:<sup>75</sup>

I said ‘the whole world,’ because, although Gentiles or Saracens may exert tyranny over some parts of it and Jews lurk among Christians and pagans, there is little or no part of the earth. Even remote islands of the Mediterranean Sea or the ocean itself, that are not inhabited by Christian rulers or subjects, that the truth may be made plain which scripture says concerning Christ: “And he shall rule from sea to sea; and from the river unto the ends of the earth”

### 1.5 *Nature, Belief and Understanding*

The idea of natural virtue, that is, virtue that could be found in pagans, infidels and pre-Christians, the idea of the natural world having intrinsic goodness, was a difficult concept. All writers, except the Cathars, would say that creation in all its aspects was originally good, having been the work of God. There was, however, the point that with the fall of man, not just his nature, but that of the visible world was corrupted.

<sup>73</sup> For a discussion of Hildegard’s policy in this respect see Flanagan, “‘For God Distinguishes the People of Earth as in Heaven’: Hildegard of Bingen’s Social Ideas.”

<sup>74</sup> Iogna-Prat, *Order and Exclusion: Cluny and Christendom face heresy, Judaism, and Islam 1100–1150*.

<sup>75</sup> *Adversus Iudeos*, 4.1466–73. Cited *ibid*.

In the previous chapter it was said that there was more appreciation of nature and her bounty, and that the senses, at least according to Suger and likeminded thinkers, could be used to help to lift men's thoughts to God. The work of such thinkers as Abelard, William of Conches and Thierry of Chartres led to changes in modes of thought. 'In the early part of the twelfth century the world was seen for the first time since antiquity as wholly and legitimately open to human inquiry.'<sup>76</sup> This inquiry was driven by reason and used the senses: it was a critical inquiry distrusting authorities and searching for new knowledge and understanding, giving new weight to the quadrivium.<sup>77</sup> In the second half of the twelfth century the urge to explore was subsumed in the desire to categorize. Stiefel suggests that this was due to the need for certainty and<sup>78</sup>

intellectual support of the growing institutionalism of the times...to distance and objectify the emotions...and...the impulse to create unity out of a rich complexity of experience...The aggressive, creative drive needed for science is replaced by an attitude of acquiescence towards the newly enhanced authority of government, both secular and ecclesiastic, and towards a Greek writer of legendary powers [Aristotle].

John of Salisbury inveighed against the teachers of logic that were more concerned with categorising and torturing ideas than in understanding and using them. For John logic was an instrument to understanding, a means to the truth, not an end in itself, and he saw the new tendencies as a form of rhetoric in which truth was subservient to logic. The form of scholasticism noted by Stiefel and regretted by John of Salisbury, in my opinion, is a further manifestation of the centralist and conformist tendencies of the period.

The desire to create a universally applicable system of belief had other results. It meant that the new scientific knowledge, whether empirical or Aristotelean, had somehow to either conform to this system or be branded heretical knowledge. There was considerable tension between what was 'nature' and the power of God. Nature might be good and worthy of study, but it demanded a definition of the power of God in

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<sup>76</sup> Tina Stiefel, *The intellectual revolution in twelfth century Europe* (London and Sydney, 1985).

<sup>77</sup> Willemien Otten, "Nature and Scripture: Demise of a Medieval Analogy," *The Harvard Theological Review* 88 (1995).

<sup>78</sup> Tina Stiefel, *The intellectual revolution in twelfth century Europe*, vol. 8 (New York, 1987).

regard to the natural order. Anselm had solved this by pointing out that God's power was not subject to whim, but that having ordered nature to be as it is and as part of his divine plan, he was bound by his own freely given word, so that people could 'count on a world disposed by the divine Wisdom according to number, weight and measure, but they understood that it did not have to be this world.'<sup>79</sup> The 'new theology', centred round a number of scholars who taught at one time or another at Chartres, sought a new relationship between Platonic and Christian thought. Bernard of Clairvaux had accused Abelard of showing himself a pagan in his attempts to show Plato was basically Christian.<sup>80</sup> Notable in the works of the Chartarians is a neglect of Heilsgeschichte. Their interest lay in creation, its being and execution. None would deny that God was the ultimate source of creation, but they gave an increasing role to nature. As Rudolf has pointed out, it is no coincidence 'that extant creation imagery in the manuscript illumination of the twelfth century should show an increase of almost 900 per cent over that of the eleventh...'<sup>81</sup> Abelard had posited that God had endowed nature so that it could run without interference. A comparison of two works dealing with creation shows that nature becomes to be regarded both less optimistically and more independently.<sup>82</sup> Thierry of Chartres's *Hexameron*, written in the 1140s, gives a physical account of creation based on his reading of Genesis. Thierry states that there are four causes of creation: first, God, the efficient cause, second, Divine Wisdom, the formal cause, third, an ultimate cause in God's love and fourth, a material cause, the elements. God created the elements and from then on things could proceed according to God's plan, not as a single executive act of God, but from a series of acts, the one resulting in the other. Nevertheless, for Thierry creation was the work of a single omnipotent God; the role of 'nature' is limited to that of a process unfolding to God's blueprint, a process in which every necessary step is inherent in the original material of the four elements, the one acting on the other in a circular motion. As the work of creation unfolds, following the

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<sup>79</sup> Richard C. Dales, "The De-Animation of the Heavens in the Middle Ages," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 41 (1980).

<sup>80</sup> For a succinct overview of the problems raised by the 'new theology' see Conrad Rudolph, "In the Beginning: Theories and images of creation in Northern Europe in the twelfth century," *Art History* 22 (1999).

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>82</sup> For a detailed comparison see Otten, "Nature and Scripture: Demise of a Medieval Analogy."

order of Genesis, man is created in the image and likeness of God, but given no other special weight, and the fall and its consequences are not mentioned. For Thierry the physical explanation of creation is simply an instrument to know God better: his work is one ‘in which scriptural and natural text function as interdependent but provisional paradigms of a divine truth that transcends both.’<sup>83</sup> The exclusion of the element of Heilsgeschichte gives extra weight to the ‘scientific’ rather than the salvic aspect.

Alan of Lille’s *De planctu naturae*, written about twenty-five years after Thierry’s work, goes much further in creating an independent nature. Nature is a secondary cause, but by creating a personification who gives voice to the ills of the world, the focus of the poem shifts to her and away from the primary cause, God. Of great interest is that man is described as being made by nature, *naturae factus in arte*, thus removing any close and special relationship between man and his God. The ninth century miniatures emphasized the immediate and hands-on relationship between man and God. Subsequently the miniatures showed an increasingly distant God, no longer shaping, talking and instructing the first couple in close and loving intimacy. Man became part of creation as a whole, but both male and female were created directly by God. Alan’s work, a mixture of poetry and prose, puts a new distance in the relationship and placed man firmly in the sphere of the worldly with no evidence of a divine spark. Nature calls herself God’s vice-regent and tells how she orders the world, living creatures and seasons, and compares His perfection and glory to her own imperfection and efforts:<sup>84</sup>

But lest I should seem, in this my prerogative and power, to be detracting arrogantly from God, I profess most emphatically that I am the lowly disciple, of the Supreme Ruler. For I, as I work, am not able to press my step in the footprints of God as He works, but I contemplate Him in

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., p. 276.

<sup>84</sup> *Sed ne in hac meae potestatis praerogativa, Deo videar quasi arrogans derogare, certissime summi magistri me humilem profiteor esse discipulam. Ego enim operans, operantis Dei non valeo expresse inhaerere vestigiis, sed a longe, quasi suspirans, operantem respicio. Ejus operatio simplex, mea multiplex; ejus opus sufficiens, meum deficiens; ejus opus mirabile, meum opus mutabile. Ille innascibilis, ego nata; ille faciens, ego facta; ille mei opifex operis, ego opus opificis; ille operatur ex nihilo, ego mendico opus ex aliquo; ille suo operatur nomine, ego operor illius sub nomine; ille, rem solo nutu jubet existere, mea vero operatio nota est operationis divinae. Et ut, respectu potentiae divinae, meam potentiam impotentem esse cognoscas, meum effectum scias esse defectum, meum vigorem, vilitatem esse perpendas.* PL 0445C–D Trans. Douglas M. Moffat.

His activity from a long way off, as it were with longing. His operation is simple, mine is multiform; His work is faultless, mine is defective; His is marvellous, mine is transient; He is incapable of being born, I was born; He is the maker, I am the made; He is the Creator of my work, I am the work of the Creator; He works from nothing, I beg work from another; He works by His own divine will, I work under His name. By His nod alone He orders a thing to exist; but my activity is the mark of the divine activity, and, compared with the divine power, thou canst see that my power is impotent.

In this way Alan does not deny God's creative power, but emphasizes that it is exerted through the medium of Nature. This is made very clear by Nature who declares the stars and planets move at her command, the weather, the earth, sea and all living creatures honour and obey her. The one exception is man:<sup>85</sup>

Since all things are by the law of their being held subject to my laws, and ought to pay to me a rightful and established tribute, almost all, with just dues and with seemly presentation, regularly obey my commands; but from this general rule man alone is excluded by an abnormal exception. He, stripped of the cloak of decency, and prostituted in the shameless brothel of unchastity, dares to stir tumult and strife not only against the majesty of his queen, but also to inflame the madness of intestine war against his mother. Other creations, on which I have bestowed the lesser gifts of my favour, throughout the rank of their activities are bound in willing subjection to the inviolability of my commands. But man, who exhausted the treasury of almost all my riches, tries to overthrow the natural impulses of nature, and arms against me the violence of wicked lust.

The keyword in Nature's complaint is lust. Alan, in his persona as poet, had already lamented at the beginning of the work that sexual excess is the downfall of man, but Nature elaborates on this at length, dealing not only with promiscuity but homosexuality and prostitution:<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> *Tunc illa: Cum omnia lege suae originis meis legibus teneantur obnoxia, mihique debeant jus statuti vectigalis persolvere, fere omnia tributarii juris exhibitione legitima, meis edictis regulariter obsequuntur; sed ab hujus universalis regula, solus homo anomala exceptione excluditur, qui pudoris trabea denudatus, impudicitiaeque meretricali prostibulo prostitutus, in suae dominae majestatem, litis audet excitare tumultum, imo etiam in matrem intestini belli rabiem inflammare. Caetera quibus meae gratiae humiliora munera commodavi, per suarum professionum conditionem subiectione voluntaria meorum decretorum sanctionibus alligantur; homo vero qui fere totum divitiarum mearum exhausit aerarium, naturae naturalia denaturare pertentans, in me scelestae Veneris armat injuriam.* PL 0448 C-D, Trans. Douglas M. Moffat.

<sup>86</sup> *Poenitet me tot venustatum praerogativis hominum plerumque privilegiasse naturas, qui decoris decus abusione dedecorant: qui formae formositatem venerea deformitate deformant, qui pulchritudinis colorem, fusco adulterini cupidinis colore decolorant: qui Florae florem in vitia efflorando deflorant. . . Multi etiam alii juvenes mei gratia pulchritudinis honore vestiti, debriato amore pecuniae, suos Veneris*

I grieve that I have widely adorned men's natures with so many privileges and beauties, for they abuse and bring the honour of honour to disgrace, deform the fairness of the body with the ugliness of lust, mar the colour of beauty with lurid paint—the hue of adulterous desire—and even, as they blossom into vices, deflower the bloom of Flora. . . . And many other youths, clothed by my favour with noble beauty, who have been crazed with love of coin, have turned their hammers of love to the office of anvils. Such a great body of foul men roams and riots along the breadth of the whole earth by whose seducing contact chastity herself is poisoned. Of such of these men as profess the grammar of love, some embrace only the masculine gender, some the feminine, others the common or indiscriminate.

Not only does sexual error come under attack, but anything that could smack of heresy—‘For surely, when the dreams of Epicurus are put to sleep, the madness of Manichaeus cured, the intricacies of Aristotle argued out, the fallacies of Arius refuted, reason then proves the sole unity of God, the universe declares it, faith believes it, Scripture attests it.’<sup>87</sup> This falling away from true belief is linked to sexual depravity and degeneracy in general. The cause, says Nature, using as she does throughout the metaphors of grammar and rhetoric, is her delegation of procreation to Venus, who turned the natural and ordered act of sex into laziness, lust and perversion—‘the ruinous evil of idleness has produced inordinate love; how the excess and deluge of drink has brought to pass love’s raging lust; how, taking its rise in gluttony, the ivory-white leprosy of licentiousness has destroyed great numbers.’<sup>88</sup> While Venus’ fall was a result of boredom and idleness, it is clear that Alan gives a sexual basis for all sins: the perversion of lawful sex for progeny to the gratification of the senses and the pleasure of lust lies at the heart of man’s degradation. One interesting point is the frequent mentions of homosexuality; both male and female types are mentioned by Nature, but it is male homosexuality that receives almost all of the

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*malleos in incudum transtulerunt officia. Talis monstruosorum hominum multitudo, totius orbis amplitudine degrassatur, quorum fascinate contagio, castitas venenatur. Eorum siquidem hominum qui Veneris profitentur grammaticam, alii solummodo masculinum, alii feminum, alii commune, sive promiscuum genus familiariter amplexantur: quidam vero quasi heteroclitici genere, per hiemem in feminino, per aestatem in masculino genere irregulariter declinantur.* PL 449D–4450B. Trans. Douglas M. Moffat.

<sup>87</sup> *Cum enim Epicuri jam soporentur somnia, Manichaei sanetur insania, Aristotelis arguantur argutiae, Arii fallantur fallaciae, unicam Dei unitatem ratio probat, mundus eloquitur, fides credit, Scriptura testator.* PL 0451D. Trans. Douglas M. Moffat.

<sup>88</sup> *qualiter otii damnosa perniciēs Venerem educavit emphaticam, qualiter diluviosi potus inundatio venenosum patrat incendium; qualiter ex cibi ingurgitatione ducens originem, plerosque luxuriae elephantina lepra percussit.* PL 0460B. Trans. Douglas M. Moffat.



attention in this area. It is attacked throughout, but almost exclusively in its passive form, where men are likened to women, not only in dress but in their behaviour. Much of what Alan says has as much to do with the unworthiness of the female role as the 'unnaturalness' of the behaviour; male homosexuals betray their reason, their honour and their masculinity. Male prostitutes are criticized as being driven by greed to act as women, the implication being that only a perverted love of money would cause them to take a female role.

*De planctu naturae* presents many problems. It inveighs against sexuality, but is a highly sensual work: it proclaims the omnipotence of God, but removes the responsibility of creation from him. Nature says she gives form to God's idea, but at another point says that she is imperfect, as are her works. The decadent nature of man is even further removed from God: while Nature intended a fine and noble creature, this plan was subverted by Venus. In fact Venus can be said to have taken over the role of the serpent, identified with Satan, in the fall of man. For all the discussions of the vices and virtues, by placing the blame for man's low nature on Venus, Alan makes sexuality, *Luxuria*, the key. Yet in a way, Alan reconciles both the natural, physical explanations with a scriptural version. His work is highly literary, a pessimistic analysis of the human condition in poetic terms. Man is depicted as being a product of nature, but not natural—and incidentally not as God intended. He is a perversion of an ideal. To make an analogy, man, as nature made him, is Adam (and Eve) before the fall: his present state is due to his succumbing to lust and bodily imperatives. God is so far removed from this man, by the intervention of both Nature and Venus, that he scarcely impinges on the world. The instructions to the poet reconcile this difference: the admonitions to virtue, to humility, generosity, temperance and above all to chastity, while Christian virtues, are not specifically so named. It is no overt sermon of redemption—Christ is not mentioned, but a plea for the virtue of man as Nature and God intended. Alan's work was written when there was a lively discussion of the relationship of the vices to each other, and certainly his account of Venus' fall and the degeneration of man does not follow either the schemes of Gregory the Great or Bede.<sup>89</sup> However, it is in line with the idea that

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<sup>89</sup> For an overview of such schemes and the discussion on the vices see Siegfried Wenzel, "The Seven Deadly Sins: Some Problems of Research," *Speculum: A Journal of Mediaeval Studies* 43 (1968).

vice is the result of corruption of the soul, as the mention of heretical ideas makes clear. A final point of interest is that Alan accuses the degenerate man of those crimes and vices laid at the door of Jews and heretics—laziness, greed, sexual excess and deviancy. His most ardent rhetoric is reserved for those who behave like women, just as Jews were ‘feminized’ in the works of such as Peter the Venerable.

### 1.6 *Spirituality and Apocalyptic Thought*

While scholasticism followed a categorizing and ‘scientific’ line, other thinkers and theologians, adhering to the ‘old theology’, took a course that was emphatically dictated by Heilsgeschichte. Apocalyptic thought runs as a thread through many works of the period and especially those of mystic conservatives such as Bernard of Clairvaux, Hildegard von Bingen and Elizabeth von Schönau, whose writings often show extreme pessimism. In another category are the writings of Joachim of Fiore, whose complex theories had elements of both pessimism and optimism, but whether threatening the downfall of the Church and the coming of the Antichrist or the dawn of the age of men of the spirit, they all saw their own times as part of the history of salvation. In one of his sermons on the Song of Songs Bernard of Clairvaux railed against the present hypocrisy in the Church:<sup>90</sup>

Look at these times...plainly foul with the “thing that walks in darkness” (ps. 90:6). Woe be to this generation from the leaven of the Pharisees which is hypocrisy (If that ought to be called hypocrisy which is now unable to hide because it is so prevalent and so impudent it does not even try!) Today the stinking corruption slowly spreads throughout the whole Body of the Church, both more desperate as it is widespread and more dangerous as it is internal... They are ministers of Christ and serve the Antichrist.

The idea of the history of the Church and salvation having a concrete meaning in connection with Revelation, rather than regarding that work as timeless and metaphorical, was extremely prevalent in the twelfth century. People looked to their own time and read into it the working of God’s plan. Bernard’s diatribe against hypocrites seems to indicate that according to his own scheme he was living in the third, not the fourth age. The feeling that the Antichrist was near, or even present, was

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<sup>90</sup> Sancti Bernardi *Opera* 1:243–244. Cited McGinn, ed., *Visions of the end*.

widespread.<sup>91</sup> Elizabeth of Schönau warned that ills and abuses must be corrected or disasters would overtake mankind. It seems clear that Elizabeth was greatly influenced, if not manipulated, by her brother Eckbert, lending the weight of her prophetic utterances to his hobby-horses. However, this study is not concerned with the genuineness of Elizabeth's visions, or how much was due to suggestion deliberate or otherwise, but with how these were regarded at the time. In her own time she was regarded as a true prophet and mystic. It has been suggested that her prediction 'that Satan would receive power from God for inciting violence on earth, the sun would be suffused in bloody red and covered by shadows, and Christians would cry out at the immense tribulation' referred to 1155 when the feast of the annunciation and Good Friday fell on the same day, a sign, according to some, of the approaching Apocalypse.<sup>92</sup> Norbert of Zanten, according to Bernard of Clairvaux, believed that the Antichrist was imminent and 'that he would live to see a general persecution of the Church.'<sup>93</sup> At this point it is worth pointing out that the word 'antichrist' could have many meanings. Basing the interpretation on 1 John 2.18 many thought that there would be many antichrists, chiefly as a forerunner to the Great Antichrist of Revelation. As an extension of this it could be seen that any who worked against Christ and his Church were antichrists. Indeed the word became a term of abuse—Bernard of Clairvaux called Abelard 'antichrist' and John of Salisbury referred to the archbishop of Mainz in the same way.<sup>94</sup> However, most people saw the forerunners of the Antichrist as those who were responsible for the great persecutions of the Church, either as individuals such as Nero, or people and/or beliefs such as Jews, pagans, Arians and Saracens.

Elizabeth of Schönau was not the only woman to be concerned with apocalyptic matters. Hildegard von Bingen wrote extensively on Revelation, but was pessimistic, considering her own time one of decline, a

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<sup>91</sup> Sabina Flanagan argues that while there were strong apocalyptic elements in twelfth century writings some felt that the time of the Antichrist was imminent, while others did not see themselves living in the last days. This difference, she suggests, is based on personality and personal history as much as more public events. Sabina Flanagan, "Twelfth-Century Apocalyptic Imaginations and the Coming of the Antichrist," *Journal of Religious History* 24 (2000).

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> Cited *ibid.*, p. 58.

<sup>94</sup> Flanagan, "Twelfth-Century Apocalyptic Imaginations and the Coming of the Antichrist."

time that was effeminate, and she was called upon to be God's prophet, because men had become weak. However, she did not expect the end in such an immediate future as Norbert did. Much has been written on Hildegard, some of it claiming her as a feminist avant le lettre. Storey claims that Hildegard's vision of *Caritas* is a 're-imagining of the Woman of the Apocalypse... Hildegard transformed the conventional imagery of the woman of the Apocalypse, which stressed the vulnerable and threatening aspects of this revelation, into a powerful conception of femaleness.'<sup>95</sup> While it is undeniable that Hildegard invented and used powerful female images, the feminist leanings of Storey lead her astray here. The implication of Storey's argument is that the feminine imagery was of a newly strong 'feminized' Church. This ignores the fact that the Woman Clothed in the Sun is rarely depicted as the cowering figure she describes. The miniatures in Valenciennes 99 f. 32r and Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek Cod. Guelf 1.Gud.lat, to name two of the manuscripts already discussed, show a strong and triumphant Woman Clothed in the Sun. The same applies to Storey's similar claim for this apocalyptic figure in *Hortus Deliciarum*. Hildegard was in many respects remarkable, her prophecy, preaching and influence were unique for her time. However, this must be attributed to her personally and cannot be connected to a feminist upsurge. Her images were strongly female, but she lived her life surrounded by women and most of her works were for women. It would seem true that she felt female weakness could be turned to strength through God, but she was basically conservative. If, as Barbara Newman claims, she felt that the priest should approach the altar in a feminine role, she also contested any idea that women should be priests and administer the sacraments.<sup>96</sup> Hildegard's works have been interpreted in many ways, often based on the miniatures, since traditionally she designed them, even if she did not execute them. Marsha Newman said that the miniatures are 'a reflection of her visions, and her commentaries are derived from her illuminations.'<sup>97</sup> On the other hand Mews, with perhaps a more balanced view, points out that image and text do not completely match

<sup>95</sup> Ann Storey, "A Theophany of the Feminine: Hildegard of Bingen, Elisabeth of Schonau, and Herrad of Landsberg," *Woman's Art Journal* 19 (1998).

<sup>96</sup> Barbara Newman, "Divine power made perfect in weakness: St. Hildegard on the frail sex," in *Peace Weavers, Medieval Religious Women*, ed. J.A. Nichols and Lillian Thomas Shank, Cistercian Publications (1987).

<sup>97</sup> Marsha Newman, "Christian Cosmology in Hildegard of Bingen's Illuminations," *Logos: A Journal of Catholic Thought and Culture* 5 (2002).

and suggests trying to reconstruct the vision from the text.<sup>98</sup> Hildegard felt that her times were degenerate, qualifying them as effeminate, not because she saw the female as better, but as a sign of the weakness and moral inadequacy she saw. She uses the expression *in mulierem debilitatem* to denote the falling off from the original strength and viridity of the world.<sup>99</sup> We can say that Hildegard used the feminine metaphor in two ways: one was the traditional idea that weakness, and especially moral weakness, was feminine; the second way was as metaphors for the virtues and divine love as expressed in her visions. In this latter sense it is the power of God she is exalting, the power of his love. This might be a more 'feminine' aspect of God as opposed to the Judge, but her vision of creation with the female figure of *Caritas*, Divine Love, is less revolutionary than Alan of Lille's female Nature. Her veneration of Mary was typical of the period and her hymns to the Virgin reveal that it was the aspect of God's love and Mary's unsullied virginity that provide the strength for the future of mankind, not any femaleness in itself. Eve, in the aspect of the mother of the human race, is held up as the cause of sorrow and death.<sup>100</sup>

*O clarissima mater sanctae medicinae,  
tu unguenta per sanctum Filium tuum  
infudisti in plangentia vulnera mortis,  
quae Eva aedificavit in tormenta animarum.  
Tu destruxisti mortem  
aedificando vitam.*

The specifically female attributes of Eve are held up as the cause of mankind's suffering and in the following verse extended to women as a whole.<sup>101</sup>

*O quam valde plangendum et lugendum est,  
quod tristitia in crimine per consilium serpentis*

<sup>98</sup> Constant J. Mews, "From Scivias to the Liber Divinorum Operum: Hildegard's Apocalyptic Imagination and the Call to Reform," *Journal of Religious History* 24 (2000).

<sup>99</sup> *Liber divinorum operum* 3:5:8.

<sup>100</sup> Oh, shining mother of holy healing, by your sacred Son you salved the weeping wounds of death that Eve had founded to the torment of souls. You destroyed death, building life.

<sup>101</sup> Oh, what cause for weeping and mourning it is that sorrow and guilt through the advice of the serpent flowed into woman. This woman that God had intended as the mother of all destroyed her flesh (womb) with the wounds of ignorance and gave birth to much sorrow for her children.

*in mulierem fluxit.*

*Nam ipsa mulier, quam Deus matrem omnium posuit,  
viscera sua cum vulneribus ignorantiae decerpserit  
et plenum dolorem generi suo protulit*

Hildegard saw the world as degenerating after the fall, and recovering somewhat after Christ's death on the cross, but again falling into decay and sin after the time of the apostles and the time of righteousness. While not expressly linking the ages of the five beasts she uses in her apocalyptic visions to specific historical ages, there are sufficient indications that she saw the papal schisms and the struggles with the emperor as part of the events leading up to the coming of the Antichrist. One of the evil leaders who is responsible for the decline of the Church since the age of the apostles has been identified as Henry IV.<sup>102</sup> She foresaw much war, turbulence and heresy before a time of peace that would end with the coming of the Antichrist, and while she gave no indication that that event would take place within a few years it seems clear that she saw her own day as heralding the coming end.

The works of Joachim of Fiore may be thought to fall outside the scope of this study, since he lived and worked in southern Italy; however, his influence in the late twelfth century as well as later, means that his ideas have to be taken into consideration. A series of popes and rulers not only endorsed his work, but actively sought his advice. Joachim's thought is very complex and based on three numerical systems. The best known of these is that of the three ages, that of the Father, Son and Spirit, corresponding to the (married) laity, clerics and the monastic orders.<sup>103</sup>

The First Age of the world began with Adam, flowered from Abraham, and was consummated in Christ. The Second begins with Oziah, flowered from Zachary, the father of John the Baptist, and will receive its consummation in these times. The Third Age, taking its beginning from St. Benedict, began to bring forth fruit in the twenty-second generation, and is itself to be consummated in the consummation of the world. The First Age, in which the married state was illustrious, is ascribed to the Father in the personal aspect of the [Trinitarian] mystery. The Second, in which the clerical state in the tribe of Juda was illustrious, is ascribed

<sup>102</sup> Mews, "From Scivias to the Liber Divinorum Operum: Hildegard's Apocalyptic Imagination and the Call to Reform."

<sup>103</sup> Joachim of Fiore, *Concordia* IV, 33. Cited Bernard McGinn, "The Abbot and the Doctors: Scholastic Reactions to the Radical Eschatology of Joachim of Fiore," *Church History* 40 (1971).

to the Son; the Third, in which the monastic state is illustrious, is ascribed to the Holy Spirit.

These are generally regarded as being sequential; however, Daniel has argued cogently that Joachim's vision was more much complex and that there is a greater degree of overlap than is apparent from the above citation.<sup>104</sup> This study is much less concerned with what Joachim really meant as with what effect his works had on his contemporaries. The statement that the second age would end in his own time, and that the third age had already begun, is fairly specific and immediate. It must be noted that the flourishing of the third age was not synonymous with the coming of the Antichrist in the near future. Joachim saw a number of antichrists, Saladin was one and he or his successor would combine with another from the west and be both king and priest, but this unholy alliance would not last more than forty-two months, but<sup>105</sup>

It is not to be thought...that the End of the world will come soon after he is judged, just because he is said to come at the End of the world. The End of the world and the last hour are not always to be taken for the very last moment, but for the time of the End...Just as many pious kings, priests, and prophets preceded the one Christ who was king, priest, and prophet, so many unholy kings, false prophets, and Antichrists precede the one Antichrist who will pretend to be king, priest and prophet.

After the destruction of this Antichrist there will be justice on earth and an abundance of peace...The Jews and many unbelieving nations will be converted to the Lord and the whole people will rejoice in the beauty of peace because the heads of the great dragon will be crushed. The dragon himself will be imprisoned in the abyss (Rev. 20:2-3). That is, the remaining nations which are at the ends of the earth. The number of years, months, and days of that time are known only to God. When they will have been completed and led to their end, Satan again will be released from his prison to persecute God's elect since there will still be that remaining Antichrist signified by the tail of the dragon.

It is clear that while Joachim had a specific view of Heilsgeschichte and that the world stood on the brink of a time of great peace and spirituality, he was not preaching the imminent end of the world. The opinion that the age of the spirit was about to come to flower can be seen as both optimistic, since this would be a time of great peace, but it also foresaw a time of extreme troubles in the very near future. The

<sup>104</sup> E. Randolph Daniel, "The Double Procession of the Holy Spirit in Joachim of Fiore's Understanding of History," *Speculum: A Journal of Mediaeval Studies* 55 (1980).

<sup>105</sup> Joachim of Fiore, *Il Libro delle Figure*. Cited McGinn, ed., *Visions of the end*.

idea of the monastic age of spirit was clearly an encouragement for the monastic orders. Joachim himself was by turns, Benedictine, Cistercian and then founded his own order at Fiore. His writing on the age of the spirit, while supporting Daniel's reading, seems to suggest a return to basic Benedictine principles.<sup>106</sup>

An order will arise which seems new but is not. Clad in black garments and girt with a belt from above, they will increase and their fame will be spread abroad. In the spirit of Elijah they will preach the faith and defend it until the consummation of the world. There will also be an order of hermits imitating the angels' life. Their life will be like a fire burning in love and zeal for God to consume thistles and thorns, that is, to consume and extinguish the wicked life of evil men so that they do not abuse the patience of God any longer. I think the time of the monks will be like rain watering the face of the earth in all perfection and in the justice of brotherly love. The life of the hermits will be like a blazing fire... The former order will be milder and more pleasant in order to gather in the crop of God's elect in the spirit of Moses. This order will be more courageous and fiery to gather in the harvest of the evil in the spirit of Elijah.

The idea that the monastic order, and even more so hermits, should be the dominant form of the Church was less to the taste of clerics and the papal hierarchy. However, this aspect did not seem to concern his contemporaries, however much condemnation he was to receive in the thirteenth century, even from such as Thomas Aquinas. While he lived Joachim was regarded by both lay and ecclesiastical authorities as a source of wisdom. He saw himself less as a prophet than an exegete, and therein lay much of his authority. His *Concordia* gave a new and, according to current thought, rational way of predicting the course of world history. The close correspondence that he worked out between the Old and New Testaments gave him, he claimed, a unique understanding of the Holy Writ: the past, present and future were there for those who could understand them.

The sense of eschatology apparent in the works of Joachim, Hildegard and others is paralleled by the new iconography, frequently found on church portals. Scenes of the last judgement began to appear. 'Par contre le XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle n'est pas très fecund en representations de l'Apocalypse'<sup>107</sup> Nevertheless it is in the twelfth century that such works

<sup>106</sup> Joachim of Fiore, *Expositio in Apocalypsim*, ff. 175v–176r. Cited *ibid*.

<sup>107</sup> A.-M. Cocagnac, *Le jugement dernier dans l'art* (1955).



began to appear for larger public. Scenes of the last judgement are to be found in miniatures from all the centuries covered by this study, but they are few; the twelfth century saw a notable increase. At the same time we find more and more representations of the fall in public art. This public expression will be discussed in the following chapter, but for now it is sufficient to say that a more general public had access to the visual exegesis of the first and last things.

## 2. *The Basic Type of the Fall in the Second Half of the Twelfth Century*

The number of manuscripts containing depictions of the fall increased considerably in the second half of the twelfth century. The dating of manuscripts is frequently difficult and subject to debate. Nor is it practicable to make clear distinctions in dating, any more than we can draw immutable temporal lines in considering the context in which they were made. There is an additional problem when manuscripts were produced over a long period or have later additions. Two manuscripts of importance for the developments in the iconography of the fall in the second half of the twelfth century have disputed dates. The first of these is Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 8846, sometimes called the Parisian Psalter, the last of the three 'copies' of the Utrecht Psalter made at Christ Church, Canterbury. While this work was completed, possibly in Spain, at a much later period, the creation cycle dates from the Canterbury period. It is dated as late twelfth or early thirteenth century, the early dating being advocated by Noel, and considering its similarities with other works such as Moulins, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1, I accept the earlier dating.<sup>108</sup> The other manuscript is Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 10434, dated by the Index of Christian Art as late twelfth century, but by Porcher as 'vers 1250.'<sup>109</sup> Stylistic considerations favour the later date, and a particular iconographic development comes to a conclusion in this work, thereby suggesting a date in the first half of the thirteenth century.

An analysis of the scenes shows that of the twenty-one manuscripts with the fall, thirteen show the creation of Eve, six the forming or animation of Adam and twelve the expulsion. In addition four manuscripts

<sup>108</sup> Noel, "The Utrecht Psalter in England: continuity and experiment."

<sup>109</sup> Jean Porcher, *L'enluminure française* (1959).

show the sacrifices of Cain and Abel and seven show Abel's murder.<sup>110</sup> Only four manuscripts have all these scenes.<sup>111</sup> If we consider the geographical spread of the manuscripts, including the creation of Eve, and taking into account the relative area and population, there is a fairly even distribution. Of the thirty-five manuscripts which can be located, one comes from Flanders, eight from England and thirteen each from France and Germany/Austria.<sup>112</sup> The chief anomaly here is that there is only a single manuscript from Flanders. However, when we look at subject matter in relation to geographic spread there are significant differences. Eleven of the thirteen German manuscripts contain scenes of the fall, as do three of the English; the Flemish manuscript also had the fall placed very centrally in an extremely elaborate IN initial. The number of French manuscripts with scenes of the fall, however, is only six. This would seem to continue the trend to relatively fewer English and French manuscripts and an increasing number of German ones containing this scene. Of the three English manuscripts<sup>113</sup> two can be dated to the period 1150–1175 as can one of the French.<sup>114</sup> On the other hand only four of the German manuscripts can be securely dated to the third quarter of the twelfth century.<sup>115</sup>

The situation is very different when we examine the number and geographical spread of manuscripts showing the creation of Eve. There are ten German manuscripts, four English and eleven French of which two German,<sup>116</sup> two English<sup>117</sup> and one French<sup>118</sup> can be dated 1150–1175. It would seem that in France and England, at least, there was a shift in interest from the fall to creation. At this point we can say that the creation of Eve occurs more often than the fall. A further interesting

<sup>110</sup> Green et alia suggest that the folio bearing the Cain and Abel scenes existed in the original *Hortus Deliciarum*, but we have no copy of this. Rosalie Green, ed., *Hortus deliciarum: Reconstruction* (London, 1979).

<sup>111</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 11535, f. 6v, and lat. 8846 f. 1v&r Paris, Bibliothèque Geneviève Ms 8, f. 7v and Warsaw National Library Ms lat. F v I 32, f. 6r. This last manuscript was sadly destroyed by fire during the Second World War and the researcher is forced to rely on photographs.

<sup>112</sup> For the sake of brevity I will refer to these as German manuscripts.

<sup>113</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine Ms 36 and Glasgow University Library, Hunter 229.

<sup>114</sup> Auch, Bibliothèque Municipale Ms 1.

<sup>115</sup> Salzburg Sankt Peter Stiftsbibliothek Ms AXII 18–20, Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek Ms Hist. fol. 418, Berlin Staatsbibliothek Ms lat. Fol. 226 and Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek Ms 3–5.

<sup>116</sup> Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek Ms 3–5 and Munich Staatsbibliothek Clm 14399.

<sup>117</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Ms. 36 and Winchester Cathedral, Winchester Bible.

<sup>118</sup> Chantilly, Musée Condé Ms. 744.

point is that four of the manuscripts with the fall miniatures combine these, in various ways, with the fall of Lucifer and the rebel angels. All of these manuscripts are German.<sup>119</sup> Twenty-four manuscripts contain creation cycles, although only nine of these include the fall, either in the same miniature or within the iconographic scheme. The majority of these are the initial I and with the exception of Paris, St. Geneviève 8 and Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 11534, are purely creation medallions, without the fall. A further group is formed by the initials IN as a monogram. Of these Chantilly, Musée de Condé 744 and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 5047 are again creation medallions. Warsaw, National Library, lat. F.v. 132 and Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine 36 showed the creation, fall, labours and the murder of Abel. Auch, Bibliothèque Municipale shows only the fall and possibly *ubi es?* Five manuscripts show creation in plaques, two of them Moulins, Bibliothèque Municipale 1 and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale 8846 show the fall, while Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm 935 continues with the story of the fall on successive folios. Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, Lescalopier 30 had a separate, and to my knowledge, unique, initial S with the fall, in which the letter is formed from the serpent's body, but sadly this has been cut out and its whereabouts are unknown. Three manuscripts show a circular composition and a remote creator.<sup>120</sup> Four manuscripts are again initial I, but are not creation cycles, Lyons, Bibliothèque Municipale 410 and Salzburg, Sankt Peter Stiftesbibliothek AXII 18–20 are concerned with the fall, while Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek Hist. Fol. 418 and Winchester Cathedral, Winchester Bible are both expressions of Heilsgeschichte. Other manuscripts depict the fall in registers or full-page miniatures.

## 2.1 *Construction and Interpretation of the Basic Type*

It is clear that there are a variety of forms and combinations, but nevertheless various trends can be seen. The basic type must again take two forms, one in which the fall is central and the other the creation

<sup>119</sup> In addition the Zwiefalten manuscript Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek also has, very prominently, this scene. This manuscript that is possibly from before 1150 will be discussed later when considering Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek Ms IX, Sal. X, 16.

<sup>120</sup> The remote creator is also to be found in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms lat. 5047 and Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm 935. In the latter manuscript the remoteness does not apply to the creation of Adam and Eve.

of Eve. In the second half of the twelfth century this latter scene had become more popular than the fall itself. The general basic type, we can say, consists of three scenes—the creation of Eve, the fall and the expulsion. The twenty-one manuscripts that show the fall can be seen as a nucleus, and, of those, thirteen show the creation of Eve, ten the expulsion and six all three scenes. It could be argued that the three scenes occur in only one third of the manuscripts, but both the creation of Eve and the expulsion occur in roughly half of the fall manuscripts. The miniatures of the creation of Eve that appeared in conjunction with the fall were analysed separately from those in which they were a part of a creation or Heilsgeschichte cycle. The only notable difference was that the four instances of a ‘remote’ creator, such as the hand of God, were all found in manuscripts that did not depict the fall.

The first of the three basic scenes can then be described thus: Adam reclines on his right side, his head resting on his hand. Eve, shown to the waist, rises from his side. Her right wrist is held lightly by the cross-nimbed, bearded Logos who bears a strong facial resemblance to Adam. With his right hand the Logos makes a commanding gesture while Eve gazes at her Creator. A number of manuscripts vary greatly from this basic type, perhaps the most important differences being in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms lat. 8846 and Heidelberg Universitätsbibliothek, IX, Sal, X, 16. Both manuscripts will be discussed in detail later. There is more variety in the depictions of the fall, but the most common factors are that Adam accepts the fruit from Eve and eats it, and the serpent holds a fruit in its mouth. While the proximity of the scenes of the creation of Eve and the fall had no effect on the former, there are some discrepancies between scenes of the fall with and without the creation of Eve. In scenes of the fall without Eve’s creation the three factors already mentioned appear proportionally more frequently than in the other miniatures, as does Adam’s seeming eagerness for the fruit. There are also discrepancies in scenes appearing in less than fifty percent of the manuscripts. In manuscripts in which the creation of Eve is not shown she is far more often depicted as seductive, allied with the serpent, taking the fruit from the serpent’s mouth and giving her attention to Adam than in the manuscripts that show her creation.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Eve appears to be seductive, to some extent, in just under half of the manuscripts without her creation, while this element appears in less than a sixth of those with that scene. An association of Eve with the serpent, an indication that they are allies, that Eve is either inherently weak or evil, or that she has already succumbed, is

In contrast, almost half the manuscripts with Eve's creation show her eating the fruit, while only one of those without does so. The basic fall scene can be described thus: Adam and Eve stand on either side of a tree with a compact bunch of foliage. Eve hands a fruit to the bearded Adam, who eats it. A slender serpent with a small ruff and ears holds a fruit in its mouth. Eve is not consciously seductive and focuses her attention on neither the serpent nor Adam. Adam's attention is on the fruit. The iconography of the expulsion is relatively homogeneous. A winged and nimbed angel, wielding a sword, places a hand on Adam's shoulder as he forces the two out of paradise. They clutch leaves before them and Adam looks back. In almost half of the manuscripts Eve also looks back.

In his analysis of the *Jeu d'Adam* Beck states that the Adam playwright tries to reconcile the anomaly of a creation that is perfect with the inherent, that is pre-fall, incompatibility between Adam and Eve, male and female.<sup>122</sup> In a slightly different form this sort of anomaly is apparent in the basic type in the later twelfth century. In the manuscripts in which the creation of Eve appears along with the fall there is less emphasis on both Eve's seductive or wicked tendencies and on Adam's willingness to be corrupted. It would seem that there was a desire to show the whole of creation as good, and the fall is represented in a rather less emotional or moralistic way, simply as an event. The miniatures that deal with the fall, without the earlier history of creation, or at least the creation of Eve, seem to have a more didactic intent. The nucleus of three scenes again suggests a chain of events, the creation of Eve, the fall and the expulsion from paradise, implying a degree of causality.

There is some measure of closeness in the creation of Eve, in that the Logos holds her wrist to draw her from the side of the reclining Adam, but there is little intimacy in this action. The Logos makes a gesture of command and Eve appears and is drawn forth. There is no sign of the rib or that Eve is in any way a part of Adam that has been changed or

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to be found in just under half of the manuscripts without her creation, but it is shown in less than a third of those with the scene. Again, in almost half of the manuscripts without Eve's creation she fixes her attention on Adam, but this occurs in only one of the thirteen manuscripts with the earlier scene. In three of the eight manuscripts without the preceding scene Eve takes the fruit from the serpent's mouth, while she does so in less than a third of the other manuscripts.

<sup>122</sup> Jonathan Beck, "Genesis, Sexual Antagonism, and the Defective Couple of the Twelfth-Century *Jeu d'Adam*," *Representations* (1990).

adapted: she is an integral part of Adam and, untransformed in any way, removed from him. The strong facial resemblance between Adam and the Logos is an indication of the affinity that was intended between them. Eve, on the other hand, shows no resemblance to her Creator, so it could be said that the Logos removes an alien—female—element from man. Nevertheless, Eve's concentration on the Logos implies that, here at least, she is God's creature. In the basic type of the fall scene, taken as a whole, three points are emphasised; the fruit is held in the mouth of the serpent, Eve hands a fruit to Adam and he eats it. We have, then, a chain, if not a hierarchy, of culpability. The fruit is passed from the serpent's mouth to that of Adam, and Eve is the essential link in this chain. The serpent does not persuade Adam to eat directly, but only through an intermediary. Just as in *Genesis B*, the devil in *Jeu d'Adam* fails to convince Adam to eat the fruit; the subversion and intervention of Eve is necessary. Eve's role in *Jeu d'Adam* will be discussed in more detail later, but here it is enough to say that in the basic type her part is emphasised by the fact that she herself does not eat, but hands the fruit to him, aligning herself with the serpent, both of them holding, offering and suggesting, even though this alignment is not more openly expressed. Eve's role is crucial, but Adam bears the true onus of guilt. It is he who eats, takes the fruit in his mouth, consumes it and makes it part of himself, and thus part of mankind. In most of the manuscripts analysed, Adam is a fairly neutral figure, neither eager nor reluctant, a passive receptacle in the hands of the more dynamic actors in the scene.

It is worth considering the implications of the two distinct sub-types of the fall scene, that shown in conjunction with the creation of Eve, and that without the prior scene. When we consider the latter, Eve does not have her attention on Adam and indeed, she seems to act almost automatically, remote and unconcerned whether Adam eats or not. However, the tendency in this sub-type is to show her fall rather than, or as well as, that of Adam. Taking the fruit from the serpent and eating it, her role then becomes more active, a prerequisite and preliminary to the fall of Adam. In this sub-type Eve is subverted by evil and used as an instrument to bring about the fall. In the second sub-type we have a different story. Eve is still the instrument of evil, but a more active and willing ally. Her pose invites Adam to eat and emphasises both her interest in him and her femininity—not overt sexuality, but a consciousness of her own difference and self. Adam ceases to be a neutral figure and is eager to take what is offered, reach-

ing with one hand and holding a fruit to his mouth with the other. Eve is more closely aligned with the serpent, the two drawing Adam into the conspiracy. Perhaps it is permissible to read a warning here, not just against feminine wiles, but against masculine weakness. Adam's eagerness, his susceptibility to Eve's offer, displays an inherent weakness that must be guarded against. It is noticeable that Adam's fault does not really lie in the fact that his attention has been drawn away from God. There is nothing of the close relationship between man and God, indeed as far as Adam is concerned he has no true meeting with God. The Logos draws Eve from his side while he sleeps. God has become an invisible and remote presence, not a closely experienced deity who can be seen, conversed with and touched. God has created and then withdrawn. He does not even physically intervene with the expulsion, but hands that task over to the angel. Adam's fault lies in his desire for the fruit; his attention is fixed on that, not on Eve, so it may be said that it is what Eve offers rather than the way she offers it that is important. This combined with his eating of the fruit, while it does not remove the danger represented by the female, places the emphasis on Adam's own weakness; he is not cajoled or tricked into eating. He is not the victim of an evil seductress, or even of too great a love for his wife. He desires that which is forbidden and takes what is offered greedily. His yearning glance backwards as he is driven out of paradise could be a sign not only of regret for what he has lost, but also of penitence.

The basic type in the later twelfth century can be read on different levels. The caution issued to man as a weak being, susceptible to temptation, is obviously there. There is some notion of the dangers of the female, less as a deliberate and sexual seductress, but rather as a willing, if somewhat ignorant tool of evil, the means by which temptation can enter a man's life. To this extent the female can be regarded as the 'other', that which is not of the world of God's creatures, removed from man, but still partaking of his essence. In my opinion this must be seen metaphorically rather than an attack on women as individuals. If women as individuals are a danger, then it is because of their weaker natures, their greater susceptibility to the world and the senses. We now see that man is also susceptible, not just to weakness, but also to what could be regarded as more 'masculine' traits, in particular ambition, the desire to have more. In many ways the later twelfth century Adam and Eve have a more difficult situation. They do not defy a close and personal God who manifests himself to them, who shows love and

concern. Their God is remote, a distant authority who must be obeyed and is swift to order retribution to those who defy him.

## 2.2 *The Basic Type in Context*

It can be said that the basic type, or rather the two sub-types, reflect the contradictory tendencies of the period. There is a degree of acceptance of Eve, as representing women, rather than the weakness or even viciousness of the 'female,' and an acknowledgement of male failing. Eve is seen as part of creation, indeed once again representing mankind, but the numerous depictions of her creation within a creation cycle without showing the fall, give a view of a creature created essentially good. It is perhaps a measure of the reverence in which such female mystics as Hildegard von Bingen and Elizabeth von Schönau were held that in the basic type only Eve beholds God. Eve's attention is fixed on the Logos, her hands held up in worship and adoration, while Adam sleeps oblivious of the presence of God. Perhaps the keywords here are worship and adoration: the Logos holds her wrist but she comes forth at a gesture of command. Despite the physical touch this is no moulding, no close creation. The Logos draws her forth from Adam and she is a part of him, partaking nothing of the divine. Adam, even in his unconscious state bears a likeness to God and thus is marked as being in nature closer to God.

In the fall scene itself Eve is not shown as openly seductive, and this perhaps conforms to an increasing acceptance of sexuality and the married state. It perhaps worth noting that the majority of the miniatures showing a seductive Eve are of German origin, while those in which Adam is an obviously willing participant in the eating of the fruit are almost all German. The acknowledgement of Adam's weakness and even of 'masculine' faults shows the two contradictory trends—an acceptance that some failings are not 'feminine,' and that those failings are greed and ambition. This reflects, to some extent, the standpoint of the romances. Women, even good women, possibly unintentionally, can inflame men to passion and good or wicked deeds, but the weakness, 'masculine' or not, must be there. As the heroes of the romances gain their love, with honour and riches, so Adam should have lived with Eve. The rather more moderate attitude to female sexuality shown in the basic type can be seen as recognition that the monastic life of virginity and chastity, while still superior to married life, is not for everyone and that the secular life has its virtues. In this the basic type falls between



the works of Chrétien and those of Alan of Lille. It must be borne in mind that these two authors wrote for very different audiences, and I have not suggested an audience for the basic type.

The 'masculine' failings of Adam can also be seen as in line with the ideas of conformity and the rule of law. Adam transgresses a law, regardless of whether he is tempted or whether the desire comes from within himself. He thereby makes himself an outcast, marginalises himself because he does not conform to the established rules. The swift retribution shown, not carried out by the Logos, but by his deputy, again reflects a society that was striving for a centralised administration of justice. The expulsion is impersonal, not a righteous personal God driving out his disobedient creation, but a transgressor who is punished according to the process of law. Adam can be seen as God's client, but by betraying his remote and distant patron he forfeits the benefits of patronage. We can even see something of Gratian's contention that obedience to authority is only desirable in morally neutral cases. The command of God, the divine law, takes precedence over any command or request from earthly relations—Eve or the serpent. In the context of the late twelfth century, the increasingly fierce struggle between rulers to establish secular jurisdiction and the Church to maintain obedience to ecclesiastical authority could give another level of meaning to Adam's disobedience.

The increased interest in creation, now superseding the interest in the fall itself, is perhaps an expression of the Chartarians' desire to examine and understand the world and man's place therein. The remote Logos of the basic type is in line with their ideas of a chain of creation that unfolds of itself, once set in motion by God. However, the Chartarians' lack of interest in the fall and Heilsgeschichte is certainly not reflected in the miniatures, but even the act of creation itself is closer to earlier Chartarian works, such as that of Thierry of Chartres, than that of Alan of Lille. God remains closely connected with creation, if no longer the Artisan, the Shaper with a personal interest in that which he makes; he is a figure of power who with a commanding gesture brings all things into being.

### 3. *Specific Manuscripts*

The choice of manuscripts to analyse more fully and to place within the context of their time and location is much greater in the later twelfth

century than in earlier periods. I have tried to select manuscripts that represent the various types of miniatures, but have sufficient idiosyncrasies to highlight their own message. The first of these is Paris, Bibliothèque Geneviève 8 that contains a series of narrative scenes from the inspiration of Adam to the murder of Abel. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms lat. 8846 contains all of the basic scenes but in addition God reproaching Cain. Los Angeles, Paul Getty Collection, Ms. 64 shows the creation of Eve, the expulsion and the murder of Abel, but not the fall, and is an example of the remote creation. 's Gravenhage, Koninklijke Bibliotheek 76 F5 has the 'comic strip' format that is also seen in Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm 935 and the *Hortus Deliciarum*. Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 19 has the two central scenes of the creation of Eve and the fall linked together, and may also serve as an example of a less high quality manuscript. Auch, Bibliothèque Municipale Ms 1, is an IN monogram and shows only the fall and possibly *ubi es?* Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek, Hist. Fol. 418 is a clear example of the fall in relation to Heilsgeschichte. Similar in form, but very different in iconography is Salzburg, Sankt Peterstiftbibliothek AX11 18–20. Finally, Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek IX, Sal, X, 16 combines the remote creation with the fall of the rebel angels, an unusual creation of Eve, the fall and expulsion in a rare format as an introduction to an early copy of Hildegard von Bingen's *Scivias*.

### 3.1 *The Manerius Bible, Paris, Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève, Ms. 8, f. 7v*

This is a very complex initial I with six central medallions showing the six days of creation and with eight partial medallions depicting the events of Genesis from the creation of Eve to the murder of Abel. (fig. 56) These form the I while the 'n principio' letters are written vertically to the right of the main panel. These are distinguished by colour, being placed on backgrounds predominantly red and blue. The historiated I is chiefly gold, light green, reddish brown and dark blue. The medallions at the sides are in two groups of four and are intended to be read from left to right, top to bottom. The first four are set on each side of the first three days of creation, with the creation of Eve on the upper left, the prohibition on the upper right, the fall under the creation of Eve and *ubi es?* opposite. The lower four show, in reading order, the expulsion, Adam and Eve at their labours, the sacrifices of Cain and Abel and Abel's murder. The drawing and colouration are careful and skilled, the whole complex initial showing not only a high

level of draughtsmanship, but also an interesting theological balance. Ms. 8 is part of the 'Manerius Bible'—the rest consisting of mss. 9 and 10—which is so named from the colophon giving the name of Manerius of Canterbury. Ste. Geneviève describes the miniatures of ms. 8 as in the style of Manerius and suggests that it has its origin in Troyes and was destined for the abbey of St. Loup. Its fine work and rich decoration are certainly in line with the great prosperity of Champagne in the twelfth century.

The most noticeable thing about the six creation miniatures is that the creation of the animals and the inspiration of Adam replace the earlier representations of the creation of Eve as the work of the sixth day. This is by no means unique; the Lambeth Bible, in its Creation initial shows the Logos shaping a lump of clay into a rough man-shape, and in the *Hortus Deliciarum* God moulds the head of the slack and lifeless Adam. The instances of the inspiration of Adam also increase, this scene being found not only in the Ste. Geneviève manuscript, but in the *Hortus deliciarum* and Sens, Bibliothèque Municipale 1, p. 1, where again it is shown with the creation of Eve. In the first two medallions the Logos is bearded, but not in the succeeding four. It must be noted that Adam is also beardless in the scene of his inspiration, and the facial resemblance between the two figures is very great. The figures of the Logos and Adam are again bearded in the scene of the creation of Eve, but not in the rest of the scenes. Noteworthy too is the fact that the Logos is not cross-nimbed. Before analysing the individual scenes it is worth considering these factors and the general layout of the initial.

The six creation medallions not only take a central position, they dominate the whole composition. They are bigger than the partial medallions at the sides, and their impact is increased by the twisting of the rinceaux round them, the general symmetry and the central position of the Logos in each medallion. In each he stands with his head just below the highest point, and his feet often impinging on the lower framework of vines. The side medallions are derived from the central roundels, the rinceaux that define them branching out from the central twist. The eye is immediately drawn to the creation medallions, and we may regard them as being not only first in time but also first in consequence. The emphasis is on creation and God the Creator, and this is driven home by the lack of the cross-nimbus: God is not immediately identifiable here as Christ, his role is that of Creator, not Saviour. The flowing rinceaux, leading the eye downwards, give a temporal order and a sense of sequential growth. This could be a reflection of the early

Chartarian ideas of creation: God is still totally in command and he is an active Creator, rather than one who sets the process in motion and then retires. However, there is an idea of growth, of one stage bearing the potential of the next. The central medallions show God's power creating from nothing and finally breathing life and soul into man, his ultimate creation, not just a physical existence but a being bearing his own imprint and likeness. The side medallions tell a story that is secondary, however important it is for man and his salvation; in this miniature it is subsidiary to the great fact of God's creation of the world and man.

The human aspects of Genesis 1–4 are told in the sixth medallion and the eight side medallions, but the layout of the miniature places the inspiration of Adam on a different footing to the succeeding events. This miniature is concerned with God and his works, rather than humankind. Man is shown as the last and greatest of these works. The animals have already been created and look on as God finishes his great labour. Adam is alive and conscious, his eyes and attention on God. In all the creation medallions God makes a gesture of command, either a single general gesture or a specific, directed one. In this medallion his gesture is directed at Adam, but in this scene alone is there a further connection between Creator and created. The eyes of the two meet, the rest of creation can look on but does not share this moment. God breathes a soul into Adam, endows him with a spark of divinity, the outward facial resemblance a sign of this inner link. We see again the importance of the mouth to medieval thought. It is not enough for God to raise his hand and command that Adam has a soul. God's very breath, that most intimate product of himself, passes from his mouth to that of Adam, so that a part of God resides in man. The two figures are bound together by that stream of air, but in this scene that stream is broken by the fingers of God. It is as if they cut an umbilical cord, which the depiction of God's breath resembles, setting man free as an independent being with free will. Two echoes of what is to come can be found in this medallion. The serpent lies next to Adam, not with the other animals, and Adam's heel rest on its tail, perhaps an inversion of the curse on the serpent that the children of Eve will crush the serpent's head. Adam's left hand rests on his right thigh, covering most of the genital area, but there is more than a hint of his penis visible.

It is perhaps one of the most remarkable features of the Manerius Bible that genitalia are shown openly. While it had become common-

place to show Eve's breasts, genitalia were generally avoided since the San Paola Bible. Male genitalia were often depicted on demons as a sign of their bestiality, their uncontrolled lusts and their sexual nature. The third volume of the Manerius Bible has a miniature akin to such works.<sup>123</sup> On f. 128v heading one of the canon tables there is a scene of the wicked in hell appealing to Abraham, and they too are shown with testicles and penis. In the creation and fall initial both Adam and Eve are shown as sexual beings, Eve having full breasts with large nipples, her vulva marked in red and Adam's penis and testicles being only slightly more discreetly shown. In this it deviates from the basic type, perhaps being the most sexually orientated of all the miniatures of this period.

The first medallion of the 'human' history shows the creation of Eve. This puts her immediately in a different category to Adam. He represented a completion, a pinnacle of God's labours. By placing the creation of Eve with the human history of the fall and death, she is shown to be almost an afterthought, secondary and linked less with the divine than with the world. It also reflects the idea current in the Middle Ages that Adam was created outside paradise and Eve within. (fig. 57) In this scene the Logos and Adam are once again bearded and the facial resemblance between them strong. Perhaps the confines of the partial medallion dictated the odd fact that Adam is sleeping upright. As in most other miniatures, his head rests on his left hand that in turn is supported by his right. An effect of this, whether intentional or not, is to increase the similarities between him and the Logos. Both are upright, with bent knees, the right arm before and the left hand at shoulder height. The poses are not identical, but similar. The Logos holds a very straight rib in his right hand, withdrawing it from Adam's side. Eve stands between the two, her eyes on the Logos. She is clearly very different to the two males, both in features and in pose. She does not rise from Adam's side, but seems more to be pulled out sideways, rather like a sliding door that has been released by the removal of the rib. The Logos holds her by the shoulder, but does not appear to be either moulding or drawing her out. While Eve's eyes are on God, there is no sign that she worships him, as is frequently seen in other miniatures where she holds up her hands in reverence and wonder. As Adam was created sexual, so is Eve, her sexual characteristics emphasised more

<sup>123</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève, Ms. 10.

than Adam's at his creation. Unlike miniatures in which Eve emerges from Adam's side, we have here another view of the relationship between male and female. Rather than being a part of Adam that is removed, here Eve seems to be more his other self, a reverse image. A similar effect is to be found Lyons, Bibliothèque Municipale 410, f. 2r where Eve again seems to be almost a Siamese twin to Adam. This could explain the emphasis on sexual characteristics. It could also accord with the difference in treatment of the creations of Adam and Eve. Adam is shown receiving his soul, Eve her body, so that while Adam now represents the work of the sixth day it could still be said that Eve represents the physical part of mankind. This would imply that the creation stories of both Genesis 1 and 2 are shown. However, this differs from the ideas found in earlier works, and notably those of Claudius of Turin, about the simultaneous creation of the human soul and sequential creation of the body. The Manerius Bible rejects this utterly, and both male and female are shown as fully sexual beings. While Claudius' theory could be regarded as meaning that God created the soul of man with both male and female elements, the difference in the creation scenes in the Manerius Bible connects the creation of Adam with that of the soul, and that of Eve with the body. While the unusual factors of the inspiration of Adam and the sexual characteristics add to the levels of interpretation, once again we have the association of soul with maleness and body with femaleness.

The second scene is another that is less frequently depicted, and here the artist departs, as do others, from the Bible text. (fig. 58) In showing the prohibition after the creation of Eve and her presence at that event he ignores the chronological sequence in the Bible. God may have been present at Creation, but now he has become remote. He does not stand before the couple and indicate the tree, but issues a distant and remote command. It is noticeable that at this point the tree does not bear fruit and that, in direct contradiction of the biblical text, the injunction seems to be particularly directed at Eve. We are left in no doubt as to her knowledge of the ban: the command is given to her directly, not through the medium of Adam. Eve is shown, not only as a sexual being, but as self-aware. Her long hair cascades down her back to below her knees. The position of her arms draw attention to her breasts and vulva and she looks directly at the *Domini dextera* without fear or reverence. Her pose reminds the viewer of the

stage directions for *Jeu d'Adam*—*Eva vero parum demisiori*.<sup>124</sup> Adam, on the other hand, looks away from God's directing hand, his right hand even covering that ear and he is further removed from the tree than Eve, as if distancing himself from the event. He may be *tamen propius, vultu composito*,<sup>125</sup> but his pose raises even more questions than that of Eve. Eve may be already showing signs of questioning God's command, but what is the viewer to make of Adam's inattention? I do not think it can be interpreted as an excuse, that he does not hear properly or is in some way excluded from the command. Eve gives the presence of God her attention, but Adam must also be aware of that presence and his gesture, if not a denial, is a refusal to concentrate on that presence. If the characters of the *Jeu d'Adam* display attitudes that might be considered more appropriate to post-lapsarian times, the figures of the Manerius Bible give hints as to their future conduct.<sup>126</sup> Eve is shown as having the seeds of rebellion in her and Adam displays a lack of attention, regard and dedication to God's command.

The next scene is the fall itself and here the sexual nuances are greater. (fig. 59) An interesting point is that again the tree does not appear to bear fruit. Only two fruits are visible, the one in the mouth of the serpent and the other handed to Adam by Eve. No others are on the tree and there is no indication of whence these two fruits came. The reader can understand that they are indeed the fruits of death, coming from the serpent. Eve is again aware of herself, with no guilt, hesitation or reluctance in her pose. She is bigger than Adam and her hair streams down her back and is visible between her legs that open so that she straddles the vine. She holds a fruit out in her right hand and takes another from the winged serpent. The serpent has a degree of seductiveness, its head bent down to Eve almost as if it were a cat inviting the woman to rub behind its ears. The easy and languid sensuousness of the serpent and the challenging attitude of the woman contrast with Adam's demeanour. His distant attitude has vanished; he clambers over the vine, his hand eagerly grasping the fruit Eve offers.

<sup>124</sup> Cited, Steven Justice, "The Authority of Ritual in the *Jeu d'Adam*," *Speculum: A Journal of Mediaeval Studies* 62 (1987).

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>126</sup> For a full discussion on this see Beck, "Genesis, Sexual Antagonism, and the Defective Couple of the Twelfth-Century *Jeu d'Adam*."

His attention is all on her and we can believe that he is unaware of the serpent, even though his arm brushes its body. The angle of his body gives dynamism to his pose, suggesting haste and eagerness. His genitalia are slightly more emphasised and the position of his hand and arm imply a sexual aspect to his energy. He thrusts his arm into the dark between the branch of the tree and the serpent to grasp the round, red fruit which Eve holds so temptingly before him, his thumb hooking into the hollow at the centre. Sin here is clearly related to sexuality, but also to male weakness in the face of (female) sensuality, and a lack of devotion and attention to God's word.

The fourth and fifth scenes are far less explicit in the definition of sin, concentrating on showing the consequences. The medallion depicting the *ubi es?* scene does give a slight impression of secretiveness, though this could be an accurate attempt to show human shame before God. However, the reader has the impression that God is searching for the pair, rather than that they are hiding from him. This is probably to do with layout, with Adam and Eve closer to the viewer and God partially obscured by the tree. In this scene Adam's resemblance to God is less marked. There is a degree of tension, with the humans separated from God by the tree and God's accusatory finger pointing over their heads instead of at them. Both Adam and Eve look away, in fact in the direction of the pointing finger. This could be the same device that was used in Junius 11. The finger and the gazes lead the eye to the text—the full biblical account of what the fall was to mean for mankind, human history (in the form of the story of God's people) and the whole history of salvation. On another level the poses could be interpreted as looking beyond paradise to what awaits man. One curious detail is that Adam holds Eve's chin. Neither appears to be depressed or repentant and this small intimate gesture draws them together, giving them a unity and closeness not found in the biblical narrative.

The *ubi es?* scene is the last of the upper four, making a distinction between those scenes that take place in paradise and those that take place outside. The expulsion scene highlights the fact that there is still a resemblance between God and Adam, since the expelling angel is of a totally different facial type. In general, this scene varies very little from earlier miniatures. The angel brandishes his sword; Adam and Eve are dressed in skins and the angel pushes on Adam's shoulder. Both humans look back, but again Eve seems more self-possessed than Adam, her gaze directed more at her husband than the angel or the paradise that must lie behind him. Eve's hand again points out of the vine framing



the scene, this time to the scene of their labours, indicating their future life. Again, there is a small intimate detail; Adam embraces his wife, his right hand resting on her left shoulder. Once again this gives a sense of unity and closeness between the two. In the labours scene Eve twirls a distaff to spin her thread. This is a notably lively figure and reminds the viewer that much of the commercial prosperity of Champagne and Troyes rested on the textile trade, bringing in cloth from Flanders and selling to merchants from all over Europe. Eve is again calm and controlled, the artist drawing her with firm, smooth lines. Her clean-cut profile contrasts with the softer lines of Adam's face. A spade stands between them and Adam holds an axe in both hands. He wears a soft round hat, often used to signify a Jew, even though the dress laws for Jews were not yet in force.

The last two scenes are concerned with Cain and Abel. The left hand one shows the brothers' sacrifices. Interestingly, the brothers have very different facial types, but Abel's features are similar to those of Eve while Cain has some resemblance to Adam and God. It would be expected that this would be the other way round, but I am of the opinion that the more delicate features of Abel are a sign of his youth and vulnerability. It cannot be said that Cain is distinguished in any way by physically unpleasant features. It is, however, to be noted that his cap clearly marks him as a Jew, while the headgear of Abel is half hidden by the framing vine. Both are robed with dignity, in contrast to the work clothes worn by Adam in the labours scenes and by Cain in the murder scene. The brothers hold out their offerings close together, so that they almost appear as one. The Vulgate describes this: *factum est autem post multos dies ut offerret Cain de fructibus terrae munera Domino. Abel quoque obtulit de primogenitis gregis sui et de adipibus eorum et respexit Dominus ad Abel et ad munera eius*. Since the lamb held by Abel is thickly fleeced, I think we must see this as interpreting *primogenitus* as the oldest of the lambs, the largest and fattest. In other words the best of what he had. This would be in line with the belief that Cain withheld the best of his harvest from God, keeping that for himself. This is strengthened by the fact that Cain's sheaf of corn is coloured green, implying that this is not ripe, full-headed grain. The usual means of showing God's approval of Abel's offering is the hand of God reaching out towards it. This means is not used here. The wavy blue and white field that usually symbolises heaven hovers above the brothers, but the sign of approval is an insignificant line reaching down from this to the lamb. This may have been the way the artist showed that Abel's sacrifice at least, was a

burnt offering, with the smoke ascending to heaven. Here God is very distant from Cain and Abel, while they make their offerings; the only sign that he notices them or receives one is that faint line.

The depiction of Cain in the murder scene is very restrained. (fig. 60) His features are not coarsened or caricatured and no special emphasis is placed on his race. He is dressed in peasant clothing, but that would appear to fit with the biblical account and does not distinguish him from Adam. Abel, on the other hand, is dressed in a toga-like garment, befitting his dignity as a martyr and the prefiguration of Christ. His hands are raised in an orant gesture, bringing to mind the scene in *Jeu d'Adam* when he says *A Dieu pri qu'il ait de moi merci.*<sup>127</sup> The stage directions add that Abel genuflects to the east, but while this adds a dramatic moment before the actual slaying in the play, the miniaturist shows this moment of prayer combined with the dead or wounded Abel at the feet of his slayer. The artist has emphasised the vulnerability of Abel by again depicting him as much younger than his brother, the brutality of the curved blade of the axe is echoed in the gaping wound in his head. Even more emphasis is gained by the comparison of the split and bleeding head of the victim with the protected head of his murderer. This medallion deviates from most depictions of the murder which have Cain swinging his club or other implement—the jawbone seems to have been a later innovation—while Abel reels away from the blow. Here Abel lies on the ground, his eyes closed and hands spread, both vulnerable and resigned. The strong horizontal line of his dark blue cloak increases the formality and static nature of his pose. This is a typological rendering of the scene, with Abel likened to Christ as the sacrifice who accepts what must be. This is enhanced by the fact that there is no hand of God as a symbol of Cain being called to account.

The *In principio* initial of Ste. Geneviève gives an unusually comprehensive depiction of the events of Genesis 1–4, but obviously it is more than a straightforward pictorial account. God's creation is the central fact and the other events, however important in themselves, are peripheral to this. These peripheral scenes are divided still further into the scenes inside and outside paradise. The two factors that give this initial various levels of interpretation and depth are the obvious sexuality of Adam and Eve and the two gestures of closeness and

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<sup>127</sup> Cited Justice, "The Authority of Ritual in the *Jeu d'Adam*."

affection bestowed by Adam on Eve. While numerous artists worked on the three-volume Bible there is a degree of harmony in the iconography.<sup>128</sup> Notable in the second volume, Ms. 9, is a miniature on f. 125v, the initial to Hosea. This shows the prophet, told by God to marry an adulterous wife—*principium loquendi Dominum in Osee et dixit Dominus ad Osee vade sume tibi uxorem fornicationum*<sup>129</sup>—and his reconciliation with her, also at God's command. The couple embrace and Hosea holds his wife's chin in his hand, in the same gesture that Adam makes towards Eve. Another Champagne manuscript of the same period, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 16745 has the same gesture on f. 112v. This shows Christ embracing the Ecclesia and can only have a positive connotation. In the case of the Manerius Bible I think we must regard the gesture as multi-layered. It is clearly a gesture of affection, but I think in this case it may also be interpreted as also one of forgiveness for an erring spouse.<sup>130</sup> Adam's gesture in the *ubi es?* scene is clearly at variance with the text, in which he blames Eve. I think we may be justified in reading a more positive attitude to marriage in the Manerius initial. The gestures of tenderness, with no measure of sexual desire in them, combined with the clear depiction of sexual characteristics before the fall, can be seen as an endorsement of the institution of marriage, if practised in the limits and bounds of the Church. Perhaps this is less surprising when we consider the rather more positive attitude taken by many clerics, but perhaps even greater weight could be sought in the fact that Henri le Libéral was a great patron of both St. Loup and the romance ethic that abounded at his court. It is not remarkable that in the atmosphere in which Chrétien de Troyes flourished some of the same attitude should also be displayed in the decoration of its religious books.

Lest anyone be carried away by the tenderness shown by Adam, the miniatures also remind us of his weakness. Eve is the dominant pair of the partnership. She leads and Adam follows. This can again be seen as a warning against the body's control of the mind. This is perhaps the thought behind the arrangement of the initial and showing creation of both soul and body. It can also be seen in a typological sense, especially if we consider the way in which the Hosea story is

<sup>128</sup> For distinguishing marks see: Robert Branner, "The Manerius signatures," *Art Bulletin* 50 (1968).

<sup>129</sup> Hosea 1.2.

<sup>130</sup> I do not venture an opinion on the BN manuscript.

usually interpreted. The sinning woman represents the people who have turned from God and disobeyed him, and the forgiving husband is the Christ figure, granting forgiveness and absolution. It is noticeable that although Eve remains self-assured, in the post-lapsarian miniatures her poses are no longer challenging and it might even be considered that her submission to her husband's embraces represents her repentance. Perhaps her calm is a sign that she has accepted both the word of God and the authority of her husband.

### 3.2 *The Parisian Psalter, BN, Ms. lat. 8846*

This manuscript has been related stylistically to the Manerius Bible.<sup>131</sup> Indeed there are certain stylistic similarities, but the psalter that I will follow Tselos in calling the 'Parisian Psalter' to distinguish it from the Greek Paris Psalter, is even richer in colouration, flatter and more formalised, and what similarities there are, are not very apparent in the Genesis initial.<sup>132</sup> It is generally referred to as the youngest 'copy' of the Utrecht Psalter and most research has concentrated on the iconographic similarities and divergences from the earlier so-called copies. It has all three Latin versions of the Psalms, but the Old English text has been almost entirely dropped. On the other hand more care has been taken with the Anglo-Norman translation.<sup>133</sup> Unlike these earlier works the psalter itself is prefaced by a series of folios—four in total—richly illustrated in twelve rectangular scenes.<sup>134</sup> The scenes are from the Old Testament up to David, the history of John the Baptist, followed by a tree of Jesse and then various scenes from the life and miracles of Christ. Interestingly these do not follow a chronological order, the first dealing with his baptism, temptations and various miracles, while the last deals with the events from the annunciation

<sup>131</sup> Louis Grodecki, "The ancient glass of Canterbury Cathedral," *The Burlington Magazine* 92 (1950).

<sup>132</sup> Dimitri Tselos, "English Manuscript Illustration and the Utrecht Psalter," *Art Bulletin* 41 (1959).

<sup>133</sup> Noel, "The Utrecht Psalter in England: continuity and experiment."

<sup>134</sup> It is highly likely that a similar sequence once prefaced the Eadwine Psalter, but it seems unlikely that this served as source. Nigel Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts [I] 1190–1250*, ed. J.J.G. Alexander, *A Survey of Manuscripts Illustrated in the British Isles* (London, 1982). An examination of the four pages thought to belong to the Eadwine prefatory cycle shows that this begins with Exodus, although it is possible that it was once a Genesis page. However, the Old Testament cycle ends with David and the New Testament goes on to the events of Christ's passion.

to the massacre of the innocents and the death of Herod, his soul in the form of a naked infant being taken by a devil.<sup>135</sup> Thus the scenes follow neither a chronological nor a fully liturgical order. The weight given to various incidents is also uneven. Discounting the full-page tree of Jesse there are seventy-two scenes, eight of which are devoted to the events of Genesis 2–4, plus six creation scenes. Ten scenes give the history of Moses, five are devoted to Christ's temptations, but the majority are taken up by his miracles. The verso of f. 4 is devoted to the events surrounding Christ's birth. Taken as a whole, and considering those other scenes such as the sacrifice of Isaac, Noah's salvation and Joseph being rescued from the well, there is a strong theme of God's goodness and mercy, but also of the consequences of ill-doing. This last is particularly noticeable in the scenes that will be discussed here. It could be said that the scenes of Genesis 2–4 act as a starting point for the history of salvation that is to follow and culminates, not with the passion, but with the incarnation. There does not seem to be a strong typological connection between the Old and New Testament scenes; there are, of course, a number of standard typologies such as Isaac and David, and the reader would make the obvious connection between the fall and Christ's temptations. However, the emphasis seems to be on a particular type of Heilsgeschichte that lays stress on God's mercy and justice.

The Parisian Psalter exemplifies what Rudolph discusses in his article on Creation miniatures in the twelfth century:

The great change that took place in the creation imagery of the renaissance of the twelfth century was not characterized by a decrease of interest in the anthropological Yawist account of creation, but rather a dramatic

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<sup>135</sup> It is interesting to note that there are strong similarities between this scene and that on f. 97r Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms lat. 770, a slightly earlier Canterbury manuscript, which depicts the death of Julian the Apostate. Caviness relates this and other scenes to the conflict between Crown and Church, and Canterbury in particular and a general condemnation of bad kingship. Madeline Harrison Caviness, "Conflicts between Regnum and Sacerdotium as Reflected in a Canterbury Psalter of ca. 1215," *Art Bulletin* 61 (1979). Josephus in War of the Jews I.33.17 describes Herod's death following his orders to execute many members of his family, including his sons, he thought were plotting against him. There is no mention of the massacre of the innocents in Josephus, and Josephus is certainly not wholly condemnatory of Herod, but in the context of a cycle on the nativity and incarnation, Herod would most definitely be seen as a bad ruler. It is interesting to note that the supposed prefatory page to the Eadwine Psalter also shows the death of Herod, but where in the Parisian Psalter Herod merely lifts his hand to his face as a devil takes his soul, in the Eadwine leaf (British Library, Add. 37472, recto) Herod commits suicide by plunging a sword into his breast.

increase—an explosion, really—of interest in the cosmological Priestly account: an explosion of interest in the six days of creation.<sup>136</sup>

He goes on to demonstrate the closeness of Moulins, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1 f. 4v to Thierry of Chartres description of creation, in particular the circular, fiery motion. The Parisian Psalter, with a strong stylistic resemblance to the Moulins manuscript, has the same effect in the first six scenes of f. 1r. (fig. 61) Indeed the architectural nature of God's creation is increased by the fact that in the first scenes he holds scales and a compass. This was used before in Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman art: it is to be found in somewhat more abstract form in Hanover, Kestner Museum, WM XXIa 36, f. 9v where it is simply a *Domini dextera* holding the instrument, and London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius C.VI f. 7v where the face of God moves upon the waters, his arms extended and holding the balance and compass in his right hand. This is presumably a reference to Wisdom 11.21.<sup>137</sup> In each of the first six scenes of the Parisian Psalter, except this and the third day, the Creator holds a book or scroll in his left hand.<sup>138</sup> He does not, as in the Moulins manuscript, physically divide light and darkness, place the sun and moon in the heavens or even reach out from the heavens to bring birds and animals into being. He never leaves the boundary of heaven and his gesture and book are sufficient to create. The sixth scene shows the animals and birds with in their midst Adam, his hands held up to God, worshipping his Lord, rather than naming the beasts. This is indeed a remote creation, despite the facial resemblance between God and Adam. This creation of Adam perhaps can be regarded once again as a creation of the soul since the seventh medallion has certain details that make it more than the creation of Eve.

While in the first six scenes the cross-nimbed Logos remains in the heavens, angels holding each corner, here he has descended to the earth and is accompanied by two angels. One of these kneels and holds out his hands covered by a red cloth. The Logos stands before him and creates the bodies of Adam and Eve. Adam lies sleeping, his

<sup>136</sup> Rudolph, "In the Beginning: Theories and images of creation in Northern Europe in the twelfth century."

<sup>137</sup> *sed et sine his uno spiritu occidi poterant persecutionem passi ab ipsis factis suis et dispersi per spiritum virtutis tuae sed omnia mensura et numero et pondere disposuisti.*

<sup>138</sup> On the fifth day he appears to hold something in his right hand, but I have been unable to discern what this is, possibly a sword. However, I can think of no reason for such a symbol.

head held in his left hand, while the Logos reaches down to what the angel holds. This is apparently earth for with it the Logos is forming Adam's legs with his right hand. With his left he moulds Eve's head as she emerges from under Adam's arm. This is a remarkable scene in many ways since it shows the more or less simultaneous creation of the male and female body, Adam's primacy being shown by the fact that his is further advanced than Eve's. This shows a more 'hands-on' creation of mankind than the Moulins manuscript and is emphasised all the more by the very remote character of the earlier creation scenes. The formation of Adam from clay is seen clearly in the Lambeth Bible and the moulding aspect in the *Hortus deliciarum*, although in neither case does this extend to Eve, the Lambeth Bible showing only the creation of Adam and the *Hortus deliciarum* having its own very individual creation of Eve. The fact that the earth is held by the kneeling angel with covered hands could well be a reference to angels worshipping Adam, since covering of hands was a sign of reverence for what was held. A miniature on f. 166r, from the much later Catalan additions, shows an angel holding Adam's partially formed body. Gutman, in his sadly brief treatment of this, rejects the idea that it has anything to do with the angelic creation of man, but refers instead to a line from *Vita Adae et Evae* in which Michael calls the angels to worship the image of God.<sup>139</sup> Strangely, Gutman makes no reference to the scene on f. 1r. Here there can be no doubt that we are dealing with the creation of man, but by God, not angels.<sup>140</sup> Nevertheless, I think we can read a conflation of ideas here, both the creation, by the Logos, and the worshipping by the angels.

The next scene is the prohibition of fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil. In this, and the succeeding scenes, the facial resemblance between the Logos and Adam is very marked. The Logos is the central figure, both in the composition and action. His colouration is also much deeper than that of either the tree or Adam and Eve who stand on the left. He points to the deep green foliage at the top of the tree with his right hand and holds a partially unrolled scroll in his left. Adam stands to the left of the Logos, one hand at his waist, the

<sup>139</sup> Joseph Gutmann, "On Biblical Legends in Medieval Art," *Artibus et Historiae* 19 (1998).

<sup>140</sup> The angelic creation has strong overtones of Gnosticism and to my mind would have not been expressed by such an establishment as Christ Church, Canterbury, where the original part of the psalter was made.

other raised breast high with the palm outward. This could be seen as a gesture of rejection, not of God's command but of the fruit. Eve, standing behind him holds one hand at her breast and the other stretched out towards the tree, palm up. We see here, then, once again Eve's predisposition to sin. While the command is being uttered she is already reaching for the fruit.

The scene of the temptation and fall itself is divided by the tree in the centre, its foliage now pinkish red, as if in anticipation of falling leaves. Two other trees bracket the figures and the whole scene is highly symmetrical. The dark blue serpent winds round the trunk, head on the level of Eve's, and it holds a fruit in its mouth. Eve takes this with her right hand and reaching behind the tree she hands another fruit to Adam. He already holds a fruit in his right hand, but makes no move to eat either, but seems uncertain. Eve is most certainly not only the initiator, but very much the active partner, in spite of her somewhat rigid pose. The reader's eye is drawn initially to the tree and its occupant, then follows the line through Eve's bent arm across her shoulders along her outstretched arm and on to Adam. Here it comes to a halt. Adam does not eat, nor does he reach for the fruit; there is no sign of eagerness or reluctance. In fact, this is not really a fall scene, since here the outcome is still in doubt. Adam has yet to make his choice. This must be a reminder to the reader of man's free will; he can take or reject the offered temptation. There are indications that we must place Eve and the serpent on the same side. Eve's attention is on the serpent's head and her waving locks echo the coils of the serpent's body.

The scene of the expulsion holds little new. This is effected by an angel brandishing a fiery red sword. Adam, clutching leaves to his genitals, looks back, seeming to expostulate with the angel, while Eve, head down, looks towards where they must go. The scene of the labours emphasises the difficulties that they meet outside Paradise. The couple are separated by a central tree and Eve sits under another on the left. This is perhaps an echo of the bowers found in the labours scenes dating back to the Ashburnham Pentateuch and was such a feature of those scenes in Carolingian miniatures. Eve is spinning with a long distaff held in her left hand and with her right she holds the foot of the infant Abel suckling at her breast. At her feet is the young Cain, looking up at her and holding out his hand to her. Eve is usually shown either suckling an infant or spinning to depict God's punishment, but here the activities are combined. This, together with showing, not one child, but two, her bare feet and skin tunic points out the hardness of



her life and makes a stark contrast to the well-dressed Eve calmly and competently spinning in the Manerius Bible. Adam too, has a harder task here. He is also barefoot and dressed in skins; as he digs he must straddle a tree to get his spade in the ground. While the Manerius Bible showed the loss of a natural paradise, it gave Adam and Eve the dignity of clothing and labour that should ensure a reasonably comfortable life. The Parisian Psalter is not so comfortable: Adam and Eve must suffer not only loss, but also work hard for an existence little better than that of animals.

The lack of comforts and amenities of post-lapsarian existence are not evident in the twelfth scene on f. 1r that depicts the sacrifices of Cain and Abel. The brothers are both dressed in long gowns and togas and are neatly shod. Cain's seniority is again shown by his beard, while Abel is shown as a beardless youth. They stand either side of an altar, covered with a rich cloth and each holds up his offering. The figure of the Logos, and here it is worth remarking that this figure is cross-nimbed, is flanked by an angel on each side and leans forward toward Abel, his right hand raised in acknowledgement of the offering. His left arm hangs down from heaven, the hand seemingly pushing away Cain's offering. The typological aspects are very clear here. The Logos and Abel wear very similar clothing, and despite the fact that they are both bearded, there is no resemblance between Cain and the Logos, while God and Abel share the same dark hair. It is, however, the cross-nimbus that adds emphasis to the typological interpretation. The white of the robes, the lamb and the lit area of the altar cloth bring the Logos and Abel together visually, while the lamb and the reader's knowledge of what is to come perform the same function iconologically.

The story of Cain and Abel continues on the verso with a further two scenes. Perhaps the most astonishing thing about the first scene on f. 1v, Cain's murder of Abel, is that the reader, having just contemplated the sacrifices, is inclined to think that Abel is the attacker and Cain the victim. (fig. 62) An angel looks on from the upper left corner as a figure, whose face is hidden, dressed in a white robe and red toga attacks another, dressed in a pink and blue striped robe and blue cloak. The clothing of Abel here is not the same as Cain's in the previous scene, but the colour is sufficiently alike to startle the reader. This is a particularly lively and vigorous scene, with much more drama and action than the earlier scenes. It is also extremely brutal: Cain does not just swing a club or a branch at his shrinking brother; he seems to be filled with hate and violence. He grasps the branch in both hands,

his arms hiding his face as he raises it up and back preparatory to bringing it down on the already fallen Abel. He pins his brother to the ground, trampling his leg and hip, while Abel seems to be trying to crawl away, his head already bleeding from an earlier blow. It is as if the artist or designer intended to shock the reader. The violence of the scene in itself, so different from the somewhat static and stylised earlier scenes, is startling enough, but combined with the first uncertainty of identity it is sufficient to make the reader stop and think, perhaps turn back to the previous page, but certainly to make him take notice of a well-known story. Just as in *Jeu d'Adam* Cain is shown to be duplicitous there is deliberate ambiguity in this scene; the reader is tricked for a moment, as Cain accuses Abel of treachery, while in fact betraying his brother, so he, through the medium of the artist, tricks the reader. The calm formality of the earlier scenes returns with the scene in which God asks *Ubi es? Abel frater tuus?* Abel lies on the left, mirroring the pose of Adam in the seventh scene. His soul, in the form of a naked infant, is taken up by an angel.<sup>141</sup> God, again with a cross-nimbus, confronts Cain and passes sentence on him. Cain on the left, still in the clothing of the previous scene, but with his bearded face now visible, holds a staff in his right hand as a sign of his words *ecce eicis me hodie a facie terrae et a facie tua abscondar et ero vagus et profugus in terra*. The confrontation and judgement on Cain is a relatively infrequent subject, but is in accordance with the emphasis laid on the consequences of Adam and Eve's sin shown in the eleventh scene. This weight laid on the consequences of sin, not only for the soul of the sinner, but for the ease, or lack of it, in his future earthly life would support Caviness's theory that there are political overtones to some Canterbury manuscripts. In this case we can think of the penitence laid on Henry II for the murder of Thomas Becket.<sup>142</sup> Against this there is the suggestion put forward in the text of the 1996 exhibition of the Utrecht Psalter that 'it may have been a "royal" assignment. If the manuscript was intended as a gift to a noble of European stature, this might help to explain its appearance in Spain.'<sup>143</sup> Noel, in his essay in the catalogue is more cautious:<sup>144</sup>

<sup>141</sup> For the development of this see Markow, "The iconography of the soul in medieval art".

<sup>142</sup> The murder of Becket was an event that aroused considerable interest, witness the miniature in Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale Ms. 19, f. 8r.

<sup>143</sup> Horst, "The Utrecht Psalter: picturing the psalms of David."

<sup>144</sup> Noel, "The Utrecht Psalter in England: continuity and experiment."

The patron of *Paris* wanted treasure, and the style of the manuscript illumination has all the qualities of treasure...[he] wanted something new, not a reflection of something old, and images that fully reflected the wider spiritual, social, material and artistic environment of the late twelfth century. The patron of *Paris* saw the *Utrecht* cycle as a wonderful mode of psalm illustration, but one that he wanted transformed, probably by an artist of his choice. Yet who this patron was remains a mystery. *Eadwine* must have been a considerable drain on the resources of the Christ Church monks, and it seems unlikely that they would have wanted another and yet more sumptuous version of it a few decades later. Lay patronage was becoming an important factor in book production in the late twelfth century. The patron of *Paris* may have been a member of the laity, but if so, then that person had an extraordinary appetite for texts, and truly extraordinary financial circumstances to pay for their decoration.

No suggestion that I know of has been offered as to why the work on the psalter was ended abruptly at psalm 98, verse 6 of the text. The artist worked at the same time as the scribe and Noel suggests that he was an itinerant, lay artist, and his work, too, is interrupted.<sup>145</sup> If he was indeed the choice of the patron it is not remarkable that no other Canterbury works are from his hand.<sup>146</sup> Something must have interrupted the work on the Psalter, and such an interruption is often caused by the death or falling from favour of the patron. It is tempting to speculate that the mysterious patron was Eleanor of Aquitaine; she was both rich and cultured enough to order such a work and had Spanish connections in her granddaughter, Blanche of Castile, and her daughter-in-law, Berengaria. Her death at the abbey of Fontevrault in 1204 would also agree roughly with the time the work on the manuscript in Canterbury ended. I have no evidence for Eleanor's patronage but I suggest she should be regarded as a possibility.

If we take the prefatory cycle of the Parisian Psalter as a whole, there are three themes that are distinguishable. The first of these is the might of God, shown not only in the creation scenes, but in others and in particular those of Christ's miracles. The second theme is allied to this and concerns God's mercy, again particularly noticeable in the miracle scenes, but culminating in the incarnation, the page that ends the cycle. The final strand is that of justice and penitence, including that which is lawful. The temptations of Christ parallel the temptation of Adam

<sup>145</sup> Ibid., p. 240.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

and Eve, as does Abraham's rejection of Melchizedek's gifts. There is another scene, less usual, that must also be brought in connection with Genesis 3. This is the tenth scene on f. 3v that shows Christ and his disciples confronted by the Pharisees in the cornfield. The two scenes balance each other in their explication of what is lawful and what is not, with the added weight that the new law supersedes the old. The scenes that show rescue of Old Testament figures, Noah, Isaac, Joseph, emphasise God's mercy, but this culminates in the incarnation when the old law, under which man was doomed to die, was annulled by the new law of salvation. The central position of the tree of Jesse, filling the whole of f. 4r lends emphasis to this. This display of God's mercy is tempered with the scenes that show the position of those who defy God, thereby urging the reader to penitence while still assuring him of God's grace. It is worth noting the optimism of the cycle, enhanced by the fact that it culminates, not in Christ's death on the cross but his escape from the soldiers of Herod. The penultimate scene of the massacre of the innocents has its precursor in the third scene on f. 2r in which Pharaoh orders the death of male children. The final scene, the death of Herod, can be seen as the triumph of life over death and good over evil. The scenes of Genesis 1–4 encapsulate this general theme.

### 3.3 *The Stammheim Missal, Los Angeles, Paul Getty Collection, Ms. 64*

The Stammheim Missal was made at St. Michael's, Hildesheim about 1170 and, while clearly a Romanesque manuscript, displays its Ottonian heritage in the surface qualities and the lavish use of gold background in the full-page miniatures. It is an extremely rich work with much use of both gold and silver leaf, deep rich colours and compositions that form careful geometric patterns, with a high degree of abstraction. Its iconographic programme is complex, with numerous typological references. The creation on f. 10v is the first of the fourteen full-page miniatures and is a fitting introduction to the following mass text. Teviotdale holds its fine state of preservation to be due to the fact that it was 'regarded even in the Middle Ages more as an object to be treasured than a book to be read and used.'<sup>147</sup> The monks of Hildesheim had

<sup>147</sup> Elizabeth C. Teviotdale, *The Stammheim Missal*, Getty Museum Studies in Art. (Los Angeles, 2001).

already a lavish Missal,<sup>148</sup> probably made to celebrate the canonisation of Bernwald, for everyday use and it is possible that the similar, though more elaborate Stammheim Missal, made about a decade later, was to be kept as a treasure, preserving the ritual of the monastery and its theological standpoint. (fig. 63)

The wheel-like structure of the six days of creation reflects the circular motion of the ideas expressed by Thierry of Chartres, as does the sense of remoteness engendered by this distant Logos. The cross-nimbus of tooled silver enhances the idea of emanation. The Logos is shown as a bust, square on, symmetrical apart from his cloak. He is flanked by cherubim, the colours of their wings mirroring those of the other. This is clearly the heavenly sphere. The space under the circle of creation is taken up by the depiction of events and persons that not only refer to the earthly but to the post-lapsarian period. On the left Adam and Eve are expelled from paradise and on the right Cain slays Abel. Slightly isolated from these figures by the curving of the frame to form a semi-medallion, is David, holding a scroll. The circularity of the composition lies in the central wheel, its rim formed by bands of colour shading from white to deep red and with a further band of gold inside it. Six silver spokes radiate from the hub, and the space between them is divided into four fields of alternating blue and green. Against these fields six gold-framed roundels are placed, each with a *titulus* describing the form of creation that day. Chronologically, the reader begins with the upper left roundel and proceeds round in a clockwise direction. Having reached the sixth day the reader comes to the creation of the animals and from there, an opening gives onto the hub linking the creations of the sixth day with each other. The hub is formed from a gold ground, framed with a circle of orange and gold that carries over into the frame of the medallion of the creation of the animals. Here in the centre of the creation circle, and of the miniature as a whole, is depicted the creation of Eve. The hand of God reaches from the left and Eve emerges from a rib protruding from the sleeping Adam's side. Eve fixes her eyes on the hand before her and holds her hands up in praise.

The central creation cycle separates the heavenly from the earthly, but also places the creation of mankind in the centre both physically and theologically. Once again the creation of Eve symbolises the creation

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<sup>148</sup> Hildesheim Dom Museum DS 37.

of human kind, but the gold ground against which this is set links it to the heavenly sphere rather than the blue and green grounds of the other roundels. Adam's feet reach just inside the animal medallion, but he bears the features of the Logos, thus he links the two spheres and perhaps it is not unintentional that he lies in a way that makes him partake of both. His rib protrudes from his side and grows into the upper half of Eve. This is a very graphic way of showing the connection, more so than the more usual emergence directly from his side. It emphasises the origin of woman is man, that she grows and develops from a part of him. In this miniature not the removal of a part of Adam is shown, but the transformation of part of man into something else. This is a depiction of a remote creation. The indentations at the sides of the miniature mirror the protrusions on the miniature on the opposite side of the opening, giving an implicit link between the two. The miniature on f. 11r shows *Sapientia*, reaching up to God and forming a link between him and the prophets who surround her. The scrolls of the prophets have a bearing on salvation, and it would seem that *Sapientia*'s role is central to this. There is a faint text on *Sapientia*'s robe that Teviotdale identifies as 'Proverbs 8.30—I was with him forming all things.'<sup>149</sup> However, I would query her assertion that *Sapientia* actually supports the figure of the Logos above her. The *Sapientia* miniature can be linked to the creation miniature not only in form, but by the scroll held by David that declares *Om[n]ia q[ue]cu[m]q[ue] voluit d[omi]n[u]s fec[it]*. God, constrained by nothing, made that which is good; and herein lies wisdom, the recognition of God's goodness and the divine wisdom that ordered creation, an echo of Thierry's *Hexameron*. In this, divine wisdom was a secondary factor, and in my opinion the miniature on f. 11r is a reflection of this. However, unlike the works of the Chartarians, the Stammheim Missal has a strong orientation to Heilsgeschichte; the full-page miniatures include the annunciation (f. 11v), a majestas (f. 85v), the crucifixion (f. 86r), the nativity (f. 92r), the three women at the tomb (f. 111r), the ascension (f. 115v), and pentacost (f. 117v). Possibly in connection with St. Michael's, it does not have a last judgement, but a miniature of St. Michael and his angels battling the dragon according to revelation 12.7–12.<sup>150</sup> Implicit in the place of

<sup>149</sup> Teviotdale, *The Stammheim Missal*, p. 57.

<sup>150</sup> *et factum est proelium in caelo Michaliel et angeli eius proeliabantur cum dracone et draco pugnabat et angeli eius 8. et non valuerunt neque locus inventus est eorum amplius in caelo 9. et proiectus est draco ille magnus serpens antiquus qui vocatur Diabolus et satanas qui seducit universum*

the creation miniature and the inclusion of David and his scroll is the idea that the subsequent history was known to God.

The omniscient God is part and parcel of the depiction of the Logos. This is a Being who knows all, but is himself not truly knowable. He is outside creation, above and separate from the created world. His connection with man is perhaps a little closer; he is revealed, but only as the commanding hand. There is no sense of closeness and God is known only through His works and that which He chooses to reveal. The remote Creator is found in other German manuscripts of the period. A Heiligenkreuzen manuscript crams the six days into an initial C in which the Logos is again a remote figure who creates with a gesture. In this initial the creation of Eve represents the work of the sixth day, nor is the relationship between man and God differentiated in any way from that of the rest of creation. The figures of Adam and Eve, in proportion, are no larger than the animals, no hand of God reaches out to them; Adam does not even resemble the Logos. In the Stammheim Missal there is a special relationship, but it is not a close one. Not only does the Logos not shape, hold or converse with Adam and Eve, He does not truly appear; the commanding hand and Eve's gaze are the only signs that there is an apprehension of God's existence and His part in their creation. In this there is a division between the reader and Adam and Eve. The reader is shown the Logos as an omnipotent creator and must know and acknowledge him, but this again is shown as power relationship, rather than a close and loving one. In spite of the emphasis on Heilsgeschichte there is little of closeness in Christ's presence in the whole cycle of miniatures. The only two that could be described as showing any form of loving concern are the ascension, where Christ leans down towards Mary, and the assumption of the Virgin, where Christ enfolds his mother in a loving embrace. These could be regarded as showing more concern for the cult of the Virgin than a close and loving relationship between man and God. In the other miniatures any form of narrative or emotion is subordinate to the overall typological message. New Testament figures are separated

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*orbem proiectus est in terram et angeli eius cum illo missi sunt 10 et audiui vocem magnam in caelo dicentem nunc facta est salus et virtus et regnum Dei nostri et potestates Christi eius quia proiectus est accusatory fratrem nostrorum qui accusabat illos ante conspectum Dei nostri die ac nocte 11. et ipsi vicerunt illum propter sanguinem agni et propter verbum testimonii sui et non dilexerunt animam suam usque ad mortem 12. propterea laetamini caeli et qui habitatis in eis vae terrae et mari quia descendit diabolus ad vos habens iram magnam sciens quod modicum tempus habet.*

by frames or architectural details and surrounded by Old Testament prophets. The emphasis is on the fact of salvation, not on the love of God that accomplishes it.

The two lower scenes on f. 10v, the expulsion and the murder, can be regarded as the consequences of the fall, but that central episode is not depicted. However it is implicit in the whole iconographic cycle and has an explicit reference in the miniature of the annunciation of f. 11v. Teviotdale regards the three miniatures on ff. 10v, 11r, and 11v as being a series to show the part of divine wisdom in God's plan for humanity,<sup>151</sup> and this is borne out by the highly abstract and schematic composition showing Mary and Gabriel in the centre, with above them David, Aaron, Paul, and, under, Solomon. The scroll held by Solomon quotes from Proverbs 9:1 and reads 'Wisdom built her house: she hewed out seven columns.'<sup>152</sup> The seven columns are shown here, thus placing the incarnation firmly within God's plan for mankind. The whole series links the creation, fall and redemption within the framework of God's wisdom and omniscience. It is notable that Gabriel is nimbed, but not winged, while the Holy Spirit, in the form of a Dove, is cross-nimbed. The distance of the divine presence, even in this scene that heralds the incarnation, is indicated by the fact that we see only the head and tops of the wings of the dove. The cross-nimbus would suggest a close theological fusion of the Persons of the Trinity and a refutation of any hint of Arianism or adoptionism, and this is in keeping with the whole theological concept of the iconographic cycle.<sup>153</sup> Linking the implicit fall with the following Heilsgeschichte and laying emphasis on prophecy, divine providence and God's omniscience is the serpent under Mary foot in the annunciation. This is a reference to God's judgement on the serpent—*inimicitias ponam inter te et mulierem et semen tuum et semen illius ipsa conteret caput tuum et tu insidiaberis calcaneo eius*—that was usually interpreted as referring to the incarnation. As far as I know, this detail of an annunciation scene is unique to this work. There is a degree of similarity between the Stammheim Missal annunciation and that in a Helmarhausen manuscript of the same

<sup>151</sup> Elizabeth C. Teviotdale, *The Stammheim Missal*, Los Angeles, 2001, Getty Museum Studies in Art, p. 53.

<sup>152</sup> Cited Teviotdale, p. 60.

<sup>153</sup> That Arianism was not forgotten, at least a century or so earlier, can be seen in the famous 'Quintinity' miniature in which one of the figures under the divine feet is labelled Arias (London, BL Ms, Cotton Titus D. xxvii).



period, the Psalter of Henry the Lion,<sup>154</sup> the poses being very similar and the reference to typology of the Old Testament, but lacking the serpent it gives no direct reference to the fall, and is therefore a less powerful expression of *Heilsgeschichte*.

The use of the serpent in the Stammheim Missal is subtle. It presupposes not only knowledge of Genesis, 3.15, but also of the interpretation put on it, that in itself is not surprising, given the reputation of Hildesheim. Nevertheless, great restraint has been shown by omitting the fall and last judgement and allowing the reader to supply the knowledge of these for himself. Another effect of the omission is to lend extra weight to the two scenes shown at the bottom of the creation miniature. The expulsion has a number of unusual features. It is relatively emotionally laden, especially when we consider the cool tone of the other miniatures. In accordance with the remote Logos, the expulsion is carried out by an angel in flaming red. Much in the angel's pose is in accordance with traditional depictions, the sword and the hand resting on Adam's right shoulder. However, this angel is sorrowful rather than angry or vengeful, seemingly reluctant to drive the pair from paradise. Adam looks back as usual, but clasps his hands to his breast, his shoulders hunched, implying sorrow and regret. He is naked, having neither skins, nor clothes nor leaves. This again makes the Stammheim Missal unusual. Eve's pose is very much that of traditional depictions: unlike Adam she looks ahead, and if regretful, seems less disturbed than the man. Eve does have bunch of leaves at her waist and this gives rise to the question of why she has hidden her genitals while Adam has not. In such a complex and well-thought out work, we cannot put the absence of covering for Adam down to an oversight on the part of the artist. It would be in line with the deeply complex and intellectual structure of the iconographic cycle to read the lessons of the implicit fall in this. By excluding the fall itself from the miniature and the cycle as a whole, the designer of the work forces the reader to consider various points. Eve is not shown as weak, wicked or seductive—her role in the fall is left to the knowledge, opinions and imagination of the reader. If Eve is not shown as an actor, what then is her role? She is not shown succumbing to temptation, nor as a temptress herself. There is no serpent in the creation miniature, no evil incarnate, no source of temptation. The cause of man's fall must

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<sup>154</sup> London, BL, Ms Landsdowne 381, f. 7v.

be seen as lying within himself. While this is true of all fall miniatures, the intervention of a catalyst, an outside force, a cause or stimulus is usually given. By ignoring the catalyst the Stammheim Missal forces the reader to confront the inherent weakness in man. I would suggest that herein lies the reason for Eve's nakedness being covered, and for Adam's nudity. Once again, Eve represents the senses and Adam the intellect. The covering of Eve's genitalia symbolises the need to keep the senses under control and points to the disastrous effects of their unbridled influence. This must be taken symbolically. Augustine said that Adam and Eve covered themselves because they were no longer in control of their sexual organs.<sup>155</sup> The lack of control would only be physically visible in Adam, yet here Eve's genitalia are covered. This implies that sexual temptation is a deciding factor in the control of the senses. We can assume that sexuality could be viewed as the most potent and dangerous of sensual stimuli. We need not read a solely and explicitly sexual meaning into this; the story and pictorial tradition supply Eve's covering. Adam's nudity could be seen as necessity to give reason and the intellect free rein, his regretful pose an acknowledgement of the error of allowing the senses to override reason, but also of the reason's knowledge and memory of what man was intended to be.

<sup>155</sup> *Status homines ante peccatum. Hanc ergo priusquam violassent, placebant Deo, et placebat eis Deus; et quamvis corpus animale gestarent, nihil inobediens in illo adversum se moveri sentiebant. Faciebat quippe hoc ordo iustitiae, ut quia eorum anima famulum corpus a Domino acceperat, sicut ipsa eidem Domino suo, ita illi corpus ejus obediret, atque exhiberet vitae illi congruum sine ulla resistantia famulatum. Hinc et nudi erant, et non confundebantur. Animam quippe rationalem naturali verecundia nunc pudet, quod in carne, in cuius servitutem jus potestatis accepit, nescio qua infirmitate efficere non potest, ut se nolente non moveantur membra, et se volente moveantur. Quae propter hoc in quovis casto, merito appellantur pudenda, quod adversus dominam mentem, quasi suae sint potestatis, sicut libitum est, excitantur: idque solum juris in his habent frena virtutis, ut ad immundas et illicitas corruptiones ea pervenire non sinant. Haec igitur carnis inobedientia, quae in ipso motu est, etiamsi habere non permittatur effectum, non erat in illis primis hominibus, quando nudi erant, et non confundebantur. Nondum quippe anima rationalis domina carnis inobediens exstiterat Domino suo, ut poena reciproca inobedientem experiretur carnem famulam suam cum sensu quodam confusionis et molestiae suae, quem sensum certe ipsa per inobedientiam suam non intulit Deo. Neque enim Deo pudendum est aut molestum, si nos ei non obedimus, cuius in nos summam potestatem nullo modo minuere valemus: sed nobis pudendum est, quod imperio nostro caro non servit; quia hoc fit per infirmitatem quam peccando meruimus, vocaturque peccatum habitans in membris nostris (Rom. VII, 17, 23). Sic est autem hoc peccatum, ut sit poena peccati. Denique posteaquam est illa facta transgressio, hoc est corpus ejus, legem inobedientiae; et puduit illos homines nuditatis suae, animadverso in se motu, quem ante non senserant: quae animadversio apertio dicta est oculorum (Gen. III, 7); neque enim oculis clausis inter illas arbores oberrabant. Sic et de Agar scriptum est, Aperti sunt oculi ejus, et vidit puteum (Id. XXI, 19). Tunc illi homines pudenda texerunt: quae Deus illis membra, ipsi vero pudenda fecerunt. Augustinus De peccatorum metritis et remissione. II, XXII, PL 44, c. 172–173.*

The final scene is Cain's murder of Abel in the lower right corner. Once again Cain is shown as a fully-grown man with a beard and Abel as beardless youth, but in contrast to the Ste. Geneviève manuscript and the Parisian Psalter, Cain has bestial traits and even a touch of the demonic. It is another example of almost shocking violence in a basically static and unemotional work. Cain is shown not only older, but considerably larger than his brother. The strong diagonal he makes and the dynamism of his pose contrast with the static poses of the creation medallions and the sorrowful demeanour of the figures in the expulsion scene. The clothing of the brothers is contrasted; the simple white tunic worn by Abel serves as a ploy for the green tunic and red leggings of Cain. The murderer seizes his victim by the hair and brings a rock up high to smash his head. Abel's outstretched hands here seem to be less resignation and an appeal to God than the instinctive reaching forward of a kneeling man whose head is jerked back. The thick, slightly peaked hair lends a slight touch of the infernal to Cain. The intended reader was surely familiar with the numerous demons shown with similar hair, indeed a peak-haired demon appears on f. 152r in Michael's fight with the dragon. The first crime is shown as a result of the earthly existence of man after his expulsion from paradise. The exclusion of the labours and the sacrifices of Cain and Abel make the link with the expulsion closer. While it is clear that the layout of the miniature restricts the number of scenes shown, it is important to consider why these particular scenes have been chosen. A more conventional design would have perhaps replaced the two cherubim with the fall and the expulsion, or possibly the labours and placed the sacrifices of Cain and Abel and the murder in the two lower corners. Another possibility would have been to depict the fall lower left and the murder lower right—the first sin and first crime. Instead we have the expulsion and the murder, but no depiction of their immediate causes. Of course, the reader would be fully aware of the biblical narrative, but what is given here is considerably more than narrative. While this is almost always true, the exclusion of the narrative element makes other demands of the reader. It is not sufficient to follow the narrative, to meditate on the events and their meaning, or even to find the sense in which their lessons were applicable to the contemporary reader. Something else is required of the reader here. He must make other connections, draw on what is implicit, but also consider the relationships between the explicit. The reader is confronted with two spheres, the heavenly and the earthly, and between them the world as it was meant to be, and man is central

in that world. Nevertheless, the emphasis on God's omnipotence makes his omniscience clear. The semi-medallion at the bottom centre shows David. His scroll apparently refers to God's creation of the world. But why is David placed there? He has the same features as Adam and God and is surely a reference to Christ's earthly descent from David. In that case the scroll can also refer to God's plan for post-lapsarian mankind and his foreknowledge of the fall. The earthly sphere shows the ills of the world, banishment, violence and death. The vertical axis of the miniature runs through the Logos, the creation of Eve to David. Perhaps it is not just the constraints of the layout and the traditional depictions of the creation of Eve that has Adam falling slightly out of this axis, while Eve is fully in line with it, giving an implicit causal link between creation and salvation.

The Stammheim Missal gives an original pictorial form to the Mass, bringing to the fore the typology in a complex system of interactions between images. It makes great demands on the reader, not only in his knowledge of scripture but also in his flexibility to link images in different miniatures and to understand much that is implicit. Of the last element, the missing fall is the key; it is this that underlies the whole idea of salvation. By choosing not to depict the scene, the artist forces the reader to ask himself why salvation is necessary and to see God's wisdom in the typology and prophecy so clearly depicted. The 'hidden' sin of Adam, the sin of mankind, leads the reader to look for the sin in himself and to God's plan for his salvation.

### 3.4 's-Gravenhage, *Koninklijke Bibliotheek*, Ms. 76 F5

This is another manuscript probably made in northern France, possibly St. Bertin and dating from the end of the twelfth century. The manuscript is tentatively described by the Koninklijke Bibliotheek as a psalter fragment and an illustrated Bible. Noel describes it as a picture book, 'prentenboek', but treats it as a preliminary cycle to a psalter.<sup>156</sup> It is, indeed, very richly illustrated and contains scenes from

<sup>156</sup> William Noel, "Boeken thuis: psalters en getijdenboeken," in *Meesterlijke Middeleeuwen: Miniaturen van Karel de Grote tot Karel de Stoute, 800–1475. Catalogue of the exhibition, 'Meesterlijke Middeleeuwen: Miniaturen van Karel de Grote tot Karel de Stoute, 800–1475*, Leuven, ed. Patrick de Rynck (Zwolle, 2002), p. 59. N.b. the shelf mark is wrongly given in the text as 76 G 17, but correctly given for illustration no. 6 on p. 60. All the miniatures can be viewed on the website of illustrated manuscripts of the KB, but the viewer

the Old and New Testaments, miracles of the Virgin and numerous saints, particularly their martyrdom, including that of Thomas Becket. Noel comments that if it is indeed a psalter fragment, it is a very early example of such an extensive framework for the reader's interpretation of the psalms. Cahn calls it an 'extraordinary sequences of miniatures' and agrees that it was probably a prefatory cycle to a psalter.<sup>157</sup> Its attribution to St. Bertin is based on the small figure of a monk kneeling in prayer before St. Bertin depicted on f. 33v. Cahn likens the style of the miniatures to that of Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, B.P.L. 76 that is of northern English origin and dated 1190–1200, but finds the modelling of the figures was common 'on both sides of the channel' at this period.<sup>158</sup> On the other hand Smeyers is of the opinion that due to using 'models from eastern regions, the style [of St. Bertin] became fully independent of Franco-insular influence.'<sup>159</sup> The extensive biblical cycle is reminiscent of several English psalters of the period, but they lack the large hagiographical cycle. The martyrdom of Becket does not necessarily point to an English origin, since this is found in French manuscripts of the period. There are numerous saints portrayed, including some eastern saints, but, surprisingly, two scenes on f. 37v are devoted to St. Servatius, perhaps strengthening the idea of Mosan connections. Perhaps the most extraordinary feature of the manuscript is that this very extensive and lavish cycle does not seem to have been used in a formal sense. The blank pages have been used for informal writings in French, Latin and English. The *Complainte de Jérusalem contre la Cour de Rome*, a satire directed at clerical vices, was added about a century after the miniatures were made, while other pages are filled with a variety of texts or left blank. It seems extraordinary that such a costly work, not only in respect to the size of the cycle, but the rich colours and the lavish use of gold was used for what seem to be almost random texts and what Cahn calls 'casual use.'<sup>160</sup>

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must be warned that these do not appear in order of folio, thus making it difficult to get an overall view of the build-up of the cycle.

<sup>157</sup> Walter Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts: the Twelfth Century: Volume Two: Catalogue*, Francois Avril and J.J.G. Alexander, *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in France* (London, 1996), p. 166.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 166–167.

<sup>159</sup> Smeyers, *Flemish miniatures from the 8th to the mid-16th century: the medieval world in parchment*, p. 76.

<sup>160</sup> Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts: the Twelfth Century: Volume Two: Catalogue*, p. 166.

The fall is depicted on f. 2v and like most of the other miniatures is divided into four rectangular scenes, giving almost a 'comic strip' effect to the narrative. (fig. 64) This highly narratised formula was popular in numerous works, perhaps the best known being the *Hortus deliciarum* and the so-called Prayer Book of St. Hildegard. These two works do not have the fairly fixed format of four scenes per page of the Hague manuscript, but do provide an extensive cycle for contemplation. The miniatures appear to be by one hand with flowing modelling, strong black outlines and smooth profiles. The backgrounds are gold with a minimal use of scenery or architecture, but they do not have the same abstract quality as the Stammheim Missal. The reader is appealed to here not only by intellect but also by emotion and the narrative. The scenes shown on f. 2v are the temptation and fall, the expulsion, the labours of Adam and Eve, and Cain murdering Abel.

The reduction of the background to a minimum gives the figures a degree of isolation that is enhanced by the borders of deep blue with white trefoils and the bar separating the upper and lower scenes. The reader is obviously invited to regard each scene separately and in succession, rather than drawing multiple relationships between the scenes. This effect is enhanced by the *tituli* above each scene. The first scene is that of the fall itself and has a conventional layout. Adam and Eve stand either side of the tree around which a red-banded serpent twines. Adam holds a fruit before his face and his left hand reaches forward. Eve's position is almost a mirror image of this, but she reaches up to take a fruit from the serpent with her right hand and holds another out with her left. The serpent is quite large and dog-headed, his sinuous body mirrors the twisting trunk of the tree and his colours are those of the flowers that hang singly from its branches. It is almost impossible to tell if the tree was more detailed since the viridian has flaked and faded so badly, not only in this scene but on others. The flaking paint makes it difficult to be certain about whether the fruits held by Adam and offered by Eve were part of the original design. The figures have been painted onto a gold ground and then outlined in black. However, neither of these fruits is outlined and it looks as if they were added after the outlining was done, with the red covering the black in places. If they were added later then it gives a different interpretation to the intended postures of the figures. Eve would be no longer proffering the fruit, nor would Adam be holding it before him. In fact, if we regard the poses without the fruit then it would seem that Eve is making an appeal and Adam remonstrating with her. If this is the case, to my

knowledge this would be unique and would imply that Adam tried to prevent Eve taking the fruit, or that he passed on the prohibition. His attention would no longer be on the fruit but on Eve. This would not be completely out of keeping with contemporary thought, since various works speak of the serpent tempting Adam before seducing Eve. In this sense it could be seen as the intellect attempting to curb the imperatives of the senses. Such an interpretation is highly speculative and dependent on factors that would be difficult, if not impossible to determine. However, it must be regarded as a possibility, however slight.

Without speculating on whether the two fruits in the hands of the humans were originally intended or not, there are still features worth noting. The first of these is the close juxtaposition of Eve and the serpent. They are so close that their noses almost touch. The serpent gazes at Eve, while the hand that accepts the fruit almost caresses the jaw of the serpent. The eye is drawn immediately to the green tree with the red serpent coiling up it and from the serpent's head to that of Eve. It then travels down Eve's arm and back to the head of the serpent, making an intimate cycle. Adam is excluded; Eve's hand does not extend beyond her side of the scene, her attention is on the serpent, even the fact that they are both shown in profile draws them closer together. The shape of the serpent's mouth is echoed in both of Eve's hands and one of Adam's, so that while neither is shown in the act of eating, the attention is drawn to the idea of a mouth and consumption. Even totally disregarding the idea that Adam could be remonstrating with Eve, it is clear that Eve and sin are linked here and much of that link is sensuality, but there is no hint of overt sexuality. Eve does not use her body to tempt Adam; in fact she seems almost indifferent to him. Even in offering the fruit she displays no urgency, no sense that it anything more than a casual gesture. Adam, too, does not seem anxious to break into the charmed circle that holds Eve and the serpent, remaining within his side of the scene, and his reaching hand does not seem eager. This reticence could be reflection of certain ideas that began with Augustine and received further elaboration by Hugh of St. Victoire that the serpent rather than Eve represents the senses and she is a symbol of the lower reason, while Adam is that of the higher reason dealing with spiritual truths. 'Figuratively, when Eve accepts the apple from the Serpent, that may be pardoned, for it is a temporary excursion on the part of the soul engaged in the collection of sense-impressions; but when Adam accepts the apple from Eve, then the sin is complete, for the superior part of the reason, in contact with

the divine truth, has surrendered its governance of the lower reason and has become subject to it.<sup>161</sup>

The following scene of the expulsion also has certain unconventional aspects. The most obvious of these is that Adam and Eve are completely naked. They hold their left hands in the genital area, but do not clutch leaves before them. They cover themselves, but ineffectually, nor in this scene is there any sign of being clothed by God. Adam and Eve bear their shame alone. There are ambiguities in connection with the angel who drives the pair from Paradise, in fact there is no real indication as to whether this is an angel, no wings are shown and what, in the first instance seems to be a halo, on closer examination proves to be the arch of the gateway. Nevertheless, it must be assumed to be an angel, since if the Hague manuscript made a return to the Logos performing the expulsion then he would most certainly be nimbed, and most likely cross-nimbed. The angel reaches out to push Adam's arm and holds the fiery sword high to block even a view of paradise as Adam turns to look back. This would account for the odd mass of green between the sword and the gatehouse. Adam and Eve have lost everything and take nothing of paradise with them. This is a particularly harsh depiction of the expulsion. It is also a pessimistic one. Where the Ste. Geneviève manuscript showed the tender actions of Adam, the Hague manuscript has Eve resting her hand on Adam's shoulder in what at first sight appears to be a gesture of comfort. However, in conjunction with their nudity, Eve's gentle propelling of her husband away from paradise points to the control of the intellect by the senses. In the scene of their labours, Eve is shown spinning, rather than suckling, and her lot seems somewhat easier than that of Adam whose iron shod spade indicates the difficulty of tilling the soil.

The Koninklijke Bibliotheek describes the fourth scene of f.2v as Cain killing Abel with a jawbone. If the object in his hand is indeed a jawbone then this is an early example and implies a strong English connection, since that legend seems to have originated in England, possibly confused with the Samson legend, and had its greatest popularity there. Nevertheless the object in Cain's hand, regular on one side and irregular on the other, could well be a jawbone or equally well a rude club. Cain is not greatly differentiated from Abel in this scene; he is not a bestialised figure or even a man attacking a youth. His features are

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<sup>161</sup> Hicatt, "Eve as Reason in a Tradition of Allegorical Interpretation of the Fall."



slightly coarser than those of Abel, but show no traces of the demonic or even any hint of Jewishness. His attack is less brutal than that in the Stammheim Missal; he grabs a fold of Abel's cloak while holding the weapon above his head ready to strike a second blow. Abel falls to his knees, his right hand raised above his head to protect himself and is already bleeding from an earlier blow. This is not a typological depiction, having no sense of the accepting sacrifice. The four scenes make a narrative that is reasonably straightforward and gives the highlights of the well-known story of Genesis 3–4, but it also makes assumptions and must also be seen in relation to the entire iconographic cycle. This opens with a map of Jerusalem, with under it St. George and St. Demetrius coming to the aid of the crusaders at the battle of Antioch in 1098, and continues through scenes of the Old and New Testaments, depictions of the saints, the miracles of the Virgin, including an extensive number of scenes of the history of Theophilus and ending with two full page miniatures of the last judgment. The map of Jerusalem gives a clue as to how the cycle should be regarded. While there was a great deal of interest in the Holy Land, especially with the third crusade, the map can also be seen as symbolic for the individual soul's search for the Heavenly Jerusalem. In this it can be regarded as a preliminary to the pictorial Heilsgeschichte that follows. In this light the pessimism of f. 2v is understandable. The story of the fall here shows the sad state of mankind that makes the redemption necessary. The message is further stressed by the number of hagiographical scenes that point out that even after Christ's sacrifice there is still evil in the world, and that the lessons of the Old and New Testaments are still applicable. The senses still rule men, and while this continues to be so the lives, and especially the spiritual lives, of Christians are in danger. It is noticeable that in the first of the two last judgement scenes (f. 44r) that those being led to hell are undifferentiated other than one in a basin-type Jewish hat while those who await heaven are defined as a king, a queen, a bishop and three monks. This would indicate that there was a certain degree of support for the ruler, but here we can assume an abstract ruler rather than a specific person, that the means and glory of salvation lies with the regular clergy.

### 3.5 *The St. Fuscien Psalter, Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 19*

This manuscript probably belonged to a private individual, a woman named Alaidis, who seems to have lived in the Cambrésis. The form of

some of the prayers also point to a female owner, so it is likely that it was actually made for Alaidis. In the thirteenth century it found itself in the abbey of St. Fuscien, not far from Amiens, and it was adapted for the Use of that Benedictine abbey. It is also known as the St. Fuscien Psalter.<sup>162</sup> The parchment is of reasonably good quality, but very dark, the painting somewhat crude and very faded and worn, in places showing the underdrawing. The script is even, with various superscriptions in a different hand throughout the manuscript. The miniature on f. 7v has *tituli* that Cahn describes as instructions to the artist. While this may be true of Adam and Eve,<sup>163</sup> and possibly the serpent—entitled *angelus*—from my own observation *Jesus Cristus* was written over the painted areas. As Cahn has remarked, there has been some strengthening of the red outlines with black, and I would suggest that this *tituli* and the strengthening took place at the same time, possibly by someone not very learned. The writer evidently had difficulty with the spelling of Christus, since the first attempt—beginning *chr*—has been crossed out and the second is written *cristus*. There is a cycle of six full-page miniatures starting with the creation of Eve and the fall on f. 7r and going through the martyrdom of Thomas Becket (f. 8r), the resurrection and the harrowing of hell (f. 9v), doubting Thomas (f. 10v), the ascension (f. 11v) and the last judgement (f. 12v). The annunciation, nativity, annunciation to the shepherds, the presentation at the temple and the Trinity are all found in historiated initials.<sup>164</sup> Two folios have been cut out between the present ff. 8 and 9. Furthermore there is a number of blank pages in the miniature cycle. It would seem that in the beginning the programme was intended only for the rectos, but on f. 9 it changes to the verso. All the miniatures are backed by a blank page, except for f. 11, where, on the recto is an extremely crude and faded drawing of the upper half of Christ and an outline of a haloed figure on f. 10r. On both pages there are signs of frames, roughly the same size as those of the miniatures behind the figures, and on f. 11r there are signs of pricking. F. 12r also shows signs of pricking other than the usual for ruling. This additional pricking seems to have been done hastily and inexpertly, damaging the parchment in places.

<sup>162</sup> Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts: the Twelfth Century*: Volume Two: Catalogue, p. 30.

<sup>163</sup> This would appear to be spelled heva—the h being very faint.

<sup>164</sup> Ff. 36r, 51r, 66r, 81r, 115v, 133r; with a possible lion of Judea on f. 145r and two decorated initials on ff. 81r and 99v and frequent line fillers.

It is not easy to reconstruct the iconographic programme since we cannot be sure whether miniatures were intended for the blank pages, but never executed, nor do we know what was on the two missing folios. The murder of Becket again raises questions. This is not an interpolation but part of the first gathering. On the verso of f. 8 there is a list of obits and at this point the miniatures change sides to the verso, and it is here that the two folios have been cut out. Why the other sides were left blank, including one in the text, f. 14r, is unknown. Becket's commemoration was added to the calendar later, but given the fact that the miniature was part of the original programme, it would seem that it was made after his canonisation in 1173. Cahn is of the opinion that the cycle is closer to the English iconography than the French, but the style is similar to that of Corbie. The obits are all for people from villages in the areas round western Picardie and Pas de Calais. I would suggest that the psalter was made for Alaidis, or someone from that area with strong connections in England. It is not impossible that she was born in England and moved to the Cambrésis on marriage. I would further suggest that the iconographic cycle was one designed for relative simplicity, the creation of Eve and the fall are shown as the origin and need for salvation. The rest of the miniatures, with the exception of the Becket murder, are all concerned with that salvation, and the inclusion of the doubting Thomas scene gives an emphasis to belief. Perhaps this inclusion is an argument against the psalter having been made for Alaidis, since a more usual illustration would have been the three women at the tomb, and surely more appropriate to a female owner. It is possible that this scene was on one of the missing folios, along with a crucifixion or other scenes from the passion.

F. 7r is divided into two registers, both subdivided into panels with different backgrounds, the whole bounded by a green border with traces of a Greek Key pattern. (fig. 65) The four backgrounds are lent a degree of unity by the pattern of dots in trefoil.<sup>165</sup> In the upper register the Logos is separated from the humans by the background, his being a deep blue, while the other half is pinkish purple. This may represent heaven or rather the heavenly, and earth. Adam reclines on a heap of earth, perhaps a reminder of his origin, his head resting on both hands. The Logos is cross-nimbed and stands on the bar dividing the

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<sup>165</sup> A few of those on the right hand side of the upper register are just visible; more can be seen under magnification.

registers, but does not actually impinge on the lower register. He grasps Eve's right wrist in his left hand and makes a gesture of command. Eve emerges from Adam's side and is visible to the waist, her hands held out in reverence and her eyes fixed on God. Her nose has been altered by the strengthening hand, making it more symmetrical and refined. Her hair is gilded. Again there is a strong facial resemblance between the Logos and Adam, stronger if one discounts the effect of the black overdrawing, however, there are traces of gilding on the Logos' face and beard.

The lower register is a conflated scene of the temptation, fall and covering nakedness. Eve is central; the dividing line between the backgrounds runs through her. On the left the tree extends upwards into the upper register; two acanthus leaves sprout from the lower trunk and it has a single blade-shaped crown with three small branches with spade-shaped leaves and v-shapes indicating more leaves in the crown. There are ten fruits symmetrically arranged. The serpent is the same colour as the upper right background with brown and white markings and a ruff. It holds in its mouth a fruit, which, unlike those on the tree that are red, is flesh coloured. This half of the scene takes place against a clear red background. Eve is in the act of taking the fruit from the serpent's mouth with her right hand while covering her genitals with a leaf held in her left. If we look beyond the black inking that alters her face in the upper register it is obvious that she regards the serpent with the same expression as she looked at the Logos. Adam stands to the right and holds a fruit to his mouth with his right hand and holds a leaf over his genitals with his left. His attention seems to be fixed on Eve's action in taking the fruit from the serpent. The fruit he holds is also flesh coloured.

The tree's impingement on the upper register raises various questions. This is a very definite incursion, not merely a small crossing of a boundary that gives liveliness and directness to a scene. While the tree itself, indeed the crown and all the fruits on it are in the upper register, the serpent's topmost coil reaches no further than the top of the dividing bar, so that part of the Logos and part of the serpent share the same space. It is possible that there is a symbolic significance to the differing backgrounds. Other miniatures strengthen the argument for this. In the scene in which doubting Thomas places his finger in Christ's wound there are three backgrounds. Thomas himself kneels against a pinkish purple ground, the same as the one on the upper right of f. 7r; Christ is shown against a gold ground and the believing apostles against a

blue one. The implication is that these represent the earthly, the divine and the heavenly. F. 9v depicts in the lower register the harrowing of hell, with Christ against a gold ground and hell being shown with the same lilac-blue background as the lower right panel of f. 7r. In the last judgement scene, Christ is found in a gold mandorla against the pinkish ground, as a divinity come to earth, and the blessed are also found against gold, while the damned and the hell mouth have dark grey grounds. In the scene of Becket's murder, he is shown against a gold ground with a *Domini dextera* above him, while his three killers are depicted against the dull pink. This would seem to indicate that these backgrounds do have significance, but two miniatures raise doubts. The first of these is the upper register of f. 9v showing the resurrection. Christ again is shown against gold, but on the left an angel stands against an 'earth' background, while on the right there is a sleeping soldier against a 'heavenly' ground. It could be argued that the earthly ground represents the angel on earth and that, since Christ has his eyes fixed on the blue on the right and the soldiers under the tomb are shown against a dark grey ground, there is a degree of consistent logic in the use of the backgrounds. More difficult is the scene of the ascension: Christ has his gold ground, but is flanked by two angels, one against a pink ground, the other against a red ground: under these are Mary and the apostles against a gold ground. It is possible that the ascension is conflated with Pentecost, which would account for the gold in the lower part. I suggest that the backgrounds do have symbolic significance, but that they are not applied wholly consistently, and considerations of decorativeness played a part in their use.

The question is whether there is any significance to the four backgrounds on f. 7r, and if so, what that could be. As we have seen, there seems to have been a degree of agreement in backgrounds with subjects, and in this miniature, the opening one of the cycle, it seems likely that a precedent would be set for the use of the colours. I have already suggested that the deep blue represents the heavenly and the pinkish colour the earthly. I would suggest that the red background is symbolic of the infernal, while more subdued lilac blue represented paradise. What, then, is the significance of the placing of the tree? The tree of life was often seen as a cosmological tree, binding heaven and earth.<sup>166</sup>

<sup>166</sup> Greenhill, "The child in the tree: a study of the cosmological tree in the Christian tradition."

The fruits, which were forbidden, find themselves in the heavenly sphere, where they should have remained and are glowing red, while the stolen fruits are pale. The tree's crown in the heaven leads the eye to the serpent and follows its coils down, mimicking the fall of Lucifer, and perhaps explaining why *angelus* is written by it. Eve stands at the junction of the infernal and the paradisaical, but her attitude and gaze link her with the serpent. The tip of his tail leads the eye in an unbroken line to the hand that holds the leaf. Eve is quite literally taking a step towards hell. While in the upper register the three figures are linked visually, in the lower Adam is isolated: he holds the fruit, but has not yet tasted it and remains a little aloof from the serpent and Eve, but the leaf he holds leaves the reader in no doubt of the outcome.

This miniature cycle, unlike many of this period, has no interest in creation in general; it is solely concerned with man's fall and his chances for redemption, culminating in the last judgement. The Logos is shown here, not as mighty and remote, but neither is he a close and loving God and Maker. There is an implicit assumption that man's fall begins with the creation of Eve. Here that scene cannot be seen as representing the work of the sixth day, but as a prelude to what is to follow. The fall scene itself brings the serpent and Eve into close alliance and though Eve's breasts are clearly delineated there is no hint of sexuality in her bearing. She is female, but not consciously seductive. Nor can we say that Adam is either eager or in any way tricked or coerced. The positioning of Eve between the two backgrounds could have been symbolic of choice, but her choice is already made as she turns, not from God, but from Adam, to the serpent. It is possible that the murder of Thomas Becket was included to emphasise and bring up to date the lessons of f. 7r. Becket is clearly the blessed martyr, more powerful in death than in life; indeed, as a saint, he is truly alive. Becket lived in exile at Pontigny for a time, and while this is not in the Cambr  sis it not very far removed, and especially with the Pope in exile at Sens, the activities of the two exiled churchmen, both in conflict with a ruler, probably aroused a good deal of interest in the pious and wealthy circles of northern France. Becket's cult was very popular and John of Salisbury wrote an account of his murder, which he apparently witnessed. British Library, Cotton Claudius BII, dated roughly 1180, has John's account and copies of Becket's correspondence. On f. 341r there is a miniature that prefaces John's account. The British Library describes this as one of 'of the earliest images, made at Canterbury before the

development of standardised depictions.' The similarities between this and the Amiens manuscript would suggest the latter is also one of the oldest images of Becket's martyrdom, but the differences, particularly the number of knights, seems to argue against the Canterbury manuscript being a direct source. Henry II's weakness before the temptation to get rid of Becket can be compared to Adam and Eve's earlier weakness. Moreover, the upper register is strongly reminiscent of Cain's murder of Abel in other manuscripts, the innocent victim falling to a blow to the head. The altar increases the similarity. We are reminded that in the *Jeu d'Adam* Cain accuses his brother of treachery, and Henry must have felt the same when his old friend and supporter led the English church against his measures. Murder, whether in Genesis or contemporary, is the result of sin, is the message. Doubting Thomas, too, gives way to the temptation of indecision and scepticism. In the last judgement scene Christ displays his wounds, as he did to Thomas. Among those led to hell are two kings and one tonsured priest, while four blessed consist of a monk, an abbot, a king and a bishop. The artist or designer here clearly favoured the Church in any struggle with the Crown. In the hell mouth itself a miser in a vat carries his purse round his neck, while a woman is entwined with snakes, signifying lust. A third man holds something indiscernible in his hands while another snake rears up at him. These would seem to be fairly stock figures for this type of scene and refer to sins in a general and conventional way, rather than referring directly to anything in the earlier miniatures. The initials are definitely secondary to the miniature cycle, but there is an emphasis on the incarnation, Mary's gift perhaps balancing Eve's sin and culminating in the Trinity on f. 133r.

We know nothing of Alaidis from other sources, if indeed the psalter was made for her. We can, however, make some inferences. It seems fairly certain from the prayer forms that it was intended for a woman, but whether she was a nun or a lay person is unknown. Since it seems that the obits are for members of her family it is likely that she was a lay person. Whoever she was, she must have been a person of some consequence, though probably not of the highest circles. Her psalter may strike the reader as being crudely drawn, and indeed it is poor in both artistic and intrinsic qualities. The iconographic cycle seems to have been relatively simple, with the emphasis being on sin and the chance of redemption. There is no interest shown in questions of creation or in Heilsgeschichte in its wide sense. Our lady, or whoever

commissioned the psalter for her, seems to have been a supporter of the Church against civil power and certainly reasonably well-to-do. Even though the psalter cannot compare with many other works of the period, it must have been a relatively expensive work with its miniature cycle and frequent gilding. It was also thought worth converting to the Use of St. Fuscien abbey and was preserved there. In contrast to the elaborate and very high quality works for premiere monastic foundations or for the highest nobility, the Amiens manuscript gives some idea of what sort of work was possibly used by the women of lesser nobility or upper middle class.

### 3.6 *Auch, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 1*

This manuscript contains the Old Testament, and the prefaces to many of the books have historiated and ornamented initials. It is a large book, containing 336 folios, and the initials are ‘comparatively small’.<sup>167</sup> There is much use of gold and a strong emphasis on decorative elements, but Cahn’s claim that the figures are ‘more like part of the ornamental furniture of the initial than carriers of an explicit meaning’<sup>168</sup> is an oversimplification in the case of the Genesis initial. It is certainly unusual in both layout and décor, but its very unconventionality argues that there must be a reason for this. Little is known of the manuscript. That it was certainly made after 1138 can be deduced from the chronological material and it is usually given a Gascon provenance. The Cistercian abbey of Gimont has been mentioned as a possible scriptorium,<sup>169</sup> but its decorative aspects and use of gold militate against this. It was certainly an expensive work, with neat and even script, possibly by more than one scribe, and careful drawn initials by an artist who seems more at home with decorative foliage than figures, whether human or animal. He is again happier with clothed figures that he can drape in ornamental robes than the naked human form.<sup>170</sup> We can deduce that it was intended for a wealthy patron, whether lay or ecclesiastical is uncertain, but, among other things, its size would suggest that it was

<sup>167</sup> Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts: the Twelfth Century*: Volume Two: Catalogue p. 52.

<sup>168</sup> Ibid.

<sup>169</sup> Walter Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination* (Ithaca, 1982), p. 267.

<sup>170</sup> F. 5r is not the only one with nude figures.



intended for use in a religious environment, either a wealthy abbey or cathedral, rather than for private perusal.

The initial to Genesis on f. 5r is in fact a monogram with principio in abbreviated and ornamented script in a millefleurs block under. (fig. 66) The layout is unusual in that there is no obvious 'reading' or chronological order. Of the four anthropomorphic figures only two really impinge on the letters, Eve and the Adam of the temptation. The seated Adam above wraps his arm through the diagonal of the N, but is otherwise separate, while the figure of God is wholly outside the letters. If we try to follow the letters then we first come to Eve and must raise our eyes to the seated Adam, go back down for the Adam of the temptation and then up for the figure of God. If we try to read the figures from top left to bottom right, we get no more sensible order. The seated Adam cannot be the newly created Adam with his Lord opposite, as he clutches a leaf to his genitals. This must be the Adam of the *ubi es?* scene, for once shown without Eve, but the figure of God does not seem to be related to him in any way. The lower scene is clearly the fall, but again the composition is unusual. On the left a large and elaborate tree with plentiful acanthus foliage is set in a small raised area of the border. The tree bears no fruit, and at first glance the serpent is almost lost in the abundance of twisting leaves. It reaches only half way up the tree, just to the level of Eve's head, and holds a fruit in its mouth. Eve, her head and body framed within the I, reaches her right arm out, without looking at either tree or serpent, to negligently scoop the fruit from the serpent's mouth with two fingers. Her attention is on Adam as, again with two fingers extended, she offers him another fruit. Adam straddles the lower bar making the diagonal of the N. he seems to gaze at the reader as he takes the fruit with his right hand and points to the text of Genesis with his left, his arms crossing. Between Adam and Eve is a large peacock that looks up at Eve. A second peacock occupies the space in the I above Eve. Also shown are three other creatures, two in the diagonal of the N and one just above Adam. I suggest that these creatures and the peacocks have a direct symbolic significance for the story of the fall.

The significance of the beasts is obviously dependent on their identification. The upper creature is some kind of reptile and these were generally classed with serpents. Which particular beast is depicted here is not very clear, but whatever its specific characteristics it would partake of the general nature of snakes. *Postremo quantus nominum, tantus mortuum*

*numerus*.<sup>171</sup> The closeness of this creature to the seated Adam clutching leaves before his genitals brings to mind the belief that snakes will not bite a naked man, and thus the naked Adam in paradise, while he still had his innocence, was safe from the death brought by the serpent.<sup>172</sup> It is very possible that the reptile depicted here is the viper. Various exegetes such as Bede and Petrus Comestor identified the serpent of the temptation with the viper, and the *Physiologus* speaks of it being human-shaped to the navel and having the hind parts of a crocodile, but most works show the creature having a lower half of a snake. The Auch manuscript, if indeed it does intend a viper, shows a reptile with front legs. The viper would be very appropriate for a symbol of the fall: Isidore of Seville describes its mating habits,<sup>173</sup> and the *Aberdeen Bestiary* uses it as the starting point on a sermon on marriage and sexual behaviour in general, linking this to death.<sup>174</sup> It also makes specific mention of Adam and Eve and Eve's part in the fall.<sup>175</sup> However, it is even more likely that a salamander is intended here. Even more than the viper is it appropriate to the fall. It was credited with being the most venomous of serpents, so much so that if it climbed a tree then the fruits of that tree would be poisoned and anyone eating one would die.<sup>176</sup> The animal that is central to the composition is a dog, seemingly attacking the serpent above it. Dogs, according to some thought at the

<sup>171</sup> All quotes on the nature of animals are taken from the *Aberdeen Bestiary*, Aberdeen University Library MS 24, unless otherwise stated. This is from f. 70v. The Bestaries were developed from the *Physiologus* and *Etimologiae* and though in the twelfth century an English phenomenon, the text gives a good idea of the generally held ideas of the symbolism of animals in Europe in the period.

<sup>172</sup> *si viderit nudum hominem, timet eum, et si viderit vestitum, exilit in eum. Sic et nos spiritualiter intelligamus quia primus homo Adam quamdiu fuit nudus in Paradiso non prevaluit serpens exilire in eum, sed postquam est indutus, id est mortalitate corporis, tunc exilivit in eum serpens.* F. 71r.

<sup>173</sup> The interest in the mating and other sexual habits of animals shown by such works as Bestiaries, *Physiologus* etc. is discussed by Houwen. L.A.J.R. Houwen, "Animal parallelism in medieval literature and the bestiaries: A preliminary investigation," in *Neophilologus* (1994).

<sup>174</sup> *Vipera dicta quod vi pariat. Nam cum venter eius ad partum ingemuerit catuli non expectantes maturam nature solutionem corrosis eius lateribus erumpunt vi cum matris interitu. Ferunt autem quod masculus ore inserto vipere semen expuat. Illa autem ex voluptate in rabiem versa, caput maris ore recepto precipit, ita fit ut uterque parens pereat, masculus cum coit, femina cum parit.* F. 66v.

<sup>175</sup> *Adam per Evam deceptus est, non Eva per Adam. Quem vocavit ad culpam mulier, iustum est ut eum gubernatorem assumat, ne iterum feminea facilitate labatur.* F. 67r.

<sup>176</sup> *Salamandra vocata quod contra incendia valeat, cuius inter omnia venenata vis maxima est. Cetera enim singulos feriunt, hec plurimos pariter interimit. Nam et si arripserit omnia poma inficiveno, et eos qui edunt occidit. Qui etiam vel si in puteum cadat vis veneni eius potantes interficit.* FF. 69v–70r.

time,<sup>177</sup> were the most intelligent and loyal of beasts, protecting their master against all danger; but there was a reverse side to the idea of dogs, showing the dangers of greed; trying to gain more than what they have, they lose everything<sup>178</sup> and like the sinners they return to their own vomit.<sup>179</sup> The peacock also has a double meaning;<sup>180</sup> it can mean vanity and effete-ness but also a good teacher.<sup>181</sup> The *Aberdeen Bestiary* links them to Solomon's three-yearly voyages to Tharsis that were seen as a search for joy, and distinguishes between the limited joy of this world and the boundless joy of the life to come.<sup>182</sup> The peacocks of Tharsis represent the effete, but those of Jerusalem represent the wise and discreet teachers,<sup>183</sup> with a warning for those who become proud and ambitious.<sup>184</sup> The final beast could either be an autophagic tiger—tigers were generally shown as spotted beasts—or a fox. The tiger—or rather the tigress—points out a similar lesson to the dog since if a cub is stolen, we are told that a huntsman needs only to throw down a glass sphere at the pursuing tigress and she will be deceived into thinking her reflection therein is her missing cub. Given the position of the animal in the Auch manuscript I am inclined to think that it is a fox, described as being quick, deceitful and full of trickery. Its attributed habit of feigning death to catch birds is likened to the practices of the devil in entrapping sinners.<sup>185</sup>

<sup>177</sup> For the medieval view of dogs, both positive and negative see Ben Ramm, "Barking Up the Wrong Tree? The Significance of the chienet in Old French Romance," *Parergon* 22 (2005).

<sup>178</sup> *Cumque fluvium transnataverit carnem vel aliquid tale in ore tenens, cum viderit umbram os suum aperit, atque dum proferat aliam carnem sumere, ipsam quam tenet amittit.* F. 19v.

<sup>179</sup> *Natura eius est ut ad vomitum suum revertatur iterumque comedat.* F. 19v.

<sup>180</sup> For the ambiguity of animal symbolism in the Physiologus, Etymologiae and Bestiaries see F.N.M. Dickstra, "The 'Physiologus', the bestiaries and medieval animal lore," *Neophilologus* 59 (1975).

<sup>181</sup> *Pavo dum in Tharsis habitat, delicatos designat. Cum vero per classem in Jerusalem delatus fuerit, doctorum predicantium figuram gerit.* F. 60v.

<sup>182</sup> *Tharsis interpretatur exploratio gaudii. Est autem gaudium presentis seculi et futuri. Gaudium presentis vite, fine clauditur. Gaudium vero future, nequaquam fine terminatur. Gaudium presentis vite, dolor et tristitia sequitur. Gaudium vero future, non dolor nec tristitia subsequetur.* F. 59v.

<sup>183</sup> *Ex predicto etiam argento fiunt tube argenteae, id est doctores ecclesie. Attulit etiam simias et pavos, id est derisores et delicatos ut qui in Tharsis derisores et delicati fuerant, in pace conversionis humiles existant.* F. 60r.

<sup>184</sup> *Cum autem caudam erigit, posteriora nudantur, et sic quod laudatur in opere, deridetur in elati one. Oportet igitur ut pavo caudam summissam gerat, ut quod doctor agit, cum humilitate fiat.* F. 61r.

<sup>185</sup> *Istius eiusdemque figuram diabolus possidet. Omnibus enim viventibus secundum carnem vixeritis [A: fingit se] esse, mortuum quoadusque inter guttur suum habeat et puniat. Spiritualibus tamen viris in fide vere mortuus est, et ad nichilum redactus.* F. 16r.

If these identifications are correct they add a new dimension to the miniature, and the figures must be seen in relation to the symbolic significance of the beasts. There can be little doubt that the large bird is the peacock and its double presence indicates its two symbolic meanings. The one next to Adam and looking at Eve clearly denotes the Tharsis bird, weak and effete. This is then a reference to Adam's weakness in succumbing to Eve's suggestion; he is closely aligned with the bird, his right foot touching a claw and his left on the tail. The sexual nature of Adam's weakness is demonstrated by the direction of the bird's gaze and perhaps by Adam's stance as he straddles the diagonal of the N, a stance with phallic overtones. The tiger, if the beast outside the monogram is a tiger, and the dog point to the folly of mistaking illusion for reality. We must make a distinction between the dog and the tiger; both are deceived by appearances, but have different motives, but both can be seen in connection with the fall. The tiger, the swiftest of all beasts, pursues the hunter who has stolen her cub and is constantly deceived by the same trick.<sup>186</sup> This could be seen as a warning to the reader of being deceived, repeating mistakes even if the motivation is pure. The dog, on the other hand, is greedy, and reaching for an illusion loses the reality, just as Adam and Eve are promised the illusory benefits of the fruits of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, but lose the reality of their idyllic situation, their blessedness and their innocence. If the beast above Adam is a fox, this would be more pertinent than if it is a tiger. Apart from the warning of devilish duplicity and the snares of temptation, its position adds to the meaning. It hovers above Adam's head, its claws raking his hair, but the figure of God stands above. The fox, symbolising the devil, has sinful man in its clutches, but is defeated by God. If the strange creature at the top of the diagonal of the N is a viper it would fit with the rest of the sermon preached by the symbolic animals. It must be remembered that bestiaries and other works such as the *Physiologus* were not primarily intended to give an accurate picture of nature, but to provide lessons and symbols for the reader. Analogies were drawn between the supposed behaviour and characteristics of animals and those of man. The various snakes depicted in illustrated works of this type vary enormously, as do the descriptions. In various manuscripts snakes are shown with

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<sup>186</sup> *Iterum ille spere obiectu sequentem retardat, nec tamen sedulitatem matris memoria fraudis excludit.* F. 8v.

legs or wings, possibly to emphasise their relationship with dragons. In the *Aberdeen Bestiary* the asp is shown as being winged, having two legs and breathing fire, as well as being larger than a man. The hydrus, as shown in British Library, Royal 12 C xix, f. 12v and Copenhagen, Arnamagnæanske Institute, AM 673a 4<sup>o</sup>, is similar to the creature in the Auch manuscript, but here it is unlikely to be the hydrus as this was seen as a symbol for Christ.<sup>187</sup> The viper was called the vilest of creatures and the most cunning serpent and linked to lust, both within and without marriage. If the creature here is a viper this would cast a definite aura of sexuality on the interpretation of the fall. This would conform to Eve's mildly provocative stance and the somewhat sensual position of the hands, Eve's two fingers inserted into the serpent's mouth and Adam's hand sliding between Eve's fingers. While a strong case can be made for the viper, iconographically speaking, it would seem likely that the reptile shown is meant to represent the salamander. It is very similar to that shown in a later bestiary, Cambridge, Trinity College Library, R 14.9 f. 90r, dated mid thirteenth century. It was common to show the salamander in an apple tree, with a dead or dying man below. 's Gravenhage, Meermannno-Westrianum 10 B 25, f. 43r shows a serpent in a tree with an apple in its mouth, very similar to depictions of the fall, with a man reeling as he dies eating an apple. Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Gl. kgl. S. 1633 4, f. 55v depicts a large blue serpent with pointed ears, seated in fire next to an apple tree with a dead man under it. These latter two works are considerably later than the Auch manuscript, but the late twelfth century *Aberdeen Bestiary* shows not only six pinkish snakes in a fire, another disappearing down a well, but also six more symmetrically arranged in the branches of a stylised apple tree with a dead man under it. Here the serpents reach for the apples with open mouths, infecting them with their venom. The relationship between this and the fall is clear and obvious, the serpent and the fruit (and by now in north western Europe the fig was frequently replaced by the apple) that bring death. The salamander was thought to be cold, the coldest of all beasts, so that it could not only live in fire, but quench it as well. The medieval ideas of the humours spoke of heat as a purifying factor and claimed that women were cold and

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<sup>187</sup> The hydrus was thought to be the enemy of the crocodile that symbolised hell. The hydrus was supposed to enter the mouth of the crocodile and kill it from within. This was likened to the harrowing of hell.

had insatiable sexual appetites, because they could never be sufficiently heated by their partner. In this case the salamander could be seen as a reference to Eve's sexuality.

This, in my opinion, is a pessimistic miniature. The various beasts, even if we must choose between alternatives, are used to typify the failings of mankind—greed, self-deception, weakness in the face of temptation, pride, ambition and sexuality. The second peacock regards God and the book he holds, the wise teacher looking to God and the Scriptures. Perhaps the positioning of the seated Adam gives a little hope here; by emulating the peacock of Jerusalem and looking to God, fallen man can perhaps regain what he loses in the lower half of the miniature. Man is not shown as a great being who is about to fall, but as one who already has fallen. There is no strong likeness between God and man, care has been taken to distinguish the differences in feature and beard, in particular, Adam's lips are shown fuller and more sensual. Animals were often linked with the unbridled senses and this later developed into the *Bestiaries d'Amour*. Female sexuality and subjugation to the senses was also linked to beasts,<sup>188</sup> but here the blame does not appear to rest solely on Eve, or not solely on her sexuality. There are distinct overtones of the role of sexuality in the fall, but not this alone, a whole range of human failings is symbolised by the beasts that surround Adam and Eve.

### 3.7 *Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek, Ms. Hist. Fol. 418*

The initial of f. 3r differs greatly from the initials already considered. The highly ornamented following text 'N PRINCIPIO' is enlivened by the head of a demon and an ox, and by a frog, a fish and a number of snakes and dragons. Unlike the Auch manuscript, the reptiles here seem to carry little specific meaning and to be primarily decorative. Perhaps their presence has to do with the way in which they can be twisted to fit the design, while still giving an implication of danger and darkness that might be thought appropriate to the text the miniature prefaces, Flavius Josephus' *Antiquitate Iudicae*. There are a number of serpents in the main I initial and this could be a subtle reinforcing of such a message. This initial is a very clear exposition of Heilsgeschichte

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<sup>188</sup> Helen Solterer, "Seeing, Hearing, Tasting Woman: Medieval Senses of Reading," *Comparative Literature* 46 (1994).

that can also serve as illustrating episodes from *Antiquitate Iudicae*. Having said that, it is clearly a very biased visual summary of that work, showing the episodes of the fall, Noah's ark, Moses' rod, what appears to be the brazen serpent, the widow of Sarepta, the sacrificial ram of Abraham and the crucifixion. While there is a general correspondence between Josephus and the Bible this is not always strict.<sup>189</sup> Scholars are undecided as to whether all or part of the verse on Jesus is an interpolation, but this is of no concern here, it would have been in the exemplar used by the Zwiefalten scribes of this manuscript. The manuscript contains only books 1–12 and also includes lists of Assyrian, Babylonian and Persian kings. It is dated 1160–1170<sup>190</sup> and was made at the Benedictine abbey of Zwiefalten, for use there.<sup>191</sup> Josephus was regarded as close to a sacred author, due to the parallels between his work and the Bible. In the eighth century John of Damascus had incorporated parts of *Jewish History* and *War of the Jews* with parts of the Bible in his work *Sacra Parallela*.<sup>69</sup> The twelfth century was a golden age of illustrated copies of Josephus, at least twenty of which are known.<sup>192</sup> This century distinguished itself, according to Deutsch, by the 'Christianisation' of Josephus' works and what he calls a 'système binaire',<sup>193</sup> and the Stuttgart manuscript is a good example of this. During the later part of the twelfth century copies of Josephus begin to be illustrated with the fall. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 8959 is an example, but these tended to be linked to the creation.<sup>194</sup> The Stuttgart manuscript would seem to be one of the first to show the fall and certainly to combine it, in this context, with Heilsgeschichte. The initial itself is very ornamental, almost taking the form of a tree, its layout being similar to the crucifixion/tree of Jesse in München-Gladbach, Münster Ms. 1, f. 2r, in which the cross springs from the head of God while Mary and John stand on its twining branches. The Stuttgart manuscript uses the rinceaux, not only to provide a place for

<sup>189</sup> Ulrike Liebl, *Die Illustrierten Flavius-Josephus-Handschriften des Hochmittelalters*, vol. 304, Europäische Hochschulschriften (Bern, Munich, Paris, Vienna, 1997).

<sup>190</sup> Sigrid von Borries-Schulten, *Die Romanischen Handschriften der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek v1 Provenienz Zwiefalten* (Stuttgart, 1987).

<sup>191</sup> Liebl, *Die Illustrierten Flavius-Josephus-Handschriften des Hochmittelalters*, p. 255.

<sup>192</sup> Guy N. Deutsch, *Iconographie de l'illustration de Flavius Josephus au temps de Jean Fouquet*, ed. *Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des Hellenistischen Judentums*, vol. 12 (Leiden, 1986) p. 34.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 36–38.

<sup>194</sup> For an overview of Illustrated Josephus manuscripts see Liebl, *Die Illustrierten Flavius-Josephus-Handschriften des Hochmittelalters*, pp. 163–259.

the figures to stand or sit, but also to bind Christ to the initial. (fig. 67) This means that the initial itself can be seen as the cross in a particular fashion, since it is clearly the tree of life and ‘zusammen mit dem aus kleineren Ornamentinalen mit z.t. figürlichen Elementen gebilderten Textanschluss die gesamte Seite füllt.’<sup>195</sup> Unlike most trees and the tree of Jesse, this must be read from top to bottom. It gives various incidents that occur not only in *Antiquitate Iudicae* but are also important for the history of salvation, starting with the fall and ending with an implied harrowing of hell. The scene at the top makes the initial also the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Liebl comments:<sup>196</sup>

Thematisiert ist demnach die Antithese Sündenfall und heilsgeschichtliche Erlösung der Menschheit durch den Kreuzestod Christi. Die Darstellung kann dabei weder aus dem Josephus-, noch aus dem Gn-Text, sondern ausschliesslich über die sich seit dem 12.Jh. entwickelnde typologische Deutung des Geschehens erklärt werden.

Adam sits on the left, holding on to a branch above his head. He is young and beardless, and in no way reluctant. His attention is fixed on Eve and he already holds the fruit she has given him in his right hand. This is unusual since the common depiction is of Eve proffering the fruit, but here, while her hand is still extended towards him it is empty; Adam has already received the fruit. At first glance it is not obvious which figure is Adam and which Eve, since the viewer is inclined to see the figure with the fruit as Eve, and she more commonly stands on the left, and Adam's youthful appearance does not emphasise his sex. Eve is only physically differentiated from Adam by slightly longer and darker hair and the hint of a breast on right side. The serpent and the *tituli* remove any doubt as to the identities. Eve leans slightly back, her left arm hooked through a branch behind her. The serpent hangs down over an upper branch, a fruit in its mouth. It does not twine round the tree, but its coils hang down, brushing Eve's thigh. Once again Eve is closely aligned with the serpent. In spite of the scarce sexual characteristics, her pose is mildly sensual, but this sensuality seems to be directed towards the serpent rather than Adam. Her attention is on the serpent, her arms open and her hips thrust forward, as if to receive the caress of the serpent on her thigh. The hips, outstretched arm and pointing finger make Eve a far more dynamic figure than Adam. It would seem

<sup>195</sup> Ibid., p. 80.

<sup>196</sup> Liebl, *Die Illustrierten Flavius-Josephus-Handschriften des Hochmittelalters*, p. 81.



that the artist lays the blame for the fall with Eve, or regarded as a metaphor, on the senses, and more particularly sexuality. The main *titulus* of f. 3r, however, lays the blame with Adam—*Ade delictum/solvit cruces/hoc maledictum*. This is also, of course, an affirmation of salvation, and the other figures of the initial reinforce this message.

Immediately under the scene of the fall is Noah's ark, with Noah receiving the dove and its olive-branch. God's might and his power to punish the sinful are balanced against his salvation of the righteous. Below this scene we find Moses with his rod that turns into a serpent, again this is a reference to God's power and the deliverance of his people. Opposite Moses is another serpent, and one that poses a riddle. The placing of it opposite Moses and the way it hangs suggests the crucified serpent, which in turn refers to the brazen serpent of Numbers.<sup>197</sup> This incident is not found in *Antiquitate Iudicae*. A further puzzling factor that militates against this reading is the *titulus*, *serpens eneus*, as given in the Stuttgart catalogue.<sup>198</sup> Unfortunately, the reproductions of the miniature are not very clear, but the actual letters *enev* plus the usual abbreviation for *s* or *us* could, in fact, mean *enervus*. This would correspond to both the limp figure of the serpent, very different from the serpent of the fall, and the general theme of the initial. It would also correspond to a section in *Antiquitate Iudicae*.<sup>199</sup>

But when the king derided Moses; he made him in earnest see the signs that were done at Mount Sinai. Yet was the king very angry with him and called him an ill man, who had formerly run away from his Egyptian slavery, and came now back with deceitful tricks, and wonders, and magical arts, to astonish him. And when he had said this, he commanded the priests to let him see the same wonderful sights; as knowing that the Egyptians were skilful in this kind of learning, and that he was not the only person who knew them, and pretended them to be divine; as also he told him, that when he brought such wonderful sights before him, he would only be believed by the unlearned. Now when the priests threw down their rods, they became serpents. But Moses was not daunted at it; and said, "O king, I do not myself despise the wisdom of the Egyptians, but I say that what I do is so much superior to what these do by magic arts and tricks, as Divine power exceeds the power of man: but I will demonstrate that what I do is not done by craft, or counterfeiting what is not really true, but that they appear by the providence and power of

<sup>197</sup> This is the interpretation given by Liebl, p. 256.

<sup>198</sup> von Borries-Schulten, *Die Romanischen Handschriften der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek v1 Provenienz Zwiefalten*.

<sup>199</sup> Flavius Josephus *Antiquitate Iudicae*, II, 13. 3 (Trans. William Whiston).

God.” And when he had said this, he cast his rod down upon the ground, and commanded it to turn itself into a serpent. It obeyed him, and went all round, and devoured the rods of the Egyptians, which seemed to be dragons, until it had consumed them all. It then returned to its own form, and Moses took it into his hand again.

The lower part of the tree is flanked by the widow of Sarepta and the ram of Abraham, both of which were seen as prophecies of the crucifixion. Between these two is the figure of the crucified Christ, wearing a long loincloth and bleeding from all five wounds. Under his feet are two heads with the *tituli Adam* and *Eva*. The *titulus* next to the crucifixion is from Psalm 68,5 in Jerome’s translation from the Hebrew—*que non rapui tunc exsolvebam*. This is a very appropriate phrase for the initial since the psalm concerns the wait for salvation and the final fulfilment of this. It also implies that Adam and Eve, seen literally at the beginning, have fallen, and the space under Christ’s feet represents hell, but that the fulfilment of Christ’s sacrifice and plan for mankind will bring about their release. On a symbolic basis the initial gives the promise of salvation for all those who put their trust in God. Writing of the twelfth century manuscripts of Josephus in general Deutsch says:<sup>200</sup>

Josèphe devient ainsi au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle un instrument de connaissance divine; dans cet esprit, on utilise pour la décoration de son oeuvre les grands symboles du mystère chrétien. L’apparence simpliste des peintures ne doit pas tromper: vues sous cet angle, elles ne peuvent pas être dénuées de signification. Elles sont un reflet de l’âme de ce siècle.

This seems particularly applicable to the Stuttgart manuscript. The initial’s antithesis between fall and redemption, sin and sacrifice and the typological emphasis combine to make it clear that this was not to be regarded as a pagan or Jewish work, but something to be read as a means to discovering God’s truth. The initial can be seen as a summing up of the ‘highlights’ of Heilsgeschichte. It gives the reader, not only a synopsis of what he is about to read, but also a guide as to how he is to read it, what is important, how the incidents reported are to be interpreted, and setting the whole work in not only a Christian context, but that of the individual’s part in seeking salvation by understanding why and how salvation was necessary.

<sup>200</sup> Deutsch, *Iconographie de l’illustration de Flavius Josephus au temps de Jean Fouquet*, p. 37.

3.8 *Salzburg, Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Peter, Ms. XII 18*

This bible has been described as showing Italian influences, but adapting them to the Salzburg school of illumination.<sup>201</sup> Cahn, more specifically, sees the influence of the giant Italian Bibles in the 'panelled shaft' of the I, but finds that the figures round the shaft and rest of the initials are subject to indigenous influence.<sup>202</sup> However, in layout, although not content, the Genesis initial is very similar to the Stuttgart manuscript, and iconographically it has links with other German manuscripts such as the *Hortus Deliciarum* and Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm, 935. Like the Stuttgart manuscript the I takes the form of a stylised tree, but concentrates solely on the fall and not on Heilsgeschichte. (fig. 68) The stem of the I is far more elaborate, being filled with decorative panels, while the branches are less convoluted than in the Stuttgart manuscript, but again the figures are found on the branches. At the top a cross-nimbed Logos holds the top two branches and is flanked by birds and animals that are difficult to distinguish, but one appears to be a peacock and another a weasel. The weasel would seem an appropriate symbol here since it is connected to the ability to bring its young back from the dead, but also to those who are ready to hear God's word, but are too involved with worldly things to put it into practice.<sup>203</sup> On the upper side branches an angel battles with Lucifer, driving a spear through the initial and into the left side of the fallen angel's breast. The righteous angel is nimbed and winged, making a dynamic figure with his weight thrown onto his back foot to gain purchase for his thrust. Lucifer topples outward, his back almost bent double. He, too, is winged, but sharp-featured in contrast to the rounded features of the angel. In Swarzenski's reproduction of the whole initial various lines have been strengthened, and these give Lucifer the appearance of being horned; however, in the un-retouched detail it can be seen that these are not horns but goat's ears, as found in the Leofric *Mors*. The depiction of Lucifer as sharp-featured seems to be something new: demons in Junius 11 had pointed noses and chins, but even there Lucifer, after his fall,

<sup>201</sup> G. Swarzenski, *Die Salzburger Malerei von den ersten Anfängen bis zur Blütezeit des Romanischen Stils*, Studien zur Geschichte der Deutschen Malerei und Handschriftkunde des Mittelalters (Salzburg, 1969), p. 64.

<sup>202</sup> Cahn, *Romanesque Bible Illumination*, p. 257.

<sup>203</sup> *dicuntur etiam perite medicine, ita ut si forte occisi fuerint eorum fetus, si invenire potuerint, redivos faciant. Significant autem aliquantos qui libenter quidem audiunt divini verbi semen, sed amore terrenarum rerum decenti pretermittunt et dissimulant quod audierint.* Aberdeen Bestiary, f. 24r.

is shown with a snub nose, and generally speaking blunt features and snub noses are used to depict demonic creatures or degenerate men such as Cain. Here Lucifer's nose is exaggeratedly long and his hair in the peaks usually associated with the infernal.

The narrative continues downwards, and under the fall of Lucifer is the prohibition on eating of the fruit of the tree of knowledge. The cross-nimbed Logos is in the same pose as the angel above him, but instead of holding a lance he holds a scroll in his left hand and holds his right up, index finger extended, in a gesture of command. Like the angel above, the Logos twists away from the tree, but this has a different effect. On the opposite side are Adam and Eve, and the Logos' pose gives the impression of him turning away and leaving them. Adam is bearded but younger looking than the Logos. He is poised on a branch, his right hand outstretched, his left holding the right upper arm and his eyes fixed on the Logos. Eve stands behind him, her arms chastely crossed in front of her breasts and her eyes cast down. The use of the scroll emphasises the authority of the ban: the law is perpetuated in the written word and Adam's attention is on this, while Eve looks elsewhere. Adam holding his arm can be seen as a gesture of restraint and his whole position as an acknowledgment of God's command. If we take this scene as a metaphor for the senses and the intellect, man clearly comprehends the divine word, while the senses are incapable of seeing it. It is notable that the extremities of six branches, those that hold the two scenes described and the next scene of the fall, all have a single fruit dangling from their tips.

In the scene of the fall, Adam and Eve stand in mirror positions, Eve on the left and Adam on the right. The only difference is that Eve proffers the fruit with her right hand and Adam raises his right hand, holding a fruit to his mouth. The pair is linked by the serpent, a large, scaly beast with a blunt nose and ears, that slides through the tree from Adam to Eve. The tail is coiled close by Adam's legs, while the head, holding a fruit, looks up at Eve. This could once again be a reference to the tradition that the serpent attempted to seduce Adam before going on to tempt Eve. The effect is to reduce the link between Eve and the serpent, even though they are isolated by the tree, and the curve of the upper part of the serpent's body echoes the curve of Eve's arm. The couple look at each other, and Adam's stooping posture and reaching hand display no unwillingness. Eve is not held responsible, or not chiefly responsible, for the fall. The similarity in poses, the linking serpent and the willingness of Adam all point to equal responsibility. If the senses

have led reason to commit a sin, then reason is co-operative. The distinction in the poses of the prohibition scene now becomes clear. Reason sinned knowingly, allowing the senses to override that knowledge. The final scene is that of the expulsion, with the angel exchanging his lance for a sword and holding the curve of the tree that puts the reader in mind of an arched gateway. The manuscript is faded and it is difficult to make out the features of the couple as they are driven out on the far side of the tree, but it appears that the foremost figure has a beard. The figure behind, slightly more huddled, with hands higher covering the breast area, should then be Eve. It is most unusual to have Adam leading the way out of paradise and it is just possible that the figures are shown in the traditional order, but as the differentiation is minimal it is difficult to be certain.<sup>204</sup>

The constituent elements of this initial make an unusual combination. Here the fall of Lucifer is linked directly to the fall of man. While this is true of many manuscripts such as the earlier Junius 11 and Old English Hexateuch, or the more or less contemporary *Hortus Deliciarum* and Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm 935, the context here is different. The other works have the scene in the realms of Heilsgeschichte: the link is made between Lucifer's fall and the creation of the world and mankind. There is a degree of causality, either implied or explicit. In spite of the opinions of such theologians as Anselmus of Canterbury, it was a common belief that man was created to take the place of the fallen angels, and thus the rebellion and fall of the angels was seen as the starting point, indeed the *raison d'être*, for mankind. Lucifer's fall is sometimes openly, as in Junius 11, or implicitly seen as the motive behind the fall of man. The devil's part, as tempter, an outside and malevolent influence, distinguishes the crime of Adam and Eve from that of Lucifer, since his sin was wholly innate. The Salzburg initial removes this excuse. The fall of Lucifer is not shown as the cause of Adam and Eve's downfall. While the reader's knowledge could lead him to assume the causes of both creation and fall, the initial does not encourage such a reading. We are shown the results of Lucifer's sin—his defeat at the hands of Michael. The piercing of his breast shows that he is then indeed dead in the eschatological sense. The fall of man then gives a paler version of this, a reflection on a less grand scale. By showing and emphasising the lawful aspects of the ban, the rebellion

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<sup>204</sup> The bearded Eve will be discussed later in reference to the St. Savin paintings.

of Adam and Eve is made clear. The expulsion is then the equivalent of the death of Lucifer, since they too are thrown from their home to experience death—in their case both physical and eschatological.

### 3.9 Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Sal. X 16

Cod. Sal. X 16 is a copy of Hildegard von Bingen's *Scivias*, made not at Rupertsberg, but at Zwiefalten, and its illustrations differ greatly in many respects from the well-known Rupertsberg copy, formerly Wiesbaden, Hessische Landesbibliothek 1, destroyed or lost in 1945. The theory that Hildegard directly designed or at least supervised the Rupertsberg copy has a great bearing on the way her visions are interpreted and there is little agreement how much weight they should be given when considering these. Mews feels that, 'Her visions first of all need to be imagined from the descriptions that she gives of them, rather than studied from the illuminations.'<sup>205</sup> Newman writes, 'They [the illustrations] are a reflection of her visions and her commentaries are derived from her illuminations.'<sup>206</sup> The vibrant, unconventional and extremely forceful images of the Rupertsberg Codex make a powerful appeal to the reader.<sup>207</sup> Next to them the more restrained miniatures of the Heidelberg manuscript seem to pale. The Heidelberg manuscript is far less profusely illustrated and its miniatures are coloured line drawing in which red, blue and green predominate.<sup>208</sup> Only the last visions are really illustrated, but there are a number of decorated initials and certain other miniatures not directly related to the visions.<sup>209</sup> It falls outside the scope of this study to speculate on the reasons why only the last visions were illustrated, but it would be interesting to compare the Heidelberg and Rupertsberg illustrations carefully, the interest

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<sup>205</sup> Mews, "From Scivias to the Liber Divinorum Operum: Hildegard's Apocalyptic Imagination and the Call to Reform."

<sup>206</sup> Newman, "Christian Cosmology in Hildegard of Bingen's Illuminations."

<sup>207</sup> The extremely idiosyncratic and symbolic nature of the Rupertsberg miniatures, and especially that of the second vision of the first book, cause these to fall outside this research, since this concentrates on the developments of an iconographic tradition.

<sup>208</sup> The vision miniatures are to be found on ff. 111r, 111v, 142r, 151r, 156r, 167v, 176v, 177r, 196r.

<sup>209</sup> For a full description and facsimiles of the Heidelberg manuscript see Hildegardis (1098–1179); Antje Kohnle, *Liber Scivias: Farbmikrofiche-Edition der Handschrift Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Sal. X 16 / Hildegard von Bingen; Einleitung, kodikologische Beschreibung und Verzeichnis der Bilder, Rubriken und Initialen* von Antje Kohnle, *Codices illuminati Medii Aevi* (München, 2002).

being in how Hildegard's contemporaries envisaged her revelations from her texts. Even the most casual glance shows certain similarities, but whether these derive from the text or are due to some other cause, such as a member of the community seeing the Rupertsberg copy, is simply guesswork. Hildegard's fame was far-reaching, both Rupertsberg and Zwiefalten were associated with the Hirsau reform, and this, combined with the extremely productive scriptorium of Zwiefalten, are perhaps sufficient reasons for the abbey to undertake a copy of her work, especially as Berthold, the abbot of Zwiefalten was an supporter of Hildegard.<sup>210</sup> Hildegard's views on and connections with the crusades have been mentioned earlier. Without doubt, even though her interest seems to have been concentrated on the spiritual renewal of those who took part in the crusades, she was concerned with both the literal and symbolic significance of the endeavour. Zwiefalten had crusading connections. Abbot Ernest joined the crusade to preach and died in Mecca in 1148, and the monastery possessed precious relics housed in various reliquaries made in Jerusalem. *Scivias* has much to do with the state of the Church, for which the Heavenly Jerusalem and the campaign to free the earthly Jerusalem could be considered a metaphor. Certainly there is an iconographic likeness between the depictions of Ecclesia in book three of *Scivias* in the Zwiefalten and Rupertsberg manuscripts, with the head of the Anti-Christ symbolising the corruption of the Church.

There are four introductory miniatures, all in keeping with the spirit and theme of *Scivias*. On f. 2r is a complex composition of the fall of the rebel angels, creation and the fall of man. F. 2v has a depiction of the year, with the four winds, and this is followed by a summary of the book with an author portrait and the contents with an abbreviated tree of Jesse. The author portrait differs from the well-known Rupertsberg portrait, showing a double architectural setting, with, above, a standing nun with stylus and wax-tablets and under a monk seated at a writing desk with knife and quill. The hierarchy of authorship is more apparent than in the better-known work, but it lacks any hint of divine inspiration. Perhaps the most interesting thing about the two opening miniatures is that they have been adapted from a slightly earlier work

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<sup>210</sup> Johannes Zahlten, *Creatio Mundi: Darstellungen der sechs Schöpfungstage und naturwissenschaftliches Weltbild im Mittelalter*, vol. 13, Stuttgarter Beiträge zur Geschichte und Politik (Stuttgart, 1979).

now in Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. Hist. 2° 415, f. 17r. This is known as the Zwiefalten choir-book and martyrology dating from the middle of the century.<sup>211</sup> On f. 17r and v it has line drawings of the same two subjects as the *Scivias* manuscript. The later work is coloured and considerably less crowded, but its debt to the choir-book is very obvious. Both works differ greatly from the highly symbolic fall of Lucifer in the Rupertsberg codex, but since Hildegard explains her vision and the fall in terms of salvation it is a fitting introduction to the work. The interesting point is to see how the Zwiefalten illuminator adapted the earlier design to one deemed more suitable for *Scivias*.

The choir-book miniature has a seated, cross-nimbed Logos as the focus of a circular composition in which the six days of creation, somewhat unevenly distributed, seem to rotate with the dynamics of the outer ring of warrior angels and demons. (fig. 69) Michael, winged and nimbed, spears the dragon through the throat, his forward thrusting movement leads the eye in a clockwise direction, so the figures of the demons seem to be falling from a wheel into the gates of hell, shown bottom right. The counter clockwise movement is less strong, but sufficient to slow the eye at the nadir of the revolution. The outer wheel consists of arches, in the left-hand eight of which are angels garbed as contemporary soldiers. The sword of the lowest of these not only drives a demon towards hell, but points to the scene of the fall below. The lower part of the miniature is outside the circular movement, although the central position of the rivers of paradise echoes the circularity. It is possibly the eye-arresting and pointing function of the eighth angel's sword and the strong clockwise dynamic that account for the less than conventional arrangement of the lower part of the miniature. The fall, and therefore paradise, is placed next to hell, perhaps a warning of the fact that hell is close by. Adam and Eve are sheltered from hell by the tall upright of the gate of paradise that forms a barrier between the two regions. They stand either side of a stylised tree. Eve takes a fruit from the serpent wound around the trunk, while holding another fruit in her left hand. She does not offer this to Adam, who already holds one. In this scene there is no extra connection between Eve and the serpent, in fact it is Adam's foot that touches the snake,

<sup>211</sup> Zahlten dates it as 1138–1147, *ibid.*, p. 51. Whereas von Borries-Schulten puts it later: 1162, Sigrid von Borries-Schulten, "Zur romanischen Buchmalerei in Zwiefalten: zwei Illustrationsfolgen zu den Heiligenfesten des Jahres und ihre Vorlagen," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 52 (1989).



and neither Adam nor Eve eat. On the left hand side of the rivers of paradise is the expulsion, effected by a wingless angel who, interestingly, not only wields a sword with his right hand to drive the couple out of paradise, but uses the sword in his left hand to bar the gate. This provides a certain counterpoint to the dynamics of Michael. The figure is nimbed, but not cross-nimbed, and differs from the Logos in the central creation scene, so we can assume that this is not an expulsion by God personally. Above the gate crouches a cherub giving a more than usually close rendering of Genesis 3:24.<sup>212</sup> The couple both hold leaves before their genitals and look back, Adam seeming to protest. A point of further interest is that the work of the sixth day is represented by the creation of Eve. Here there is no special relationship between man and God shown: the central Logos raises his hands in command and blessing for all six days together. The creation of mankind does not merit a hand of God, let alone his presence. Eve simply emerges from the side of the sleeping Adam as a single line topped by a female head. More than other works this implies that Eve is part of Adam, not so much that which is removed, but that which grows and develops into an existence of its own. The rib of the Stammheim Missal is now simply a line connecting Eve to Adam.

The visual emphasis of the choir-book miniature is on the fall of Lucifer and the rebel angels. Lucifer is not shown as the brightest and fairest, but is already the dragon, and the fight with Michael was possibly influenced by Revelation 12:7–12. While the Creator holds the physically central position and the eye is immediately drawn to him, his static pose makes him a hub around which the turbulence of the fight between angels and demons takes place. It is to this that the eye is led. It is a busy, crowded scene, full of action and movement that contrasts with the stillness of the Logos and the restraint of creation, and even the more placid rendition of the fall. The demonic figures tumble over each other, crowding as they land in hell, several even pushed to beyond the frame. The eight angels and Michael are rather more restrained, calm-eyed and implacable. They fill their arches with confidence, but we see how the arches, once holding the rebel angels, are being emptied. This point is also made in the thirteenth century Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms lat. 10434, where on f. 9v, upper register

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<sup>212</sup> *ecicque Adam et conlocavit ante paradisum voluptatis cherubin et flammeum gladium atque versatilem ad custodiendam viam ligni vitae.*

the empty arches left by the falling angels are brought into connection with the fall and *ubi es?*<sup>2</sup> shown on the other side of the opening. Clearly the arches in both cases symbolise the place in heaven of each angel. In the choir-book less emphasis is placed on the fall than in the Paris manuscript. The message of the choir-book miniature is the fall of the rebel angels and the role of man to fill their places: the proximity of the fall to hell is a reminder that man voided his heavenly destiny.

Although the lineage of the Heidelberg manuscript is obvious, there are numerous differences brought in, whether to adapt it to *Scivias* or denoting changes in attitude in the forty or fifty years since the making of the choir-book. (fig. 70) In many ways the design has been simplified, but in others it has become more refined. The dynamic circular composition has been modified and gives what might be called the 'earthly' part of the design an equal weight with the 'heavenly.' The upper part is dominated again by the circle of heaven, but this no longer whirls or teams with activity. While in the choir-book the Logos is the still centre of movement, here he is a focus of a heavenly calm. Angels crowd the arches, not warriors but beings that encircle their Lord in quiet contemplation. The cross-nimbed Logos, seated in a mandorla, holds two symbols of his might and authority, an orb and a scroll, denoting his lordship of the world and his command of law. Under the sphere of heaven creation takes place in six roundels, and below that the events of Genesis 3 are shown. The lower three-quarters of the extreme left of the page are taken up by the dark and flames of hell into which five demons tumble, accompanied by a twisting dragon with a millstone round its neck. The dragon is speared by Michael, winged and nimbed, his spear so long that it reaches from heaven to the depths of the pit. This would seem to combine Revelation 12:11–17 with Revelation 18:20–21—*exulta super eam caelum et sancti et apostoli et prophetae quoniam iudicavit Deus iudicium vestrum de illa. et sustulit unus angelus fortis lapidem quasi molarem magnum et misit in mare dicens hoc impetu mittetur Babylon magna illa civitas et ultra iam non inveniatur* and Revelation 20:1–2—*et vidi angelum descendantem de caelo habentem clavem abyssi et catenam magnam in manu sua. et adprehendit draconem serpentem antiquum qui est diabolus et Satanas et ligavit eum per annos mille.* In many ways this would be in close agreement with the general tenor of *Scivias* with its concern for inner reform. This would also explain why the inhabitants of heaven are no longer warriors—they rejoice at the fall of Babylon, as a metaphor for the degradation of the times, and the defeat of evil, all with apocalyptic overtones. Thus in the Heidelberg manuscript the 'historical' aspect of the fall of Lucifer

is combined with the prophetic colouring of Revelation. This aspect is emphasized by a dragon with a millstone appearing at the start of book three, f. 106r, perhaps the most prophetic book of *Scivias*, and thus linked in the reader's mind with this prefatory miniature and the beginning of Heilsgeschichte.

The placing of hell on the left side now alters the interpretation of the events of the fall and expulsion. No longer is paradise placed next to hell, but shows a state of blessedness, an opportunity not yet lost, symbolised by the open door or gate. This marks a contrast between the shuttered and barred gate on the left, and brings to mind the use of the open and closed door as symbols for Eve and the Virgin.<sup>213</sup> So that at the beginning of Heilsgeschichte the reader is reminded of the possibility of salvation, while the earthly existence of man is shown as being between the threat and darkness of hell and the closed doors of paradise. The scene of the fall itself has undergone certain changes. The positions of the figures remain the same, but Adam now holds a leaf in front of his genitals and stands further from the serpent. Eve holds one fruit in her right hand, but does not yet reach for the fruit held in the mouth of the serpent. The dog-headed serpent reaches lower down the trunk than in the choir-book and holds the apple by its stalk. These changes can in no way be ascribed to the influence of the third miniature of the Rupertsberg *Scivias*, the highly symbolic and abstract nature of which can scarcely be comprehended without Hildegard's explanation. Feminists have perhaps exaggerated Hildegard's regard for women and the feminine aspects of God,<sup>214</sup> but she did indeed deal more kindly with Eve than many of her contemporaries, and the Rupertsberg version of the miniature of the second vision of the first book of *Scivias*, showing Eve as a cloud of stars, cannot be considered negative. Nevertheless, the Heidelberg miniature, although not directly relating to the second vision, deals rather more severely with Eve than the choir-book. Taking the differences one by one we see a more negative picture of Eve building up. Adam is set slightly apart, being further from the serpent and holding the leaf almost as a shield before his genitals. In the Stammheim Missal only Eve covers her genital area

<sup>213</sup> See Tronzo, "The Hildesheim Doors: An Iconographic Source and Its Implications."

<sup>214</sup> See for example Carolyn Worman Sur, *The feminine images of God in the visions of St. Hildegard of Bingen's 'Scivias'* (Lewiston, Queenston and Lampeter, 1993). And Barbara Newman, *Sister of wisdom: St. Hildegard's theology of the feminine* (Aldershot, 1987).

in the expulsion and it is relatively common, particularly in initials, for both Adam and Eve to hold leaves in conflated incidents of Genesis 3, but we are now confronted with Adam, but not Eve, covering in a fall scene. This is not unique. On f. 243r of Klosterneuberg, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms 166, dating from the early thirteenth century we find Adam reaching for a fruit offered by Eve, even though one hangs under his chin, but holding a leaf with his left hand. Eve both offers and eats a fruit, with no attempt to cover herself. The question is why does the Heidelberg *Scivias* deviate on this point from its exemplar? Perhaps a reason can be found in Hildegard's text, although certainly at this point she says nothing that was not current from the early days of the Church. She asks why Satan chose to tempt Eve rather than Adam:<sup>215</sup>

Pourquoi cela? Parce qu'il savait que la faiblesse de la femme serait plus facile à vaincre que la force de l'homme; il voyait aussi qu'Adam était pénétré d'un amour si violent pour Eve, que s'il réussissait à la vaincre, tout ce qu'elle dirait à Adam, celui-ci le ferait... Il séduisit d'abord Eve, afin que celle ci, par ses flatteries, obtînt assentiment d'Adam; parce qu'elle pouvait entraîner plus rapidement Adam à la désobéissance, que les autres creatures; car elle avait été tirée d'une côte d'Adam. C'est pourquoi la femme fit tomber si aisément l'homme, car, comme il ne la détestait pas, il agréa facilement ses paroles.

The question of Adam being covered while Eve is not can possibly be traced to this. Eve is open to temptation, whereas Adam has some degree of resistance. In the Rupertsberg miniature of the fall this hierarchy of seduction is made visible. Adam floats on his side, his head almost next to the flames of hell, while from his side issues a green cloud filled with shining stars. Emerging from the dark of hell a dark serpent, itself a part of hell, spews poison into the cloud. The curve of the serpent leads the eye to the cloud and to the point it issues from Adam's side. The Heidelberg manuscript cannot pretend to such symbolism in its prefatory miniature, but it is possible that Eve's nakedness is a reference to her frailness in the face of temptation. However, such a reading would demand a closer adherence to the text than we can find in the miniature generally, and it must be remembered that this is not an illustration of the second vision. There are other elements that point to a more negative view of Eve. In the choir-book miniature the serpent's head reaches to Eve's chin, but does not come close to her.

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<sup>215</sup> All translations from *Scivias* from the R. Chaumel edition, Paris, 1909.

There is still a distance in the *Scivias* miniature, but now the serpent is level with the genitals of both Adam and Eve, the bright red fruit, held by its stalk, drawing attention to this and implying a sexual aspect to the temptation. Eve's attention is on the fruit and the serpent. The sexuality here is Eve's, but her sensuality is not directed at Adam, rather her sensuality is aroused by the temptation. A further indication of this idea is the development of the motif of the sixth day of Creation. This differs from the choir-book version firstly by the hand of God appearing to command Eve's creation. While the basic interpretation must be similar to that of the choir-book scene, the hand of God could be connected with Hildegard's concern for the interaction of the heavenly and the earthly, particularly man. The change in the depiction of the creation of Eve is slight, but significant. The head emerges from Adam, not at the end of a rib or even a line, but on a long, serpentine cord of flesh. The reader is immediately put in mind of a snake, and all the connotations of this within the context of Genesis. We still have Eve as something that emerges from Adam, a part of him that develops its own existence, but this something now carries with it, implicitly, the notion of sin. It is perhaps no coincidence that the following half century after the making of the Heidelberg manuscript saw the development of the dracontopede, half female, half serpent, as the tempter.

Much has been written about Hildegard's positive attitude to Eve, but while this is undeniably true, this is chiefly confined to certain aspects, that is, Eve as God intended her.<sup>216</sup>

Eve qui avait une âme innocente, Eve qui avait été tirée d'Adam dans son innocence, portant dans son corps toute la multitude de la race humaine, déjà vivante dans la préordination divine.

Hildegard regards Eve's creation from Adam's side as a symbol of marriage and the faithfulness between spouses. Various writers have claimed that 'Hildegard makes Lucifer the culprit, not Eve, in the "fall" of creation.'<sup>217</sup> It is true that Hildegard discourses at length on the jealousy and malice that prompt Satan to bring about the downfall of mankind, but she states quite clearly that it is Eve's weakness that gives him the opening he needs, and only Adam's love of Eve causes him to listen to her. In fact she states, approvingly, that, although Adam blamed

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<sup>216</sup> Ibid.

<sup>217</sup> Worman Sur, "The feminine images of God in the visions of St. Hildegard of Bingen's 'Scivias'."

Eve, he did not repudiate her. However, when stating the reason for Adam's condemnation, she is quite unequivocal about Eve's role: she is the cause of death. 'Adam, en effet, pouvait incriminer son épouse, de ce que, par son conseil, elle lui avait apporté la mort.' The question remains, was the prefatory miniature altered to adapt it to the content of *Scivias*? The second vision is not particularly concerned with creation, but the Heidelberg manuscript in no way decreases its importance. The fall of Lucifer, rather than the rebel angels as a group, has more emphasis, but Lucifer's role in the fall of man is in no way increased. I would suggest that the choir-book miniature was considered a suitable preface to *Scivias* and that the changes are due more to a general change in attitude and style. Von Borries-Schulten has commented on the decrease of 'Byzantine' influence in the Zwiefalten scriptorium evident in the martyrology part of the earlier manuscript,<sup>218</sup> and the style of the Heidelberg manuscript does differ from that of the choir-book. Perhaps this is sufficient reason for change, but the changes made must have been dictated by the ideas of the times. The Heidelberg *Scivias* creation miniature points to an interest in prophecy, with apocalyptic overtones, to an interest in salvation, but also to a greater distrust of sexuality and to the female as a symbol of both sin and sexuality.

#### 4. *The Concept of Sin in the Second Half of the Twelfth Century*

The manuscripts of the later twelfth century show a great variety of styles and iconographic content, but nevertheless have certain traits in common. The most distinguishable of these is the integration of the fall, even more emphatically than previously, into Heilsgeschichte. The Creator is a remote being who either stands apart from his creation or has a special relationship with mankind that seems to go little beyond the act of creation. There is a new emphasis on the creation or inspiration of Adam that often brings this relationship to the fore, but also the humble origins of man, not simply created by a word and gesture, but by moulding. This can take the form of shaping from earth, as is seen in B.N. lat. 8846 and the Lambeth Bible. Other depictions of this can

<sup>218</sup> von Borries-Schulten, *Die Romanischen Handschriften der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek v1 Provenienz Zwiefalten*, von Borries-Schulten, "Zur romanischen Buchmalerei in Zwiefalten: zwei Illustrationsfolgen zu den Heiligenfesten des Jahres und ihre Vorlagen."

show the forming in a more advanced state, such as Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, 22, f. 8v. This is part of an initial *In principio*, in which a seated, bearded and cross-nimbed Logos in a mandorla holds a book and makes a gesture of command. Under this are seven medallions, one for each day of creation and the lowest depicting the fall. Despite the commanding Logos at the top of the I, a figure is present at each of the six days of Creation, but there is a purposeful differentiation between these figures. Only the figure on the fourth day is bearded, although not cross-nimbed, while the figures on the other days seem to be of two different facial types, one with a straight nose and one with a pointed nose, and the figure on the fifth day is unnimbed. It is the straight-nosed type who forms Adam. Adam, himself, has a strong resemblance to the pointed-nosed Logos, while, strangely, there is some likeness between Eve and the straight-nosed Creator. This is unusual as, not only is there a close visual connection between Eve and the serpent, but the 'special relationship' between man and God is shown as that between the masculine and the divine. The changing facial types of the Creator may be a means to emphasise that Creation was the work of the Trinity and a refutation of any ideas that the Son was not always co-existent with the Father.

The *Hortus Deliciarum* has a closer, more intimate picture of God's creation of Adam, and one that deals both with the moulding and the inspiration. The intimate aspect of the moulding is to be seen in the fact that Adam is almost finished and God is shaping the head of the limp and lifeless body and this is immediately followed by the inspiration. The clasped hands of the inspiration add to this feeling of closeness. This is still a very hierarchical representation, not so much a hierarchy of lord and man, but of elder and child. Notable is the fact that this 'hands-on' aspect is not to be found in the *Hortus Deliciarum* creation of Eve. There Adam sleeps beneath a tree while the Logos makes a gesture of command and holds a rib from which springs the upper half of Eve. Notable is that Adam sleeps under a tree within the branches of which nestle five human heads, signifying the future generations of mankind. This tends to link him, rather than Eve, to the future generations, as is the case in the Rupertsberg miniature of vision two of *Scivias*. This is something relatively new, since Eve is usually seen as the mother of the generations, but it is possible that, seeing the extreme emphasis on Heilsgeschichte and the role of personal salvation, that this connection is a reflection of the tree of Jesse. This is reinforced by the *titulus*, *ada[m] dormit sub ligno vite*. The tree of life

here can refer to the tree planted by God in paradise, but also to the means by which fallen man can achieve his salvation, through Christ as the descendent of Jesse, and ultimately of Adam. The distance between God and woman is made more noticeable by the fact that the scene of the Logos issuing the ban on the eating of the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil is placed next to Eve's creation. As well as linking the two events, and incidentally placing Eve at the scene, the closer connection between God and man once again is shown by the Logos holding Adam's wrist. This does not seem to be an indication of restraint, rather a means to hold the attention. This would seem to typify the iconography of the period—God is closer to man than to woman. In no miniature other than B.N. lat. 8846 do we find Eve actually being shaped and in none is she the recipient of God's divine breath. The primacy of Adam is made clear; it is he that knows the touch of God and is given that spark of divinity.

Whether the creation of mankind is carried out in a 'hands-on' fashion or by a fully remote God, any sense of closeness after creation is absent. Even when the prohibition is shown with the Logos figure, there is no sense of loving intimacy between human and divine. The general tenor is the might of God in creation, the error of man and the wonder of redemption. The close binding of past and future to an almost inevitable chain of events, beginning with the fall of Lucifer and ending with the last judgement, seems designed to encourage the reader to ask what his or her place in this scheme is. God is mighty, but he fades into the background until the incarnation, and the emphasis lies with the history of men's deeds in relation to God and each other, rather than a dialogue between man and God, or God's deeds in the world of man. There is no harmony between the worlds and it is the disharmony that is shown in the various iconographic programmes—man's failure to follow the ways of God and God's forgiveness, through the actions of those who do follow his precepts. This is seen in the way the incidents of Genesis 1–4 are handled in the miniatures. There is frequently a contrast between the punishment of Lucifer and that of Adam and Eve. In Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm 935 the fall of Lucifer forms a terrifying backdrop to the days of creation. In *Hortus Deliciarum* this fall introduces the themes of Heilsgeschichte and *Psychomachia*, the two being linked to the salvation of the individual. The implication is not only that Lucifer's fall is the beginning of history, and even the cause of it, but that there is a contrast between his fate and the fate of the Christian, a promise and a warning. This is brought home by the illus-



trations of Christ as the divine fisher or bait, thwarting the devil in the *Hortus Deliciarum* and the Zwiefalten choir-book. Cames points out that this theme was unknown iconographically until the twelfth century.<sup>219</sup> This refers to the idea that Christ's divinity was hidden from the devil so that he would claim an innocent soul at his death, thus making an illegal claim that would negate his right to mankind.

The increased number of miniatures depicting the sacrifices of Cain and Abel and the murder of Abel reinforce this teaching. Generally speaking, the contrast between the brothers ends in the murder, the lessons being the contrast between the adherence to God's way and the selfishness of mankind and the vulnerability of the righteous in the face of evil. B.N. lat. 8846 expands this with another punishment, but far removed from the ultimate punishment laid on Lucifer. Nevertheless the two are akin. Both are banishments from God's presence, one to everlasting hell, the other away from God's people. It is noticeable that in the case where God's judgement is shown, there is no demonising or bestialisation of Cain: he is shown as violent and murderous, but is no way deformed or dehumanised. The earlier tendency to make Cain monstrous has lessened, though not disappeared, rather Abel's vulnerability has been emphasised. Perhaps, strangely, we can say there is a reduction of overt anti-Semitism that does not accord with much of the feeling at this time. We know that sterner measures were taken against Jews in this period, but perhaps the miniatures reflect the stated ecclesiastical policy rather than the actual measures taken by rulers. In many ways this lack of bestialisation increases the implicit connection between the fall and the murder. Readers are invited to look on the miniatures not just as sequential but also as causal. Without the fall there would have been no murder; the innocent and righteous would not be the victims of jealousy, greed and hubris. The increased attention for the story of Cain and Abel, which can be seen as a metaphor for the struggle between sin and virtue in man's soul, is an echo of the balance that is shown in the scenes of the fall.

Most of the miniatures discussed make a clear connection between Eve and the serpent. However, there is a good deal of restraint in the depiction of Eve. While she is often clearly allied to sin and the senses, she is rarely sexually provocative or seductive. She is shown as more susceptible to sin and temptation than Adam, but Adam does not

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<sup>219</sup> Gerard Cames, *Allegories et Symboles dan l'Hortus Deliciarum* (Leiden, 1971).

escape censure. Numerous miniatures show Adam and Eve in identical or mirror image poses thereby implying joint guilt. If Eve seems to have her attention fixed on the serpent and to take sensual pleasure in its presence, Adam is often shown as ready or even eager to join in the pleasures of the senses. The emphasis given to sensuality, but not necessarily sexuality, implies that this is the reason for their downfall. The prohibition is shown in several works, and the impetus to break this seems to be allied to the senses. While not every work makes sexuality important, there is enough emphasis on it to make it clear that for many sexuality was the epitome of the sensual and the most dangerous snare for the Christian, the Ste. Geneviève manuscript being the work that places the most overt emphasis on the sexual aspect. At the same time there is a more positive attitude to marriage. The Church may have long said that marriage is good—virginity is better—but there has been little of this to be seen in miniatures. In *Scivias* the explanation of the second vision praises Adam because he feels himself bound to Eve, despite her sin. The Aberdeen Bestiary, while recounting the numerous defects and sexual habits of the viper, praises the marital consideration and faithfulness shown by this reptile.<sup>220</sup> The tender gestures seen in the Ste. Geneviève manuscript seem to echo this lesson. Eve is dealt with, generally speaking, less harshly than a hundred and fifty years earlier, and Adam's weaknesses are revealed more. In spite of, or possibly because of, the more positive attitude to marriage, several miniatures issue a warning about accepting the advice of a wife. This can be seen both literally, as the untrustworthiness of women's counsel, or metaphorically, as a warning against the senses ruling the intellect. In both the Ste. Geneviève manuscript and BN lat. 8846 Eve is clearly the dominant partner and takes the initiative, but there are other indications of such warnings. The connection with the erring wife made by Adam holding Eve's chin is one such. Another manuscript where such

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<sup>220</sup> *Vipera absentem requirit, \absentem vocat et blando proclamat sibilo, atque ubi adventare \comparem senserit, venenum evomit, reverentiam marito \deferens verecundata nuptialem gratiam. Tu mulier advenien \[en]tem de longinquo maritum contumeliis repellis. Vipera \mare prospectat, explorat iter coniugis. Tu iniuriis viam \viro obstruis. Tu licium moves venena, non reicis. Tu con \iugalibus amplexibus tempore dirum virus exestuas, nec eru \bescis nuptias nec revereris maritum. Sed etiam tu vir, pos \sumus enim etiam sic accipere, deponere tumorem cordis, asperi \tatem morum cum tibi sedula uxor occurrit, propelle indig \nationem cum blanda coniux ad caritatem provocat. Non \es dominus sed maritus, non ancillam sortitus es, sed uxorem. \Gubernatorem te deus voluit esse sexus inferioris, non prepo \tentem. Redde vicem studio, redde amoris gratiam. Vipera venum suum fundit, tu non potes duriciam mentis deponere?*

a point is made is Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Ms 29. This is yet another copy of Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob*, and as has been noted previously copies of this work frequently have miniatures of the fall, often in an introductory initial.<sup>221</sup> In this case the initial on f. 1v compares the position and actions of Adam and Eve to those of Job and his wife. The connection between Eve, who led her husband to sin and mankind to death, with the wife of Job, who tried to bring him from his resolute trust in God, is made. Here we see the inadvisability of following the counsel of a woman, or metaphorically the world and the senses, and the resoluteness of Job is contrasted to the weakness of Adam. Such works are powerful sermons against the desires of the world and the imperatives of the body. It is notable that in this particular miniature Eve is dealt with quite harshly. It is she, not Adam, who eats; the serpent brushes the hand with which she brings the fruit to her mouth with its tongue, and her femininity, if not her sexuality is emphasised by her big breasts and large nipples. In this miniature at least, Eve is the guilty party. There are other miniatures that indicate that the more lenient attitude towards Eve and often slightly sterner attitude towards Adam were not universal. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 2739, shows the fall, *ubi es?*<sup>222</sup> and the expulsion on the versos of ff. 1–3 with *tituli* and verse in both Latin and German, the Latin dating from the twelfth century and the German from the first half of the thirteenth.<sup>222</sup> There is something of an anomaly on f. 2v. This shows the Logos confronting Eve, who with bowed head, points out of the frame. This is described by the Index of Christian Art, not unreasonably, as 'Eve reproved by God', however the *titulus* above the miniature gives the subject as *Dixit d[omi]n[u]s u[bi] es adam*. I have been unable to examine the manuscript itself, but offer the following thoughts based on photographs. There seems to have been different

<sup>221</sup> Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, 4, 49. For the serpent tempted, Eve was pleased, Adam yielded consent, and even when called in question he refused in effrontery to confess his sin. The serpent tempted, in that the secret enemy silently suggests evil to man's heart. Eve was pleased, because the sense of the flesh, at the voice of the serpent, presently gives itself up to pleasure. And Adam, who was set above the woman, yielded consent, in that whilst the flesh is carried away in enjoyment, the spirit also being deprived of its strength gives in from its uprightness. And Adam when called in question would not confess his sin, in that, in proportion as the spirit is by committing sin severed from the Truth, it becomes worse hardened in shamelessness at its downfall. (trans. J.H. Porter, London 1844).

<sup>222</sup> Hermann Menhardt, *Verzeichnis der altheutschen literarischen Handschriften der österreichischen Nationalbibliothek* (Berlin, 1960).

artists for ff. 1v, and 2v. It is noticeable is that Eve's right breast on f. 2v seems superimposed on the flatter contours of a male breast and the hanging female breast seems to be by a different hand to the rest of the miniature, and closer to that of f. 1v. It is also possible that the length of the hair has been extended—there is a distinct edge at the neck. It is possible that this originally depicted Adam, which would be consistent with the *titulus* and with Adam indicating Eve—'the woman gave me and I did eat'. This raises the question of whether there was a patron who wanted the blame for the fall to rest squarely on Eve. It is noticeable too that f. 1v speaks of the serpent tempting the woman, but makes no mention of Adam's temptation, while the scene is the conflation of both temptations.

Linked to this negative view of Eve's role are the developments in the creation of Eve. On occasion the creation of Adam stands for the work of the sixth day, but this can be followed by a creation of Eve, especially if there is an extensive cycle, as in the lost Warsaw, Narodowa, Cod. lat. F v I, f. 6r. This Mosan manuscript, unlike the Ste. Geneviève manuscript, places the fall centrally, with the Logos in a mandorla overseeing the whole of creation above and the creation of Eve immediately below. While these three scenes are central, the six outer medallions depict the days of creation. The subsequent history is shown in the tangles in the rinceaux, not easy to distinguish in the old photographs that are the only visual record remaining of this most complete of Genesis miniatures. However, careful scrutiny reveals Adam clinging to the vines between the majestas and the scenes of the fall, with, on the left, from top to bottom, the sacrifice of Abel, the birth of Cain, and Cain's murder of Abel, and on the right the sacrifice of Cain, the expulsion and the covering of nudity. The eye is immediately drawn to the scene of the fall and links this with the creation of Eve and God in majesty.<sup>223</sup> It is as if God's omniscience, his all-seeing eye, views the many incidents of Genesis 1–4 and sees a causal relationship between the creation of Eve and the fall, and the subsequent events.

There is an increase in the incidence of the remote creation of Eve wherein this is effected by a *Domini dextera* or simply by a single figure of the Creator who commands the whole of creation. On occasion,

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<sup>223</sup> This brings to mind Vickrey's comments about Eve's vision in Junius 11. He contends that Eve's vision of God in splendour is a foretaste of God at the Last Judgement and thus an ironic comment that would have been obvious to the tenth or eleventh century reader. Vickrey, "The Vision of Eve in Genesis B."

when the Logos is present at the creation of Eve, there is something closer to a Siamese twin effect, implying that Eve is the 'other side' of Adam. This can be interpreted in various ways that are not mutually exclusive, but complement each other. The obvious interpretation is that there is a masculine and a feminine side to mankind. The ideas of Claudius of Turin have already been touched upon. One problem with this interpretation is that if it is seen to refer to the soul, if we followed Claudius, then both parts would be made in the likeness of God. This is not the case with the later twelfth century miniatures. There is a very clear distinction made between Adam and Eve, both in facial characteristics and the depictions of secondary sexual characteristics. The Ste. Geneviève manuscript goes the furthest by showing primary sexual characteristics. This can be countered by the argument that the artist wanted to make clear the difference between the male and female functions of the soul, whether this is reason and sense, or higher and lower reason. Such an argument elides into the second interpretation that man consists of both reason and senses and this is a way of showing this dual nature. Taking this one step further, this can be seen as the good and sinful sides of man. None of these interpretations contradict each other and can be seen as a general idea that man has both a higher, rational nature, and a lower, sensory nature. The depictions of the fall and its results must demonstrate the consequences of the senses domination of reason.

Perhaps the most startling development is one that makes a new link between Eve and sin. In earlier works Eve rose from Adam's side at the command of God, or was drawn forth by him. In the earlier twelfth century a number of miniatures depicted this by showing God holding the rib, rather in the manner of a magician's wand, while Eve emerged from Adam's body. As has been discussed, this can be seen as God removing a part of Adam. While the emergence from Adam's side remained the most popular method of depicting the creation of Eve, the element of the rib as a wand seems to have diminished, if not disappeared. This may have something to do with an increase in the remote creation of Eve, but it has other implications. The Stammheim Missal shows Eve growing from Adam's rib. The shapes of Adam's ribs are clearly defined and from his lowest right the upper body of Eve grows, at the command of the *Domini dextera*. This is not a part of Adam that is removed, but one that is innate to him, but grows and develops a separate, if secondary, existence. The step in design to the creation of Eve in the Zwiefalten choir-book is not great, but not

without significance. A single line attaches Eve's head to Adam's body. What we are seeing here is not the creation of a woman, but a head; there is no sign that the line will develop into a body. In this case it must be justified to see this as Eve representing a certain way of thinking, of looking at things. Her body, her feminine form and sexuality, are ignored here, nevertheless the head is unmistakeably female. The danger of Eve, in this case, is not her sexual allure, but her mode of thought. Perhaps it may even be possible that, in choosing to show the head alone, the artist wanted to show her inadequacies in contrast to the 'complete' male form of thought and reason. The next stage in the development again alters the interpretation and again, physically, it is a small thing. In the Zwiefalten *Scivias* not a line but a rope of flesh attaches the head of Eve to Adam, and, unlike in the choir-book, the hand of God commands this emergence. Simply by lengthening the means by which Adam and Eve are connected, and by making it substantial, instead of a line, the viewer sees this as a long, serpentine neck or body. The comparison with the fall, immediately below, seems inevitable. In both scenes Eve's head is held at the same angle and the serpent holding a fruit in its mouth echoes the cord and head above. To state that the artist intended the reader to see this as Eve being inherently flawed and sinful, as it were, already the temptress, is to go too far. That there was a connection intended between Eve and the serpent, is possible, given the closeness between the two expressed in this and other miniatures showing the fall, and the *Scivias* artist already had the basis for his composition in that of the choir-book. Whether or not the artist intended to give Eve serpent-like characteristics, in the next decades the serpent was to develop female characteristics.

On the whole the specific manuscripts examined here have much in common with the basic type. Most of them show an increased interest in both creation and Heilsgeschichte. Their treatment of Adam and Eve, too, tends to be more nuanced than earlier works. Adam is frequently shown as following Eve's lead, while she is less of a seductress as susceptible to the appeal of the senses. Perhaps the most important aspect is the way man's place in the scheme of things is depicted. Taking the iconographic programmes as a whole, the emphasis on Heilsgeschichte is very great. Man is shown as sinful and flawed; he rarely has a close and loving relationship with God and the Creator is remote and powerful, often making a contrast to the 'human' and suffering Christ shown in many crucifixions of the period. In fact it might be said that we see signs of the distinction between the Old Tes-

tament God who punishes and the New Testament God who redeems. Nevertheless, there is much emphasis placed on man's continual failings and God's repeated forgiveness, something that is encapsulated in the Stuttgart initial. The miniatures are clearly intended to encourage the reader to work on his inner salvation, to control his sensual nature and distrust the dictates of the world. There is occasionally a more positive attitude to the relationship between man and woman, and Eve is rarely overtly seductive or malevolent. Eve can best be seen as representing susceptibility and the dangers of the senses dominating reason.

### 5. *Death at the End of the Twelfth Century*

While the incidence of depictions of the fall grew in the second part of the twelfth century, the number of figures that can be firmly identified as death continued to decrease. The tendency for death to become absorbed into sin, described in the previous chapter, continued. This period sees no new versions of the illustrated Apocalypse, and the serpent at the foot of the cross almost disappears. Adam can still be found there, but is more often alive, as a symbol of the redemption. *Mors* is by now almost always a demonic creature that is in no way differentiated from other devils. Even the dragon becomes ever closer allied with Satan, as can be seen in the two manuscripts from Zwiefalten that were discussed in the previous section. In these Lucifer is shown as the dragon, presumably relating to Revelation 12:9<sup>224</sup> and 20.2,<sup>225</sup> thus as Lucifer becomes, at this first stage of Heilsgeschichte, the serpent or dragon, the distinction between the dragon as a symbol of death has become blurred with that of Satan as a symbol of sin. The already close connection between sin and eschatological death is increased to the extent that the latter has virtually disappeared. I know of three notable exceptions to these general remarks in which we find Adam as a corpse at the foot of the cross, a serpent under the cross and a demonic creature clearly labelled '*Mors*.' All three are German manuscripts. The Adam is to be found in the *Hortus Deliciarum* crucifixion,

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<sup>224</sup> *et proiectus est draco ille magnus serpens antiquus qui vocatur Diabolus et Satanas qui seducit universum orbem proiectus est in terram et angeli eius cum illo missi sunt.*

<sup>225</sup> *et adprehendit draconem serpentem antiquum qui est diabolus et Satanas et ligavit eum per annos mille.*

the serpent in Salzburg, Sankt Peter Stiftbibliothek, Ms. A.X.6, f. 222v and the demonic *Mors* in the Stammheim Missal.

### 5.1 *The super aspidem Motif*

Versions of a figure trampling a beast continue to appear, but are perhaps less numerous than in the previous half century. Dragons remain a constant factor in initials, but in many cases their use is decorative with little or no specific meaning beyond a general idea of sin, whether they are autophagic, attacking each other or simply coiled around the letter. One of the figures that is found actually trampling a beast developed into the well-known motif of the Virgin trampling a serpent. In this case Mary stands on a lion on f. 84v of St. Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale Ms. 12 II, a late twelfth century copy of *Moralia in Iob*. This comes from St. Bertin, and Porcher finds traces of Byzantine influence in the iconography of the manuscript, basing his opinion on, 'Des arbres exotiques, des palmiers exactement semblances à ceux que l'on dans les peintures grèques...' <sup>226</sup> However, this is not really evident on f. 84v. The Virgin is shown crowned and nimbed, with the lion at her feet and the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove, bearing a scroll swooping down towards her. Here Mary can be seen as the vehicle by which the victor who defeated sin and death came to the world. Of additional importance in this miniature is the medallion held by the Virgin, depicting Job holding two swords. The implications of the sword held by Job have been discussed in the previous chapter. The message of this miniature is not only the possibility of salvation for the ordinary Christian trying to follow God's ways, but also the effectiveness of the intermediary and possibly intercessory powers of Mary, bearing in mind that the cult of the Virgin was of ever increasing popularity.

#### 5.1.1 *The Sankt Peter Gospels*

On f. 222v of the Gospel Book of Salzburg, Sankt Peter, Stiftbibliothek Cod. A.X.6 there is a miniature of the deposition. (fig. 71) Within a simple architectural framework the dead Christ is lowered by two men standing on a ladder, while Mary and John, both pearl nimbed, hold cloths spread between their hands. The cross itself is fairly plain, with a large notice above and a *suppedanium*, under which a serpent coils.

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<sup>226</sup> Porcher, *L'enluminure française*, p. 34.



The serpent itself is mottled and light-bellied and seemingly in its death throws, with its head twisted back and its mouth open. There is no scenery and even the relationship to the architectural frame is minimal: John's feet rest lightly on the base of the frame, while Mary seems to be suspended in space. The ladder on which the men stand slants across the page, but does not seem to rest firmly on the columns at each end. Swarzenski, on the basis of the privileges mentioned at the end of the codex, dates the manuscript as being from the second half of the twelfth century at the latest, and finds it a rare type.<sup>227</sup> He comments that its difference to the general works of the south German type is best seen in the deposition miniature,<sup>228</sup> but pays little attention to the iconographic aspects, saying merely, 'Die Anbringung der Schlange am Kreuzfuss, der ober Querbalken mit Inschrift, das Fehlen van Sonne und Mond ist ze erwähnen, ergibt aber keine besonderen Schlüsse.' The miniature has a degree of abstraction that is in many ways commensurate with the choice in the iconographic programme to show the deposition, but not the crucifixion. The surface qualities of Ottonian miniatures live again here, and by placing the subject against the simple gold background the viewer is invited to contemplate what is happening in its theological rather than any historical context. The death of Christ is presented isolated from time and place and is thus rendered both eternal and universal. The viewer is confronted by the fact of the physical death of Christ, which could be, to all appearances, the lowest point of the passion cycle. This is no triumph, no victorious sacrifice, but the harsh reality of death. In this sombre picture there are two points that must be noted. The first is the dying or dead serpent that gives another dimension to the fact of Christ's death. The defeat of eschatological death is symbolised by the dying serpent under the means of this defeat, the dead body of Christ. This reverses the message of Christ's death: not defeat but victory in defeat. Only by Christ's physical death can the eschatological death of mankind be cancelled and rendered impotent. The second element to add to the interpretation is the ladder. While ladders are frequently shown in deposition miniatures, these are usually propped against the cross. Here the ladder reaches from the bottom left hand corner to the top right hand

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<sup>227</sup> Swarzenski, *Die Salzburger Malerei van den ersten Anfängen bis zur Blutezeit des Romanischen Stils*, p. 31.

<sup>228</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

corner, and the men on it seem to float there rather than being firmly anchored on the rungs. The thoughtful reader, and surely any monk of St. Peter's would come into this category, and would be instantly reminded of the ladder connecting earth to heaven.<sup>229</sup> Christ death is in fact the ladder by which mankind can ascend to heaven. By adding the ladder in just this way a change in emphasis has been made; from Christ's defeat of death and sin, the reader is invited to contemplate his own possibilities of heaven.

### 5.1.2 *Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 193*

Perhaps the most significant change in the serpent at the foot of the cross is to be found on f. 70r of Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale Ms. 193. (fig. 72) This sacramentary, probably made in the St. Martin scriptorium for the abbey's own use and dated 1170–1180, has two full page miniatures and numerous decorated and historiated initials. The miniature of f. 70r is a full-page depiction of the crucifixion. At first glance this varies very little from many others. It is richly coloured and against the gold panels *Sol* and *Luna*, Mary and John look on the dead Christ. This is an emotive crucifixion, with Christ's eyes closed, his body slumped and twisted and traces of blood coming from his wounds. Mary clasps her hands to her breast, while the young and beardless John holds a book in his covered left hand, his right held high. John's role here is clearly the witness who sets the truth in writing. There is no *suppedaneum*, no chalice, no skull at the foot of the cross. However, a little to the left is a small figure, who is in the position that is sometimes used for the dead rising from their graves. On closer examination it can be perceived that this figure holds a rod, about which twines a green serpent, open-mouthed. This is Moses with the brazen serpent that cured all those who looked upon it after being bitten by snakes. The reference here is to John 3:13–18:

*nemo ascendit in caelum nisi qui descendit de caelo Filius hominiss qui est in caelo 14. et sicut Moses exaltavit serpentem in deserto ita exaltari oportet Filium hominiss 15. ut omnis qui credit in ipso non pereat sed habeat vitam aeternam 16. sic enim dilexit Deus mundum ut Filium suum unigenitum daret ut omnis qui credit in eum non pereat sed habeat vitam aeternam 17. non enim misit Deus Filium suum in mundum ut iudicet mundum sed ut salvetur mundus per ipsum 18. qui credit in eum non iudicatur qui autem non credit iam iudicatus est quia non credidit in nomine unigeniti Filii Dei.*

<sup>229</sup> The use of ladder imagery will be discussed later.

This miniature takes the serpent a step further than the Sankt Peter manuscript, not a symbol of defeat, but of victory. The serpent of the defeated death has been transformed into a symbol of eternal life. From being the enemy of God and man, the serpent now represents God. Just as Moses, on God's instructions, raised the image of a brazen serpent and cured the recalcitrant Israelites who had been bitten by the snakes sent by God to punish them, so now Christ can avert eternal death for those who look upon Him, recognize Him and follow Him.

### 5.1.3 Hortus Deliciarum

The *Hortus Deliciarum* crucifixion was to be found on f. 150r. (fig. 73) This is a complex scene augmented by inscriptions and containing more elements than were usually found in crucifixions of this period: the Virgin and St. John flank the crucified Christ, as do Longinus and Stephanus and the two thieves. Other common elements of the scene are also present, the eclipsed sun and moon, the torn veil and the dead rising from their tombs. This last aspect has perhaps more than a narrative intention. The eschatological significance is heightened by Ecclesia and Synagoga, both of whom are mounted. Synagoga, her eyes covered to show her blindness to Christ's divinity, rides an ass, carries a sacrificial lamb and has let fall her banner. The crowned Ecclesia is mounted on an apocalyptic beast having the four heads of the tetramorphs symbolising the evangelists.<sup>230</sup> Her banner is held high and she holds a chalice to catch the blood from the wound in Christ's side, clearly an allusion to the Eucharist. It is particularly in reference to this that we must look at the risen dead. They are to the right of Christ, directly under Ecclesia. Immediately below Christ and extending to under the head of Synagoga's ass is an open grave that is clearly labelled *Supulcru[m] ade*. The Hortus crucifixion is unusual in that it shows Adam as a complete skeleton, not just a skull. The inscription refers to the tradition of Adam's burial at Golgotha but gives Jerome as the authority—*Iheronimus refer[at] q[uo]d adam sepultus feurit i[n] calvaris ubi crucifixus est dominus*. The positioning of the three sarcophagi and the fact that the risen dead are whole and healthy, while Adam is no more than a skeleton and does not take part in the resurrection makes an eschatological rather than a narrative reading of this illustration feasible. The death of Herrad's work is still the spiritual death, the

<sup>230</sup> The beast's feet also symbolise the evangelists.

consequence of Adam's transgression, here defeated by Christ, but perhaps less shocking than the Angers head of Adam. The inscription gives a geographical nuance to the eschatology implicit in the placing of the skeleton and the risen dead. This also gives a different relationship between Adam and the crucified Christ. In the Angers manuscript the cross bores through the head of Adam, giving a violent aspect to the victory of Christ. Adam is death, the enemy who has been defeated and is now crushed beneath the feet of the victor. The Hortus scene takes a step back from this: it is the fact of Adam's death, and thereby human mortality, that has been defeated. Adam signifies the fate of man under the old law doomed to die, while the new law under Ecclesia gives eternal life. The three figures have died physically, but now in the shadow of the Church and recognising Christ, they have eternal life. This is the theme of the whole miniature emphasised by the direction of the gaze of the two thieves and the drooping stumbling gait of Synagoga's ass. Christ's death as a part of God's plan for man's redemption is visualised in the Divine Fisher miniature. In this Christ cannot be said to be trampling on the dragon-like Leviathan, but his victory lies in his successful role as bait. In the Cîteaux *Moralia in Iob* Behemoth is viewed as a symbol of death: here the Leviathan, with a closer regard for the text of the Book of Job, is seen less as a symbol of eternal death than a synonym for the devil. Not only is there the reference to the Book of Job, in which it is stated that only God can defeat the Leviathan, but the 'bait' of the crucified Christ refers to the legalistic theological arguments of the rights of the devil to man discussed in the previous chapter. As in the two Zwiefalten manuscripts, the dragon loses his death symbolism to that of the devil.

## 5.2 *The Harrowing of Hell*

Death vanishes, too, in the harrowing of hell scenes. Perhaps a last echo of a death whose lineage goes back to the Utrecht Psalter can be found on British Library, Ms. Arundel 157 f. 11r that has a full-page miniature with the three Marys at the tomb in the upper register and the harrowing of hell in the lower. (fig. 74) Christ leads a series of naked souls from a hell mouth; one soul, caught in the mouth of the demonic creature at the back, reaches out his hands imploring salvation. This demonic creature is inside the hell mouth, grasping at those souls leaving, and it is very reminiscent of the Utrecht Psalter's descendants' depictions of death. It is certainly monstrous and clutches souls to its

bosom in the same way that the death figure in earlier works of the family did. The idea of torture is given not only by the demonic aspect but by the fact that a figure is held in the creature's mouth. Outside the hell mouth is a bound demon speared by Christ's lance. The binding and the fact that he is not under Christ's feet would seem to indicate that this is Lucifer. A close examination of the bound figure and the homophagic figure reveal that they seem to be identical in every way, other than size. The distinction between death and the devil is visually so close as to be no longer existent. British Library, Ms. Royal D. x, f. 7r reverses the subject matter of the upper and lower registers and the differences, though slight, are significant. (fig. 75) In this miniature the gates of hell have been broken open and Christ, holding a bannered *crux hastata*, leads only Adam and Eve from a hell mouth; the figure in the mouth of the homophage is facing away from Christ, so that his outstretched arms are no longer a supplication, and there is no chained figure at Christ's feet. These are points that give rise to the question as to whether this can really be regarded as depicting death. Since one of the most constant factors of the earlier harrowing of hell depictions is that Christ tramples on death, in accordance with the Gospel of Nicodemus, and this is not the case here. Nor does Christ strike a blow at the monster. The miniature could be interpreted as Christ leading the part of mankind deserving redemption, represented by Adam and Eve, from hell, but those left in the clutches of the devil are condemned to remain in eternal torment. This reading is encouraged by the fact that in the Arundel manuscript the fires of hell are quenched, but burn brightly in the Royal miniature. The fact that the demonic figure is itself in the hell mouth supports the conclusion that in this miniature death has elided into the devil. A further step in this direction can be seen on f. 9v of Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 19 that shows in the upper register Christ rising from his tomb, draped in his winding cloth and a bannered *crux hastata* in his hand. The lower register depicts the harrowing of hell with a now dressed Christ leading forth the naked souls. At his feet, but not really under them, is a chained demon, black, horned and clawed. The chaining points to this being Satan, and while a small hooked-nosed devil perches on a mound, there is no indication that this could be regarded as a personification of death. The same comments apply to Vienna Nationale Bibliothek, cod 1244 f. 189r, upper register and Afschaffenberg, Ms. 21, f. 59r. On f. 34r of Bourges, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 37, made in the third quarter of the twelfth century by and for St. Bertin, Christ rises from his tomb

and spears a dark figure lying next to it. This figure is very worn, but a naked, hairy body with wings and a tail can be discerned. There is no doubt that this is Christ's victory, but is the dark figure death or the devil? It would seem that once again the two are combined. The removal of death from the harrowing of hell scenes is shown even more clearly on f. 131r of Paris, Ste. Genèviève Ms. 56. (fig. 76) This northern French manuscript, probably made for the abbey of St. Eloi, contains Petrus Lombardus' commentary on the Psalms and was made some time in the second half of the twelfth century. The initial on f. 131r conflates the two scenes in the Amiens manuscript and shows Christ, again in a winding sheet and with bannered lance, rising from his tomb. This time a hell mouth is situated at the end of the tomb and, while an angel looks on, Christ leads the naked figures out of the horned head. No figure lies at Christ's feet. If he can be said to trample on death here it is the tomb that represents not a spiritual but a physical death. This is emphasised by the devil on the left, shaggy, horned and clawed. He scratches his head in puzzlement indicating this refers to the idea that he was 'tricked' into claiming an innocent soul, and thereby lost his claim to mankind. Christ's triumph is over physical death, since he was never subject to spiritual death, and over the devil.

### 5.3 *The Anthropomorphic Death*

#### 5.3.1 *The Stammheim Missal*

This period sees the almost total eclipse of the anthropomorphic death. To my knowledge there is only one manuscript in the area under consideration that has a figure clearly labelled *Mors*. This is to be found in the crucifixion miniature of the Stammheim Missal, f. 86r. The complex iconography of this work and its highly abstract and theological character has already been mentioned. It is worth comparing this miniature with the crucifixion in the Uta Codex, since there are many points of similarity, not least in the eschatological and symbolic significance of the miniatures. (figs. 77, 78)

The similarities in overall layout are apparent, but in the later work room has been made for the historical figures of Mary, John, Stephanon and Longinus. The dead rising from their graves and the torn veil of the temple have been replaced by a nimbed young man treading grapes and flanked by two nimbed figures, asking why his robe is red.

He replies, 'I have trod the winepress alone.'<sup>231</sup> In the older manuscript the risen dead and the torn veil give the victory of life over death, and the new law over the old law. The larger figures and more prominent positions of *Vita* and *Mors* give them greater emphasis than Ecclesia and Synagoga, stressing the message of the victory over death. In the later work Ecclesia and Synagoga are still half-length figures, Ecclesia nimbed and Synagoga wearing a Jew's hat. They are both placed above the arms of the cross, over which an angel holds a scroll that emphasises the redemptory and merciful character of the scene. *Vita* and *Mors* are shown as heads in the two half medallions that are found at the ends of the arms of the cross, *tituli* making this clear. Death is no longer trampled at the foot of the cross but is placed so that he is not just a contrast to life, but his position in regard to her gives an adversarial character. There is a possible connection between the position of *Mors* here and the occasional depictions of the devil at the crucifixion. This latter refers to the legend that the devil, having heard rumours that Christ was the Son of God, wished to assure himself of Christ's humanity by witnessing His death, before claiming His soul.<sup>232</sup> Nevertheless, we can say that death is symbolically trampled by the youth in the grape vat. His action refers to Isaiah 5 in which a vineyard is likened to the wrath of God. This passage was frequently seen as referring to Christ's victory and the destruction of the old law, which in itself was a promise of eternal life. Thus the figure at the foot of the cross is no longer a defeated death, but a symbol of Christ's victory. This, and especially its connection with Ecclesia, could be considered very appropriate for the miniature that introduced the Mass, connecting, as it does, Christ's blood in his death with the Eucharist wine. Another link between the Stammheim and Uta miniatures exists. The implicit link between the lion-headed bud of the cross that attacks death in the Uta Codex and the line from *Physiologus*—*O mors, ero mors tua; morsus tuus ero, infernus*' has already received comment. In the Stammheim Missal this is made explicit since these words are inscribed on the scroll looped over Christ's arms.

<sup>231</sup> Teviotdale, *The Stammheim Missal*, p. 65.

<sup>232</sup> C.W. Marx and M.A. Skey, "Aspects of the Iconography of the Devil at the Crucifixion," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 42 (1979), David L. Wee, "The Temptation of Christ and the Motif of Divine Duplicity in the Corpus Christi Cycle Drama," *Modern Philology* 72 (1974).

Two aspects differ notably in the century and a half between the works. The first is that, despite its generally unemotional tone, the Stammheim Missal makes more appeal to the human side of the reader. The crucifixion is shown not just as a mystical, but also an historical event. The Uta Codex isolated Christ on the cross among symbols of prophecy and theology, and while the Missal also makes use of these symbols, it makes use of the historical and human aspects of the crucifixion. By showing these—Mary and John, Stephanton and Longinus—it makes identification with the event easier. The reader of the Uta Codex was invited to contemplate theological truths in the abstract sense; the reader of the Stammheim Missal is invited not only to contemplate these truths, but to partake in spirit in the event depicted. The Uta Codex shows Christ triumphant, priest and king, but the Stammheim Missal shows Christ's triumph in his death. With the sorrowing Mary and John the reader witnesses the slump of the lifeless body, the gush of blood from hands and feet and sees the thrust of Longinus spear in Christ's side. The miniature says that it is from these elements that Christ victory is made, and the theological truths that are depicted in abstract form around the central scene spring from this one truth that is both human and divine. The second aspect that shows a change in attitude can be seen in the absence of the instructions that are so central to the Uta Codex. There is no lack of *tituli* in the Stammheim Missal crucifixion, but, in keeping with the general trend of the work, these emphasise the fulfilment of prophecy. The Uta Codex held out the hope of salvation for those who strove to be worthy of Christ by faith and good works. The Stammheim Missal regards salvation almost a given fact. Man can be saved and man will be saved. This is shown in the way *Mors* is depicted. He is no longer a weak and defeated human creature, a possible door to eternal life, but a bestial figure. He is death in the eschatological sense, but has absorbed so many demonic characteristics that death equals devil. His face is black, his broken nose turns up in a hook at the end, his eyes bulge and his large mouth is filled with huge teeth. His peaked hair, so like that shown on demons, is red, perhaps linking him as Jewish to Synagoga above him. He is a symbol of the damned, of sin and unbelief, of those outside the pale of the Christian world and the realm of the saved.

### 5.3.2 *The Parisian Psalter*

The absorption of death into the fully demonic can be demonstrated by comparing the illustration to psalm 1 in the Parisian Psalter, Paris,



Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 8846 with that in the Utrecht Psalter, Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. 32. The Parisian Psalter is often called the youngest of the copies of the Utrecht Psalter, and while to call it a copy is misleading, a number of the miniatures replicate the iconography of the Utrecht Psalter, however different the style. Psalm 1 has all the iconographic elements found in the earlier work. (figs. 79, 80) At first glance there appears to be little in common between the two miniatures, but the Parisian Psalter mirrors the groups found in the ninth century work. However, the differences are not only stylistic but each element has been changed, giving a very different reading to both part and whole. The two earlier 'copies' of the Utrecht Psalter have already been discussed and it has been noted that death grew progressively more demonic. With the Parisian Psalter it is very doubtful we can still call any of the figures death.

To consider the altered meaning of the miniature as a whole we can best compare the individual elements, noting how the later work differs from the earlier and investigating what the alterations imply. Despite the different format, the Parisian Psalter puts each of the elements in the same position as regards the whole. In the upper left hand corner of the Utrecht we see within a small temple the *beatus vir* studying the word of God, protected and encouraged by an angel. In the Parisian Psalter the temple has been greatly expanded and the figure is no longer studying, but teaching, for this is not the psalmist, but Christ who holds open the book to instruct the reader. There is no doubt that this is the word of God given to man by Christ since he writes in the book. The importance of this can be seen when considering the next main element, the two disputing figures upper centre. In the Utrecht they point to two different ways of life, that of the blessed man who studies the way of God and that of the scornful man on his throne, surrounded by the unrighteous and advised and urged on by the serpent-entwined devil behind his throne. In the Parisian Psalter the two men have been replaced by a cross-nimbed Christ and Synagoga with *sol* and *luna* directly above them. Christ points to the previous scene while Synagoga points to the following group. This makes clear that the law referred to the new law and links the old law and Judaism with the ungodly and unrighteous. The proud man's followers are no longer the armed men that would have been those of a lord's household in the ninth century, but a group of clients, offering gifts. Where the angels next to Christ serve and support him, the devil behind the throne of the scornful man capers and urges him on with fire, the incentive coming from the

demon. Even the idyllic scene of the river god and the tree bringing forth its fruits in season has a dark undertone. The little god no longer sits at his ease, his urn gushing forth water, but he is transformed into a man stumbling and falling, his arm caught in the branches of the tree. The head of the zephyr no longer blows gently on the scene of prosperity, but gusts mightily, bringing forth ice against a dark ground. Where the pleasant river of the Utrecht ceases before it comes to the group being forced to the pit of death, the river of the Parisian continues and bears up the head of the monster that forms a hell mouth. There the various figures await their fate or are forced into the flames by a trio of bestialised demons. Those in the hell mouth writhe in the flames and are crushed under the demons' clawed feet: the next victim is speared with a boar spear preparatory to be dragged into the pit. Unlike the three earlier versions there is no figure in the pit, no death to hold them in his embrace. The only figure that could possibly be death is the larger, dark and winged demon, but there is nothing to indicate that he is anything other than a devil, perhaps Satan himself. In fact this devil, apart from the wings, bears a striking resemblance to the devil of the second temptation of Christ on f. 3r. The message of the Parisian Psalter's has changed from the exposition of choice to the depiction of a threat. What is more, the 'scornful' is identified as not only ungodly but also Jewish, or at least the old law is portrayed as the way to damnation. The reader is shown less of a choice and more a vision of what will befall all those who do not follow God's word. The reader cannot identify with the blessed man, or only to the extent that he can see himself as a follower of the teacher portrayed. Nor is he offered the reward of the prosperity mentioned in the psalm. This miniature is all stick and no carrot, but there remains the implication that even if no reward is shown, salvation is there for the reader in the form of the Christ figure.

#### 5.4 *The Fight for the Soul*

The previous chapter discussed the numerous initials that depicted man's struggle with his lower self, the fights with monsters and *semihomines*. The same subject is found in this later period, but there are signs of a shift in emphasis. There is a shift from the soul fighting itself to that of the soul losing or winning. While there are still those who are fighting a continuing battle there are also monsters that can become demons that are not striven against, but claim the erring soul. This can be seen in

the initial on f. 10r of Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 501, a life of St. Amand, made at and for the abbey that bears his name. In the upper right-hand corner we find a man trying to cling to the vines while a naked demon with horns and claws drags him away by his hair. The emphasis has shifted from the soul fighting the lower tendencies in itself to the fate of one who has not struggled sufficiently. Perhaps the same can be said of the initial T on f. 71v. of Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 193. The significance of the serpent in the crucifixion miniature has already been discussed, but on the verso of the succeeding folio another type of serpent acts as a threat to man. The reader sees immediately the implied cross with the bust of Christ, but here Christ is the Judge holding a book, rather than the Redeemer. At the bottom right a man tries ineffectually to hold off a serpent. The man is entangled not with the rinceaux of the world, but with the serpent of sin. The serpent makes a loop round his waist and pulls him off his feet. In the initials of Verdun, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 70 men, clothed and naked, struggle with dragons and other monsters, but they seem to be losing the fight, and there is sometimes a sexual tint to these. On f. 26v the straddling of the beast implies the nature of the sin, as does the monster savaging the buttocks of the man on f. 54r. Another aspect of what could have been regarded as sinful, is demonstrated by two Vendôme manuscripts, Bibliothèque Municipale 23 and 61. In these the sexual aspect is still apparent in the vines twining between the legs of the men, but these vines can also either enter or leave the mouth or ear, implying the dangers of evil words or counsel. (fig. 81)

In these initials the subject is less that of a fight within the soul than that of the fate of the soul that has lost the fight for virtue. While the initials that still depicted the fight within the soul continued there was an increasing tendency to use another form of imagery for this. This can perhaps be traced back to the Uta Codex with its instructions for the reader written on the cross, informing her how she could best follow God and reach heaven. The image of the tree that stretches from earth to heaven is an old one and, as in the fourth century verse *De Pascha* and in Hrabanus Maurus, the cross was identified with the cosmological tree, giving access to heaven. A second theme is that of the ladder in Jacob's dream on which he saw angels ascending and descending. Again this is a connection between heaven and earth, and much of the ladder imagery of the later twelfth century is concerned with this idea of how the Christian can reach heaven. A manuscript in Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 372, a miscellany copied by Sigerus of Anchin some

time after 1165, contains St. Bernard's *De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae*.<sup>233</sup> The illuminator is known as the Master of St. Gregory the Great and on f. 100r he prefaces St. Bernard's treatise with a version of Jacob's ladder. In many ways this could be a very suitable choice to visually introduce this work on the stages of humility whereby the Benedictine monk could work towards perfect humility, and thus towards heaven. However, the Master of St. Gregory the Great expands on the text of Genesis 23:12—*viditque in somnis scalam stantem super terram et cacumen illius tangens caelum angelos quoque Dei ascendentes et descendentes per eam*. In the Bible text there is only mention of angels ascending and descending and no moral lesson is drawn from this. In the Middle Ages it was considered a metaphor for the soul's attempt to reach God, and Bernard himself mentioned Jacob's ladder in the stages that a monk must go through to achieve closeness to God. Bernard mentions, too, the failings frequently found among monks. Perhaps the second part of the title of Bernard's work—*superbiae*—was the impetus for the Gregory Master to depict a metaphorical fight for the soul. Two tables on the left of the page give the twelve stages of both humility and pride while a pictorial interpretation of this is on the right. Christ, flanked by Saints Bernard and Benedict of Aniane, reaches out to take the hand of the angel at the top, claiming him for his own. The angels on the right side of the ladder do not descend but fall headlong and waiting for them below is the devil that not only grasps the hair of the lowest, but wields an axe in his right hand, threatening to cut down the ladder. This is more than the fall of the rebel angels as described by Smeyers. Lucifer does not fall, but is a given, the evil that awaits those who, in this case, lack the humility to succeed. In the context of Bernard's work, the dark figure at the foot of the ladder is damnation. Damnation and eschatological death can be regarded as one and the same, but now the emphasis has changed from the absence of God to the horrors of hell. Whereas death in the ninth century miniatures received his prey, was confined and limited, the devil is now an active force trying to prevent the soul from reaching God. Not only does he await those who fall, but his axe threatens to destroy the means of ascent.

The idea of a ladder leading to heaven, the rungs of which represented various stages, became popular. The ladder in the *Hortus Deli-*

<sup>233</sup> Smeyers, *Flemish miniatures from the 8th to the mid-16th century: the medieval world in parchment*, p. 73.

*ciarium* is well-known: various classes of people, with the emphasis on the clergy and regular orders, attempt to scale the ladder to heaven, but only *Caritas* succeeds in reaching the top where she receives the *corona vitae* from the hand of God. The temptations to which the other orders are most susceptible are explained in the *tituli*, and below the dragon awaits those who fall. The *titulus* by *Caritas* explains that she symbolises all those who, with the help of the angels, reach heaven. The protecting angels are shown as well as the attacking devils. The question as to whether the dragon at the foot of the ladder can truly be regarded as a visual representation of death is complex. Since the dragon can be seen as the opposite of the crown of life, then it would be reasonable to consider that this is indeed a symbol of eternal death. However, the *titulus* assures us that those who have fallen are not lost forever, but, if truly penitent, may attempt the ascent again. Bearing this in mind, I am of the opinion that the opposition life/death, if it can be said to be there, is subordinate to the antithesis virtue/sin. Such a conclusion is supported by the great role played by *Psychomachia* in the *Hortus Deliciarum* iconography. Ladder symbolism can be found in the *Zwiefalten Scivias* on f. 156r that shows a strong resemblance to that in the Sankt Peter crucifixion discussed above, and on f. 176v where busts of the Old Testament patriarchs and prophets rest in the rungs of the ladder leading to a dove with a branch in its beak. The same sort of ladder imagery was used in a copy of St. Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 53, f. 73r, made at St. Bertin in the late twelfth century. (fig. 82) Here the ladder can be said to link the city of God with the consequences of being a citizen of the world. The heavenly city is shown by its walls that are patrolled by armed angels; in the middle sits Ecclesia, crowned and holding an empty scroll and flanked below by two angels. On the outside of the ladder there are five half medallions on each side, nine of these containing an angels. On each rung of the ladder are two groups of the elect, with *tituli* giving their status—patriarchs and prophets at the top, then apostles and martyrs and lastly confessors and virgins. The lowest rung of the ladder represents the world to which Christ has come to pass judgement on the last day, with above it the *titulus VLTIMVUM IVUDICIUM DEI*. In the centre, standing on the curved base of the ladder, is Christ, bearing scrolls in both hands—one directed at the *BENEDICTI*, the other at the *MALEDICTI*. These groups stand on either side of him. Above the group of the blessed hovers an angel to lead them to heaven. A second angel hovering above the damned holds

the instruments of the passion. It is possible that the crown held by this angel caused Smeyers to believe that Christ was bestowing crowns on the blessed.<sup>234</sup> However, a close examination shows that this is the crown of thorns, which fits with the lance and nails held by the angel. The damned are led through an open door at the bottom of the ladder from which flames emerge and gives onto the tenth medallion in which two demons tug the chain that binds their charges. Attached to the base of the ladder are three chains that bind the feet, hands and neck of a devil that lies under it on a bed of flames. He has a tail, and is dark and hairy with flames issuing from his mouth. While Christ stands above this figure, the chains make it clear that this is Satan. The antithesis here is between Ecclesia and Satan and while these two can be said to represent eternal life and eternal death, those aspects have become submerged in those of virtue and sin. It is an interesting point that there are considerably more blessed than damned. Only four figures, including one who wears a tonsure, are led off to hell, whereas the ranks of the blessed are made to appear to stretch back and beyond the frame of the ladder. It can be said, perhaps, that this gives an optimistic vision. Since the lowest scene is labelled the last judgement of God, this implies that the majority, of Christians at least, will be ranked among the saved.

#### 5.4.1 *British Library, Ms. Arundel 44*

Perhaps the most completely thought-out ladder-type imagery is to be found in London, British Library, Arundel 44. This is a copy of Conrad of Hirsau's *Speculum Virginum* made in Hirsau or Freising probably some time between 1150 and 1175 for the abbey of St. Mary, Eberbach. It contains a tree of vices, f. 28v, a tree of virtues, f. 29r, a scheme of the differing rewards of the married, the chaste and the virgins, f. 70r, a cross with the virtues, f. 83v and a ladder of virtues on f. 93v. These miniatures bring together a number of themes connecting death and sin. These have been described as 'a proto-garden of virtue',<sup>235</sup> and the tree of vices must immediately put the reader in mind of the fall. (fig. 83) Here two serpents twine around the tree on which the main vices grow and seed themselves with lesser vices. The tree grows from

<sup>234</sup> Ibid., p. 79.

<sup>235</sup> Ellen Kosmer, "Gardens of Virtue in the Middle Ages," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 41 (1978), p. 302.

the head of *Superbia* and reaches up to *Luxuria*. The figure at the top is flanked by two dragons, and the fruits that sprout from this figure are labelled *fructus carnis* and include *fornication*. The figure is somewhat ambiguous. *Luxuria* was usually depicted as a female with long flowing locks, prominent breasts and frequently entwined with serpents, but this figure seems to be more masculine, not only in the small breasts and short hair, but in the features and pose. Perhaps the explanation lies in the *titulus* above—*ver[et] Ada[m]*; the shame of Adam lies in his propagation of carnal sins. In this diagram pride is the root of sin, but the sins of the flesh are the summit. The interpretation of this figure as Adam is supported by the tree of virtues on f. 29r that is very similar in form. At the top of the tree *Caritas* is again named, but not shown as the usual female figure, instead there is a half-length Christ, the ultimate symbol of Perfect Love. On f. 83v much the same theme is worked out, but allying it ever more closely with Christ's death on the cross. Christ himself is above the cross, which takes the form of a ladder, and reaches down to clasp the arms of the virtues who reach up to him. Below *Lex* holds a book and sword. At the base of the cross curls a dragon. Once again the opposition with the virtues makes the interpretation of this as sin more likely than death. The lessons of the previous miniatures are summed up in that on f. 93v. Here again Christ is at the top of the ladder, in himself the reward for which the nuns struggle upwards. A gross dark figure hurls swords down at the nuns below him, two of whom spear a dragon through the throat. Without the context, without the emphasis throughout the work on the virtues and the way in which they furnish a way to Christ and heaven, the dragon could be read as death, but given both Conrad's text and the previous miniatures, it must be regarded as the *draco ille magnus serpens antiquus qui vocatur Diabolus et Satanas*.

A miniature very similar to the ladder of virtues in the Arundel manuscript is to be found in a Regensburg manuscript dating from roughly the same period, Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 14159, f. 6r. This is a version of Hrabanus Maurus' *De laudibus sanctae cruce*, but the *tituli* are based on the *Speculum virginum* and make clear that this represents the struggle between the flesh and the spirit. Significantly the three virtues here labelled as *Ratio*, *Sapientia* and *Spes* are called '*Totus Homo*'. On f. 5r of the same work scenes of the passion are shown with *Humilitas* defeating *Superbia*. The crucifixion scene is interesting because at the foot of the cross there are four beasts, a lion, a viper, a basilisk and a dragon. The accompanying *titulus* is the usual quotation

from psalm 90:13;<sup>236</sup> however the fight between *Humilitas* and *Superbia* puts a different interpretation on the defeated enemy. The *titulus* to this part of the miniature reads *Superbia diaboli vincatur humili/tate cruce christi*. Thus the victory of Christ on the cross is associated not with his defeat of death, but his defeat of the devil's pride. The devil and his great sin have replaced death as the enemy, and the cross is then a means to defeat sin.

### 6. *Sin and Death in the Late Twelfth Century*

The absorption of death into the devil in the later twelfth century may seem to be simply giving something a different name. However, we have seen earlier that death and the devil were seen as separate concepts. It is true that eternal death could be regarded as damnation, but in that the horror lay in not being able to enjoy God's presence, and the awareness of that loss. Just so was eternal life the knowledge and awareness of God, of 'seeing' and 'knowing' God rather than apprehending via the imperfect senses and intellect. This is tied in with the idea of a judgement at the end of time, when man steps from the temporal world into eternity, and life or death are the eternities of the righteous and the damned. This ninth century view was optimistic; the saved, God's people, at the end of time might have to have their sins burned away, but God's redemption of mankind meant that life was theirs. Only the irrevocably evil and heathens would suffer eternal death. A century and a half later the view was less optimistic. Man was aware of himself as a flawed being, not really deserving to be saved. For some, sufficient diligence in following God's precepts would lead the way to heaven, probably at the end of time, but for many there was the awareness that not even believing in and loving God could give an assurance of eternal life. The twelfth century, strangely for a period so intent on its spiritual awareness, took a more secular view. While the intrinsic spiritual condition was acknowledged to be important, and many tracts laid out how one was to strive for perfection, the internal purification, in the visual expressions of the time, was of far less importance than the question of sin and punishment, of redressing the wrong, of putting things right. This is not to say that punishment

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<sup>236</sup> *super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis et conculcabis leonem et draconem.*



was not seen as a way to purification, but that it was an essential part of it. Perhaps the knowledge of man's essentially flawed nature, of the idea that few could be worthy of heaven, encouraged the spread of belief in a first and provisional judgement. Even though purgatory was not established as doctrine until 1274, it was commonly accepted in the later twelfth century.

### 6.1 *The Ascent of the Soul*

Not only was the idea of purgatory accepted, there was an enormous interest in it.<sup>237</sup> Old texts such as the *Apocalypse of Paul* in redaction iv began to be translated into the vernacular,<sup>238</sup> and the twelfth century was the high-point of recorded contemporary visions. These twelfth century visions differed from earlier ones by being 'much longer and more complex than any of their predecessors'.<sup>239</sup> They also changed from being the visions primarily of priest or monks.<sup>240</sup> 'Of the eight major visions of the twelfth century, only two are experienced by monks; of the others two are related by peasants, two by children and two by knights. The redactors themselves are no longer powerful figures but humble monks or, occasionally, abbots.'<sup>241</sup> Yet in spite of the increased number and complexity of the visions, they do not carry on into the thirteenth century, the last recorded being the vision of Thurkill in 1206. The accounts of the visions were copied and circulated, but no new visions were recounted. The interest in the afterlife, and more particularly in purgatory, remained, but it would seem that by 1200 or so there was a fairly common idea of what awaited people after death.

There are no twelfth century visual representations of purgatory known to us, and it would seem that the designers of the iconographic cycles of books waited until the third place had received papal

<sup>237</sup> For a brief survey of earlier journeys to the afterlife see Monique Blanc, *Voyages en enfer de l'art paleochrétien à nos jours* (Paris, 2004) chapter 2, pp. 27–60. A more detailed description of various visions is given by Alison Morgan, *Dante and the medieval other world*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval History, ed. Alastair Minnes (Cambridge, 1990).

<sup>238</sup> Blanc, *Voyages en enfer de l'art paleochrétien à nos jours*, p. 52.

<sup>239</sup> Morgan, *Dante and the medieval other world*, p. 3.

<sup>240</sup> The authenticity of the two peasant visions is discussed in Paul Gerhard Schmidt, "The Vision of Thurkill," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 41 (1978). Also Aaron J. Gurevich and Ann Shukman, "Oral and Written Culture of the Middle Ages": Two "Peasant Visions" of the Late Twelfth-Early Thirteenth Centuries, *New Literary History* 16 (1984).

<sup>241</sup> Morgan, *Dante and the medieval other world*, p. 3.

confirmation. However, the visions often include ladders and it is interesting to see how these compare with the ladders in the miniatures. The monk of Eynsham, whose vision is recorded as taking place in 1196, reported that coming to the wall of paradise he saw souls ascending a beautiful stairway that led to Christ enthroned in glory. These souls, unlike the figures in the miniatures, ascended with ease, each step being swifter and easier than the last. Not all ladder imagery was as comforting and optimistic. The other twelfth century monk's vision, that of Gunthelm, took place in 1161 after he had been tempted by a devil. His guide is St. Benedict and together they climbed a ladder.<sup>242</sup>

*In singularis uero gradibus demons bini et bini residebant, qui quos ones ad superior censeendere nitentes terribiliter infestabant. Quos ut uidit nouicius, ualde nimirum expauit, attamen a beati Benedicti uestigijs non recessit. Ascendentibus itaque sancto et nouicio, nequam spiritus sancto nocere non apposuerunt, sed subsequentem discipulum per gradus singulos grauit er afflixerunt. Alius eum soffocabat, alius uehementer impellebat, alius pugno eum in dorso percutiebat, alius illum colaphizabat, alius eum frendens dentibus subsannabat, et alius illum calumpnijs et exprobationibus deterrebat.*

This is very close to the scenes depicted by the miniatures. The soul, whether of Gunthelm or Herrad's nuns or any of the others climbing the ladder of virtue, is beset by temptation, and that temptation is shown as having an outside cause. The weakness that is inherent in man and makes him susceptible to temptation is still clearly there, but this is less an inherent sinfulness than the tendency to succumb to the temptations of sin. The soul that fights and overcomes these temptations is worthy of heaven. Bernard of Clairvaux described in his sermons on the feast of All Saints the rest of the soul after its struggle. In heaven those souls that have achieved purification dreamily await the last day and the reunion with both the body and loved ones. Drowsing on couches 'they recollect their years, they rejoice for the days in which they were humbled, with delighted admiration they consider the dangers they have evaded, the labours that they have carried out, the

<sup>242</sup> On each rung there were pairs of demons, who attacked all those who would ascend to the rung above. When the novice monk saw them, he was petrified, but did not cease to follow in the footsteps of St. Benedict. So as the novice and the saint climbed up, the evil spirits did not oppose the saint, but on every step they sorely afflicted the novice. One suffocated him, another pushed him violently, another hit him in the back with his fist, another struck him, another sank his teeth into him, and another tried to deter him with slander and abuse. Text and translation cited *ibid.*, p. 43.

battles they have won.<sup>243</sup> The continual battle for heaven is a consistent theme of both texts and miniatures. Heaven and eternal life are not granted as a right, but earned by the soul's struggle against sin. The thorny theological problem of God's elect and the differences between predestination and foreknowledge are not expressed in the miniatures, but sometimes touched upon in scrolls held by Christ the Judge in last judgement scenes. Heaven is shown to be attainable by all who are prepared to work for it. However, the hierarchy of heaven does allow for a degree of influence due to status rather than deeds. The idea that virginity was the ideal state found expression in the difference of rewards for virgins, the chaste and the married. The British Library Ms. Arundel 44 manuscript again uses the notion of ascent to express this. (fig. 84) On f. 70r there is a miniature very reminiscent of a tree of Jesse, but clearly divided into three zones. At the foot of the tree are Adam and Eve and at the top Christ, cross-nimbed and holding a book. In between these extremes are the virgins who will harvest a hundredfold; the chaste, those who have been married but choose thereafter to live a chaste existence and will be rewarded sixtyfold; and lastly the married who can expect to harvest only fortyfold. The married are represented by couples from before the birth of Christ, designated here by the name of the man only, Noah, Abraham, Job and Zacharias. The chaste are widows such as Deborah and Anna, while the virgins are not named. Thus, despite the general emphasis on the life and actions of the Christian and the more favourable, or at least accepted, attitude towards matrimony, the positive actions are tempered with the negative virtue of retaining virginity. It is interesting to note that a somewhat later copy of the *Speculum virginum* made by and for the abbey of Clairvaux at the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century does not have this miniature, though certain other miniatures are very close to the British Library version. Possibly the monks of Clairvaux saw no need to visually emphasise the virtue of virginity.

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<sup>243</sup> Cited Anna Harrison, "Community among the saintly dead: Bernard of Clairvaux's Sermons for the feast of all saints," in *Last Things; Death and the Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carol Walker Bynum and Paul Freedman, The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, 2000), p. 193.

6.2 *Crime and Punishment; Sin and Penance*

In his *Liber Poenitentialis* Alan of Lille distinguished between the judgments handed out by civil and ecclesiastical courts, the aim of one to punish, the other to purify. However, this distinction was not always made. In a mid-twelfth century French work, Avranches Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 136 the two are regarded as one—*dicitureque poenitentia quasi punitentia a puniendo, quia per eam punitur homo*.<sup>244</sup> Certainly in the popular view there was little practical difference between the punishments to be suffered in this world and the penance demanded in the next; they varied only in the degree of horror and duration. Purgation was no longer simply a means of burning away sins to make a soul worthy of heaven, but in fact a punishment for those sins. Skotnicki sees purgatory as a metaphor for the Gregorian reform,<sup>245</sup> and in a way, the condemned prisoner as being rehabilitated for a better world.<sup>246</sup>

... a new theological understanding of sin as not simply a corruption of the soul requiring private penance, but as a violation of law demanding public expiation in precise temporal segments. Those atoning for sin in this life and the next came, in effect, to share the same time zone. In this legal cosmos, the prison took on transcendent dimensions: it became an institutional metaphor for a world transformed, for sinners chastened, and for a purified army of penitents ready to share in the benefits of heaven.

It is difficult to say that either prison was a metaphor for purgatory, or vice versa; both would seem to be the result of a particular outlook on life. Prisons were no longer simply a place of detention and punishment, but a form of separation from society, until the debt owed to that society was judged to have been paid. The same applied to the ecclesiastical sentence of excommunication: the sinner was removed from the fellowship of Christians and communion with God until he was deemed sufficiently penitent and had made sufficient reparation. In other words, only the spiritually healthy were part of God's community. The logical extension of this is the idea of purgatory as a place, rather than simply a process.<sup>247</sup> For all those whose ascent of

<sup>244</sup> Cited Morgan, *Dante and the medieval other world*, p. 119.

<sup>245</sup> Andrew Skotnicki, "God's Prisoners: Penal Confinement and the Creation of Purgatory," *Modern Theology* 22 (2006), p. 86.

<sup>246</sup> Ibid.

<sup>247</sup> For an overview of the development of Purgatory as a place see Le Goff, *La naissance du Purgatoire*.

the ladder of virtue to heaven was incomplete, those whom the devils had succeeded in pushing from the ladder, there was the possibility of making atonement after physical death, but before the last judgement. The early Church had believed that the process of penitence, of truly cleansing the soul of its sins, could take place only once. This was then a long process and many put this off until they felt that they were coming to the end of their life, so that all their sins could be taken into account. This rigorous approach gradually lost ground, perhaps due to those who voluntarily cut themselves off from life to pray, not only for themselves, but for the community of souls as a whole. This can be seen in the stricter rules for confession for the religious orders, but even this was changing. The fourth Lateran Council in 1215 enjoined upon all lay persons that they make confession to a priest at least once each year, on pain of excommunication and the denial of Christian burial. This was a confirmation of the role of the lay person in their own destiny after death.

By setting up the triad of confession, repentance and penance for all, a system of justice was established. Of course the idea of a penance for specific sins was not new. The penitentials, originating in the Celtic Church, had been a feature of religious life since the sixth century as a means to help confessors in their task. Many of these seem to cover every possible sort of sin, however unlikely, and give a strict table of the penance to be laid upon the sinner. These penances were intended to cure the soul of sin, often by prayer and meditation. By the twelfth century there was more concern for the individual and the circumstances of sin. When considering this matter<sup>248</sup>

twelfth century theologians...are not generally trying to establish general moral rules or the institutional norms of social life, such as rules governing marriage or the acquisition of property. They presuppose that such rules and norms are more or less in place. What they are debating (much of the time at least) is the moral status of the agent who violates such customary rules and norms in specific situations.

This concern for the specific circumstances is reflected in the various accounts of the visions of souls in the afterlife, most specifically in the vision of Tundale. Tundale, an Irish knight, is reported to have had his vision in 1149. Unlike many of those who are allowed to view the

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<sup>248</sup> Jean Porter, "Responsibility, Passion, and Sin: A Reassessment of Abelard's Ethics," *Journal of Religious Ethics* 28 (2000), p. 371.

afterlife, Tundale was no innocent but a thoroughgoing sinner; indeed his vision takes place after a fit at the table of a debtor to whom he is less than kind. His journey takes him through various realms, including those in which souls are punished as well as purified. To a certain extent the punishment is made to fit the crime in what Tundale witnesses, so those who have committed sexual transgressions are chiefly tortured in the genital area. Not only does Tundale witness the tortures, but must himself undergo some of them, since he is guilty of those particular sins: to atone for the theft of a neighbour's cow, even though he had returned it, he must lead a wild cow over a narrow and dangerous bridge. The fact that he must undergo this task points to an element of punishment, not just purgation, since he has already made restitution. It is not a case of bringing him to repentance, but punishing him for his sinful intention. This is reminiscent of Abelard's distinction between the action and the intention. Other visions have specific places or punishment reserved for particular sins. The monk of Eynsham saw an area reserved for homosexuals; Alberic saw women who had refused to suckle orphans now forced to suckle serpents. Thurkill saw a corrupt judge forced to swallow glowing hot coins of gold.<sup>249</sup> There is not always a clear distinction between hell and purgatory, but this gradually becomes apparent. Tundale's view of hell is very different from the purgatorial areas, since the inhabitants of hell are doomed not only to eternal punishment and torture more severe than purgation, but hell is dominated by the torturing and tortured figure of Lucifer. In these visions there is no separate being that can be designated as death. The vision of the knight Owen of St. Patrick's Purgatory gave a very specific place for the entering of purgatory, on an island in Lough Derg in Ireland.<sup>250</sup> Early legends claim that the many islands and the red tint of the water are due to the bones and blood of the great serpent overcome by St. Patrick there.<sup>251</sup> These legends may also account for situating an entrance to purgatory there. In spite of their dramatic content and their popularity, the copies of the accounts of the visions do not seem to have attracted illuminators to illustrate them. The only illustrations that immediately spring to mind are those of the Vision of Tundale in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. fr. 52 on ff. 172v, 174r and 175v

<sup>249</sup> Schmidt, "The Vision of Thurkill", p. 54.

<sup>250</sup> The precise island is open to debate. The site is still a place of pilgrimage.

<sup>251</sup> Carol G. Zaleski, "St. Patrick's Purgatory: Pilgrimage Motifs in a Medieval Otherworld Vision," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 46 (1985), p. 468.

and that dates from the fourteenth century. Nevertheless, many of the twelfth century depictions of hell have elements in common with the visionaries' descriptions of purgatory, such as the man forced to eat red-hot coins in the scene of hell in *Hortus deliciarum*. Such common elements point to a shared and relatively well-accepted vision of both justice—or making the punishment fit the crime—and what was to be expected by those undergoing purgation, or damnation. They may even reflect, probably in a distorted fashion, worldly punishment.

Despite the terrors witnessed and recounted by the visionaries there are also more optimistic elements. Abelard's classification of sin gives the sinner a scale of degree and therefore a scale of punishment. He pointed out that vice is inherent, a disposition to sin, rather than the sinful act itself. Sin is the subjection of the soul to this disposition, a surrender to an inclination to commit a sinful act. He also makes the distinction between venial sins that he defines as sins committed absent-mindedly, and those mortal sins that are undertaken in full knowledge of what one is doing. These distinctions are reflected in the various degrees of severity of punishment endured by those in purgatory, and by the greater punishment of hell. In their visions of those not truly in purgatory, the twelfth century visionaries also made distinctions; there were pleasant places, but those there would still suffer hunger and thirst; others saw paradise, sometimes as a wonderful garden, as in Gunthelm's vision, or the enthroned saints and martyrs seen by Tundale. Usually it is clear that this is not heaven itself, reminding one of Bernhard of Clairvaux's souls awaiting the final bliss to be theirs on the last day. This more optimistic tendency is expressed in miniatures showing souls resting in the bosom of Abraham, or otherwise being gathered up as God's people. British Library, Ms. Lansdowne 383, an English manuscript from the second quarter of the twelfth century, shows an angel holding the souls of those worthy of heaven. The figure of the angel, in many ways reminiscent of those of the Alexis Master, looks up at a medallion containing a half-length Christ. The central position of the angel, the straight and upright form it makes and the angle of its head lead the eye to the Christ figure, emphasising the idea of ascent. Between its hands the angel holds an embroidered stole in which a monk and four nuns stand, their hands raised in wonder and praise. It is interesting to note that although the figures are naked, as befits souls, their status as members of a regular order is given by the tonsure or veil. It is unusual to find an angel holding a stole filled with souls, Abraham was a more common figure, representing the paradise of

the worthy before they reached heaven. This subject is found not only in twelfth century miniatures, but in the sculptured portal of several churches.<sup>252</sup> Roughly contemporary with the Landsowne manuscript is Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale Ms. 2, a Saint Bénigne manuscript that has an initial on f. 332v of souls in the bosom of Abraham. In this initial there is no sense of movement in the figure, despite the intricate rinceaux and the strange beasts that bite and twist among them. While the Arundel manuscript is filled with an upwards dynamism, the figure of Abraham and those he holds is a static island in the sea of writhing figures around them, perhaps symbolising the repose that is the reward of those who have been found worthy of paradise. The figures in the bosom of Abraham are all male, and clothed. They probably represent the Old Testament patriarchs, Adam, Seth and the other names written along side the initial. Two manuscripts from the abbey of St. Amand from the period 1160–1180, Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, Mss. 108 and 500 have depictions of the bosom of Abraham. The earlier Ms. 500, a *vita* of St. Amand, shows on f. 62v the naked, but nimbed, saint alone in the stole held by Abraham and the central figures surrounded by four angels censuring. The later manuscript 108 from 1170–1180 has an initial on f. 46v which shows a more differentiated population of this symbol of paradise than any of the earlier works, the foremost figure being a monarch, flanked by a monk and a noble with two further figures who might also be monks.

This placing of contemporaries in the bosom of Abraham extends its meaning. There was considerable discussion of what exactly was the limbo of the fathers, was it in fact a part of hell and the righteous that had died before Christ were held there and freed with the harrowing? Or was it a 'holding place' for the pre-Christian righteous?<sup>253</sup> Whatever the answer, the miniatures make clear that it was no longer a purely historical subject, albeit represented in a metaphorical fashion. The bosom of Abraham had become the resting place for the righteous souls while awaiting the last judgement. It represented safety from evil, a place to contemplate dangers past and the joy to come. There is no real uniformity in the visions that gives us an idea that there was a generally accepted picture of paradise or the bosom of Abraham.

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<sup>252</sup> These will be discussed along with their place in the general iconographic programmes in the following chapter.

<sup>253</sup> For an overview see George B. Pace, "Adam's Hell," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 78 (1963).



Purgatory featured several elements common to all visions—extreme heat and cold, flames, knives and bridges, but other than a general pleasantness, ideas of paradise varied from meadows, to gardens, to wonderful cities. It seems to have been generally accepted though that, after purgation, the soul could proceed to such a place. The vision of the monk of Eynsham even has gradations of joy through which the soul could pass becoming ever purer, until finally there is the true heaven, of which the monk was not granted a vision. The visions hold out both the hope of blessedness and the dire threat of punishment.

The fear of an unknown period of punishment and purgation after death must have been responsible for the pilgrims who went to Lough Derg, although it seems probable that it was a place of pilgrimage from pre-Christian times. Writing in 1189 Geraldus Cambrensis tells of an island divided, one half the place of angels, the other the haunt of demons. Those who dared to spend a night in a pit in the demonic half would be free of any purgation after death. The best-known account of a person who did so is that of the knight Owen, written by a monk of Sawtry in the late twelfth century, *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii*. Owen's preparations for his descent are lengthy and overseen by the religieux who guard the entrance. Both they and what can be regarded as their spiritual equivalents in the pit try to deter Owen, but instruct him in the dangers and the effectiveness of the name of Jesus. Through divine intervention Owen survives the horrors of both purgatory and hell until he reaches a bridge that he must cross. The bridge is slippery, narrow and steep and, if he falls he will be in the clutches of the demons that wait below for him, but with each step he takes the bridge becomes easier to cross. Having finally reached the other side, cleansed of his sins he is led to a meadow of great beauty where those who have been purified await heaven. Owen is told that the length and severity of the punishments that everyone must undergo can vary. He himself had volunteered to take this most harsh form of penance, rather than the standard penance laid down by the Church, since he has devoted his life not only to violence, but has committed sacrilege. The timetable for the stay in paradise varies also.<sup>254</sup>

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<sup>254</sup> *Tractatus de Purgatorio Sancti Patricii*, Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. 21, cited Zaleski, "St. Patrick's Purgatory: Pilgrimage Motifs in a Medieval Otherworld Vision", p. 480.

No one who is in torment knows how long he will stay there... And when they come to this land, they do not know how long they will remain... Here, as you can see, we dwell in great peace and joy, but after a certain period determined by God, each one of us will go beyond. Daily the number of our society increases and daily it decreases. For just as some come to us daily from the torments, having been purged, so some of us ascend from the earthly paradise to the heavenly paradise.

Interestingly, Owen is also told that masses, prayers and alms can shorten the time of a soul in purgatory, but there is no help for those in hell: their fate is unalterable. The vision of Thurkill endorses both individualisation and the efficacy of the actions of the living. Thurkill sees his father crawling over jagged stones that cut him to atone for his sins, and is told that thirty masses will release him, but in view of Thurkill's impoverished state Michael will allow the release his father for twenty. Thurkill is also instructed to tell the heir of Roger Picoth to fulfil his debts to his labourers and to St. Ositha's priory, so that he can enter heaven.<sup>255</sup>

The individualised penances or punishments that are imposed on sinners in the afterlife imply a great interest in the idea of justice. Scales had been used for centuries as symbols of justice. In both the Utrecht Psalter and the Stuttgart Psalter there are images of Christ holding scales to denote that God is justice. A northern French manuscript, Cambrai Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 59, from the first half of the twelfth century takes this a stage further. This is a copy of St. Augustine's *Opera* and on f. 69v the Church father is shown holding a balance, to symbolise how man will be judged—in this case on the vices of lust and avarice, the personifications of which also appear. In the twelfth century, with the increased acceptance of the concept of a first and conditional judgement whereby the soul was judged whether after purgation it was possibly worthy of heaven, the idea of weighing the good and evil deeds of the deceased gained ground. However, some depictions tend to lack the neutrality of later scenes of the last judgement when the scales are held by either God or Michael.<sup>256</sup> In a few of these earlier scenes the dispute between angel and devil can be

<sup>255</sup> Schmidt, "The Vision of Thurkill", p. 55.

<sup>256</sup> Not all such scenes were neutral: a striking example of this lack of neutrality in the weighing of souls is to be found in the work of the fifteenth century Amiens Master in the Musée de Picardie. In this the Virgin holds the Christ Child on her knee and he reaches out to tip the scales.

clearly seen. An interesting example of this is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms Laud Misc. 469 f. 7v. This is an English copy of *De civitate Dei* from about 1140, for which f. 7v acts as a frontispiece. It is an unusual miniature, since thematically it is appropriate to the subject of Augustine's work, but the viewer could be forgiven for taking it for an apocalypse illustration. There must have been considerable influence of apocalyptic iconography, but there are aspects that show that such elements are loaned and adapted to Augustine's work. In the upper half we see Christ enthroned with the apostles and flanked by censing angels within the city of God. The lower half depicts the fight for a man's soul. Within a second city a nimbed figure, accompanied by three lesser nimbed figures, spears a devil, while a second devil attempts to fire an arrow at him. Kauffmann identifies this figure as Christ; however, the figure lacks the cross in the nimbus that is used in the upper register.<sup>257</sup> It is very probably Christ, but the pose and spearing through the mouth are very reminiscent of Michael fighting the dragon of Revelation. To the right of the lower register lies the body of a man with above him the Virgin enthroned. She hands a naked child, representing the soul, to one of three angels. A third devil breathes fire and tries to snatch the soul. The naked child is much larger than the usual representations of the soul, and the Virgin not only has a halo but a sunburst round her head. This is clearly taken from the Woman Clothed in the Sun. The Oxford manuscript has substituted devils, hairy, horned and clawed, with bulging eyes and hooked or curled noses for the seven-headed dragon of Revelation. Both the idea of the Child and its rescue from the dragon, and that of the battle between good and evil of John's vision and its usual depictions, are suitable to *De civitate Dei*, but to ensure that the reader is aware that this is not something from the end of time, the transformation of the dragon into devils has been effected. Particularly interesting is Mary's role in this. It is she who holds the soul and hands it to the angel for its transport to paradise or heaven, thus emphasising her role as mediator for the sinner.

A second English manuscript, almost certainly from Canterbury and of a slightly earlier date has the same theme, but a very different representation. This is Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Lorenziana, Ms. Plut. XII 17 and is in style reminiscent of the Anglo-Saxon tradition of illustration as exemplified by Junius 11, not only in style but lay-out

<sup>257</sup> Kauffmann, *Romanesque manuscripts* 1066–1190, p. 87.

and emphasis. The battle of the good and bad armies is shown on f. 1v and Kauffmann comments that it ‘is not paralleled in any of the other earlier manuscripts and may have been assembled from a variety of sources.’<sup>258</sup> In addition to the possible sources mentioned by Kauffmann there are a number of elements that point to the Utrecht Psalter, such as the stance of the demons and the falling rider in the second register, while the snake-headed tail of the demon on the left is reminiscent of the tail of the pale horse in Bodley 352. The upper register is described by Kauffmann as a last judgement, but it lacks any sign of a judging Christ or of any form of resurrection. I would class it with the Oxford manuscript as a weighing of a soul. It is possible that this soul is that of one of the bad regiment shown below, since a soul is shown issuing from his mouth and both he and his killer look up to the scenes above. In the upper register an angel holds a balance while a second angel holds the soul. Three devils look on and one, at a sign from the angel holding the balance, prepares to drop something into one of the weighing pans. This combined with the fact that the second angel holds the soul out, rather than transporting it to heaven or paradise, suggests that this is the judgement on the soul of the man below, and however symbolic, is a singular rather than last judgement.

Frequently we find a soul of a saint carried to heaven by angels, without any sign of a counter claim by the devil. In a copy of St. Augustine’s *De diversibus haeresibus* and *Confessione* made at St. Bertin in the first half of the century, Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 46, the soul of abbot Lambert is carried up to Christ by two angels. On p. 561 of a Salzburg Antiphon, Salzburg, Sankt Peter Stiftsbibliothek Cod. A, XII, 7 there is a depiction of the death of St. Benedict in which two angels waft the soul of the dead saint up a great beam that is in some ways reminiscent of a ladder. On p. 570 of the same manuscript the soul of St. Rupert is carried directly upwards. A copy of Isadore of Seville’s *Etymologiae*, Munich, Staatsbibliothek Clm. 13031, made 1160–1165, shows the death of the scribe Swicher.<sup>259</sup> The body of the tonsured deceased lies to right while Christ on the left looks on as an angel holds a pair of scales in which a second angel places a weight—the good deeds of the deceased, in this case the codex he has copied.

<sup>258</sup> Ibid., p. 62.

<sup>259</sup> Stephan Füssel, “Bible production in medieval monasteries,” in *In the beginning was the word. The power and glory of illuminated Bibles*, ed. Andreas Fingernagel and Christian Gastgeber (Cologne, 2003), pp. 22–23.

A third angel carries the soul to heaven while a frustrated devil flies off to the right. There is a degree of symbolism in the composition, above that which is obvious. The good deeds, the tilt of the balance and the motion of the angel carrying the soul all lead the eye to Christ, while the devil hovers over the dead body on the right. This implies a dichotomy of the soul's natural affinity with God and the body's weakness and propensity for evil. It is also interesting that the emphasis on the good and righteous labour of the scribe is of such importance. Such work had always been regarded as one of the tasks of the regular clergy in particular, a means whereby not only the scriptures but the words of the Church fathers and other theologians might be both spread and preserved. Scribes were usually anonymous, as were illuminators, but in the twelfth century more and more left their names on their work. Obviously they did not vie with the author in importance, but the mentions in colophons and even portraits of scribes, such as that of Eadwine, gave not only a sense of individuality to the works, but also a sense of the contribution of the individual and his worth. In this particular miniature the works that Swicher's copied are what makes him worthy of heaven. It is his virtue and good work, a personalised and individual claim to salvation.

The miniature of Swicher's death shows an optimistic trend. Not just the soul of a saint is counted worthy of heaven, but that of an ordinary man, albeit a member of one of the regular orders. Swicher, we can assume, fulfilled his role as monk and scribe, and the devil cannot claim him. The idea that sinners can be sufficiently penitent to be saved had long found expression in hagiography and other legends, particularly those of the Virgin. Perhaps the most notable legend of the Virgin's intervention on behalf of a sinner is that of Theophilus. Due to frustrated ambition Theophilus makes a pact with the devil. He regrets this and prays to Mary to save him. She finally hears his prayers and descends into hell and wrests the contract from the devil.

's Gravenhage, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 76 F5 devotes two pages, ff. 41r and 42r to the legend. F. 42r shows the devil's hold on Theophilus and the latter's appeal to the Virgin in a particularly graphic fashion. It is shown in four scenes in two registers, but in fact the first three scenes relate to each other and flow over into the next. In the first scene Theophilus prays to the Virgin who looks down on him from the heavenly city. Around his neck is a noose whose end is held by the devil of the third scene and in his other hand the devil waves the contract in triumph. The second scene shows Theophilus once again in prayer

to Mary, who again looks on. This time he is unbound, as a symbol that the Virgin will free him from the devil. The fourth scene conflates many aspects of the story. On the left the devil, a hairy, cloven-hoofed figure, somewhat reminiscent of the death in the Eadwine Psalter, waves the contract and clutches the rope that binds Theophilus. The monk himself sleeps on the right, while above him Mary's hand descends from heaven to restore the contract to Theophilus. Interestingly the last scene is that of Theophilus receiving absolution from the bishop. This last is an important point as it indicates the importance given to the role of the Church in the late twelfth century. The sinner is repentant and even receives the grace of the Mother of God, but the closing of the incident is the Church's acceptance of him back into the congregation. This affirms the Church's attitude to its own importance in defining and forgiving sin.

By its system of confession, penance and indulgences the Church had taken to itself the power to define sin, and to forgive it. If this was not a complete and rigid bookkeeping in theory, in practice it must have seemed so to many. In many ways God seems to have been relegated to the background, at least in so far as salvation was concerned. Just as he was a more distant Creator, Christ was now the means by which salvation was possible, but the emphasis lay on the efforts of the individual to be worthy of redemption. While many texts deal with Christ's loving care and encouragement for the Christian soul, his sorrow at its sin and gentle help to combat the errors of the world, the miniatures tend to show the soul battling the horrors of worldly temptation, and Christ as the reward for a well-fought fight.<sup>260</sup> The Church aimed at perfection, but did not demand it: it demanded instead the continuing effort to strive for perfection. Sins could be forgiven if penitence was made visible. God may know if a soul was truly penitent in the depths of its being without any outward sign, but since the Church, and its constituent clergy, had taken the mediatory role between sinner and forgiveness, visible repentance was required. Nevertheless, there was one area that the Church could not usurp: God's final judgement on the last day. From earlier in the twelfth century the number of miniatures showing the last judgement had increased. Some manuscripts have a simple but forceful depiction, such as that on f. 12v of Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale Ms. 19. This has all the elements of the last

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<sup>260</sup> The Oxford manuscript mentioned above would appear to be an exception.

judgement scenes, given in a limited space. At the top, Christ in a mandorla and flanked by trumpet-blowing angels, displays his wounds. Immediately under him the dead rise from their graves, some holding their hands up in adoration, other already being hauled off by devils. On his right, the blessed in the form of a bishop, abbot, king and monk await heaven, while a similar group on his left are bound by demons. At the very bottom, in a hell mouth filled with flames, the damned suffer their appropriate punishments. Other manuscripts, such as *Hortus Deliciarum* and British Library, Ms. Cotton Nero, C.IV have long cycles dealing with this. Even here there is more concern for the fate of man than the fulfilment of God's plan. The London manuscript spreads the events over the rectos of eight folios, on only one of which Christ the Judge appears, and even *Hortus Deliciarum* gives more weight to the judgement than the Judge. Both show and typify both the righteous and the damned, and both give a wide variety of each. The *Hortus Deliciarum* brings the first and last things together by showing at the foot of the opening of the last judgement scene Adam and Eve worshipping the cross—*Adam per crucem redemptus, crucem adorat*,—with a similar inscription for Eve.

The bringing together of the beginning of human history and its end takes on a more precise significance in the last judgement scene of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. lat. 10433, f. 9. This unequivocally gives the dominant position to Christ the Judge. This is a psalter combined with a book of hours, one of the earliest examples, and dates from c. 1170. It is English, but has no firm attribution, although Westminster has been mooted. It is a very refined miniature, one of only two in the manuscript, the other being of the crucifixion, although there are a number of elaborate historiated initials. (fig. 85) The figure of Christ is central, both physically and symbolically. Unusually, he stands, rather than sits, in a mandorla and his wounds are displayed. In each hand he holds a scroll, that in his right hand bearing the text *venite benedicti patris mei percipite regnum quod paratum est ab origine mundi*. The scroll in his left hand reads *ite malediction ignem eternum qui preparatus est*. These texts or very similar ones are frequently found in scenes of the last judgement and are based on Matthew 25, but the common use and repetition of them points to a theological position. The places of blessed have been made from them since the beginning of the world, but no such claim is made for the damned, only that eternal fire has been prepared for them. This is one of the instances when it would seem that a distinction is made between predestination and foreknowledge. Above the

cross-nimbed Christ are three angels holding the cross, crown of thorns and the nails. On the right of Christ two figures rise from their graves, and below them the blessed await their conduct to heaven. On his left are the flames of hell to which the damned are already committed. At the bottom is a hell mouth, filled with people, and a devil wrestles another into the open maw. Under Christ's feet is another small scene, isolated from both the blessed and the damned. This scene depicts the fall. On either side of the tree of knowledge of good and evil Adam and Eve hold the forbidden fruit to their lips with one hand and with the other cover their genitals with a leaf.

The Paris manuscript differs greatly in style and artistic quality from the Amiens manuscript, but both show the same elements. Both give the essentials of fall, redemption and judgement. The Paris manuscript does this in the two miniatures of the crucifixion and last judgement. The Amiens manuscript follows a perhaps simpler path by showing the creation of Eve and the fall, the resurrection and harrowing of hell, and culminates in the last judgement. The three stages of human history are linked in a causal chain, started by man's fall from grace. Whereas in the earliest miniatures considered in this study, this chain culminated in eternal death or eternal life, by the later twelfth century those terms have been modified. Life has become heaven and death is damnation, not an unending exile from God, but torture and punishment for the sins committed in life. Those for whom the last day promises eternal life must also pay for their misdeeds; they must not only be purged of their sins but also be punished for them. Physical death, once a sleep until judgement day, has become the herald of an unknown period of pain, punishment and purgation. Most Christians could feel fairly secure that they would ultimately achieve heaven, and eternal death lost its power and horror. There was another horror far closer to hand, that which would come after the close of physical life. It was the first, not the second death that was to be feared.



## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE FALL IN PUBLIC PLACES

The miniatures examined in the last four chapters had a limited and relatively easily defined public, a public that was, for the most part, literate and well-educated. The makers of the manuscripts could generally be sure that the readers were not only conversant with the basic Bible text, but had knowledge of both what are now regarded as apocryphal and pseudographical writings, and exegesis, both patristic and contemporary. In the period from the late eleventh to the early thirteenth centuries more public depictions of the fall began to appear in north-west Europe. These are by no means the earliest depictions of the subject; it was a popular theme on early Christian sarcophagi and on tenth century Irish crosses. There are even indications that it was used sporadically in north-west Europe, witness the Merovingian tile mentioned in chapter one. Nevertheless, there is very little evidence for what might be called ‘public’ works in England, France, the Low Countries, and Germany until the end of the eleventh century, but the twelfth century saw the rise of the subject on capitals, tympana, archivolts, in stained glass and frescos.<sup>1</sup> It is almost as if a debate was ended and the fall had become a subject suitable for a wider audience. This raises various questions. How wide was this audience? Was the subject in any way adapted from the miniatures and are there differences between various situations, such as cloister, church interior, or cathedral porch?

In many ways the student of miniatures and manuscripts has an easier task than the student of sculpture and wall-paintings. To begin with, both the present day scholar and the contemporary reader could contemplate a manuscript in a quiet and unhurried fashion, and if the present day scholar has various aids, better lighting, more comfortable libraries, and seeks a different type of knowledge, there are enough similarities to engender an atmosphere which would not be totally

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<sup>1</sup> I use the term fresco to cover painting, both fresco and possibly secco, on walls and ceilings.

alien to a twelfth century scholar. The manuscripts themselves are also probably the best-preserved medieval sources we have. Many are still in pristine condition, with their images clear and glowing. Others may be worn in parts, particularly where an image has been kissed, or rubbed to eradicate a feature regarded as distasteful, such as genitalia. Some may have lines strengthened or be mutilated accidentally or deliberately, but on the whole the majority of those manuscripts that have survived, apart from the bindings, are very much as the original owners and readers saw and used them. The case is very different with buildings. Our own mental attitude when we see a church or cathedral is very far from that of the twelfth or thirteenth century pilgrim, monk or noble. We no longer have the same awe at the sheer size of many churches and cathedrals. We may wonder at the height of a nave and sense of space, but the sense of immensity has been decreased by our everyday contact with buildings much larger, airports, office blocks, shopping-malls. Then, too, our view of a great cathedral is often marred. Most cities are careful not to place huge edifices next to their old churches, but the view the medieval pilgrim had of a great church rising up is these days often blocked by factory and office buildings on the outskirts of the town. In many cases the town or city has literally grown up around the church. Layer upon layer of rebuilding has raised the level of the surrounding buildings and ground, often causing the visitor to descend, rather than ascend to reach the church. Again, much of our admiration and wonder of medieval buildings stems from an awareness of their antiquity, their venerable past, their worn stones and the knowledge that generations have visited and worshipped at the place. A twelfth century pilgrim would see a new building, glowing with colour, a place made as beautiful as possible by current tastes and worthy to house holy relics. Tastes change and colours fade and the floods of visitors today are usually more interested in the past and its art than experiencing the nearness of a saint's relics or even the presence of God. However, churches are part of a living community and they grow, develop and expand, catering to the needs and tastes of the congregations they serve. The visitor interested in the sculpture and architecture of a Romanesque basilica must mentally strip away Gothic side-chapels, a baroque altar, an eighteenth century pulpit, a nineteenth century organ and the countless wooden or plastic chairs of the present congregation. In many churches the accretion of generations makes a harmonious whole, but it does not make the task of the historian, trying to see how the building was originally, any easier.

Colour and light can be difficult to envisage. Few windows have survived from the twelfth or even the thirteenth century, but many modern windows can replicate much of the light. However, original light sources can be blocked by the addition of extensions to the church or by nearby buildings. Often the original light fall was very different because now an organ blocks the windows over the porch: electric light supplements the candles and natural light, sometimes spotlights picking out special features. Attempts have been made to reconstruct the light fall in certain churches by means of computer simulation.<sup>2</sup> Hopefully, more research will be done in this field. We know that churches were filled with colour, sometimes the polychrome surviving in a faded and degenerate state. Since the mid-nineteenth century many churches have begun to restore the polychrome inside churches, the one restoration more successful and responsible than another. Polychrome exteriors remain only a memory or at best faded remnants discernable only to those looking for evidence of it, but such churches as Notre Dame la Grande in Poitiers and Notre Dame in Amiens give light shows in the evening, projecting coloured light onto the façade to simulate the effect of the original polychrome. Admirable as such efforts are, the effect is not authentic, since we see glowing light against the dark of a night sky, not the colours by daylight. As polychrome has faded, so, too, has stone worn or been damaged, both intentionally and accidentally. In particular the exterior carving of some churches leaves the viewer guessing as to the subject. Again much restoration work has been done and much more is being undertaken. Certainly, most present day restoration is done with great care, consulting various sources and striving to bring the original back to life. Over the centuries restorers have sometimes had less care for the original and more concern for the current aesthetic standards.

### 1. *Triple Accessibility*

The wear, damage and dubious restoration make consideration of wall painting and sculpture difficult in any research. However, the changed environment, the decay and possible corruption of the sources become

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<sup>2</sup> A notable effort is the animation of the light in various parts of Cluny III at different times of day.

of great importance when we try to consider the effect such paintings and sculpture had on the twelfth or thirteenth century viewer. Accessibility in three senses was important. Firstly, who were these twelfth century viewers? Analysis of the geographical spread of churches where depictions of the fall are to be found shows that pilgrimage sites in their own right and those on or close to the major pilgrimage routes predominate, and thus we can assume a fairly heterogeneous public. Others were parish churches or cathedrals, but some were monasteries. Were laymen allowed in the cloister or choir? If so, was this limited to the higher nobility? Did a pilgrim fighting for a place to sleep on the floor of Chartres cathedral take note of all the windows? Were the pilgrims to the shrine of a particular saint so taken up with their desire to view the relics that they had no time to spare to look at capitals? Many churches and cathedrals are fronted by a market place that probably dates back to the time of the church's erection. How much did a busy market place detract from the view of the tympanum, and how much attention would the townspeople pay to it? Many of these questions are unanswerable; others require a great deal of specialised research that goes beyond the bounds of this study. Secondly, how much was the viewer expected to understand? Were the iconographic programmes and the way in which the subject of the fall was treated changed and adapted to a simpler, less educated audience? A comparison of the 'public' and 'private' works should give at least a partial answer. Finally, how visible were the reliefs and paintings? Today we are used to excellent photographs taken with reflectors, flash and zoom lenses.<sup>3</sup> We use binoculars to view capitals that sometimes are spot-lit, and generally there are numerous points of artificial lighting. Set against this, most capitals would be in polychrome, thus increasing the ease of visibility to a certain extent, though it must be remembered that the effect would be less since a particular scene or subject would be surrounded by vivid colour. Perhaps the effect of a single scene on the larger polychrome interior or exterior would be similar to trying to discern a single piece of graffiti in a building covered with it. The positioning of works also

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<sup>3</sup> Art historians dealing with medieval sculpture sometimes comment on the lack of visibility of many works, but to my knowledge there has been no attempt to see if 'visible' and 'obscure' works differ in subject or treatment. A case in point is Cahn's otherwise interesting essay. Walter Cahn, "Romanesque sculpture and the spectator" (paper presented at the Romanesque sculpture in its architectural setting, Lincoln, 1988, 1992).

plays a part. If a capital was only visible from the choir, how many were likely to have seen it? A capital face on the inner side of a cloister would have more people passing close to it, but it would be poorly lit. A painted ceiling would be visible throughout a church, but was it too high to discern details? Each building requires a careful study of not only its physical position and the situation of each part of the iconographic programme, but also of its archives pertaining to how it was used and by whom. Such a programme is far beyond the scope of the present study, but a first step has been taken by considering the physical position of the representations of the fall in a representative selection of buildings.

Based on the Index of Christian Art, Utrecht, and supplemented by various reference works, a list was made of representations of the fall in sculpture, wall-painting and stained glass dating from the late eleventh to the mid-thirteenth century that could be viewed in situ. This delivered forty-six sculptured scenes, mostly high relief, sixteen wall-paintings and nine windows.<sup>4</sup> The majority of these—thirty-seven sculptures, six wall-paintings and six windows—are to be found in present day France. Therefore a route was planned to take in a representative selection of these French buildings, since the exigencies of time and budget precluded visiting all the sites. The sites included monasteries, small churches, cathedrals and places of pilgrimage, and stretched from northern France and Normandy to Provence and the Languedoc. In all, seventeen depictions were viewed in situ and included glass and wall-painting.<sup>5</sup> In addition other churches whose light came chiefly from natural sources were visited to try to assess how much detail was generally visible. Almost all sites were viewed in clear, bright weather in early autumn between 10 a.m. and 4 p.m. Of the eight sites with exterior sculpture the representations at five were easily visible, two were reasonably visible and the subject of one could scarcely be discerned. The case with internal sculptures was otherwise. One was very clearly visible, but only from a certain point in the ambulatory, four were reasonably visible and one scarcely discernable. The

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<sup>4</sup> Other works were found in a perusal of literature, but many of these were not in situ, or at least not in their original place.

<sup>5</sup> This number includes Cluny in the form of a reconstruction, and the cathedral of Notre Dame in Amiens, St. Trophime in Arles and Notre Dame du Port in Clermont-Ferrand that were viewed and photographed earlier. A eighteenth was planned at Vienne, but unfortunately at the time of the visit a funeral service was taking place, making research there inappropriate, and only a rough impression could be gained.

visibility of interior sculptures in particular was subject to light and the position of the viewer. Although only one painting was viewed in situ, photographs of other sites and other subjects leads to the conclusion that these were generally very clearly visible. Glass from the period is a rarity and most of the sites on the list date from the thirteenth century. The complexity often found in stained glass windows, and the reliance on light, make the visibility of scenes in this medium extremely variable. Since each site had factors that could influence the physical visibility, the public and the degree of comprehension required each depiction, or series of depictions, will be considered briefly in context before the iconography is analysed.

There are two depictions of the fall on the right portal of the cathedral of Notre Dame, Amiens; one is a series of scenes showing the events described in Genesis 1–3, while the other shows only the temptation of Eve. Both are clearly visible and would be even clearer when their polychrome was intact. They are both to be found on the portal of the Virgin in the main façade of the cathedral of a busy town. In fact, the series of scenes are to be found on the pillar that supports the Virgin, and could hardly be missed by anyone entering the church by that portal. It can be assumed that these depictions had a large audience, especially with the contemporary devotion to the Mary and the spectacular effect the polychrome Virgin must have had.<sup>6</sup> Much the same applies to the fall scene on the porch of St. Trophime, Arles, although its position at the side makes it less prominent than the images of saints. The fall is, in fact, the first scene of a frieze that covers both sides and the front of the porch, although viewing it from the side, that is not immediately obvious. The sculptures on the north porch at Chartres are far less obvious. Today the north porch is faced by buildings across a relatively narrow street and draws far fewer tourists and others than the west or south porch. Further research would be necessary to find out how popular the north porch was with both citizens of Chartres and pilgrims. The depictions of the creation and fall are found on the archivolts of the central doorway, and like many other porches such as Malmesbury and Amiens, it is crammed with figures and detail, and even after extensive restoration and with knowledge of the location of

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<sup>6</sup> The gilding on this statue was probably of a later date since ‘the extensive layers of thick orange oil mordant’ resemble the eighteenth century layers on the Vierge Dorée of the south transept. Christopher Weeks, “The ‘Portail de la Mere Dieu’ of Amiens Cathedral: Its Polychromy and Conservation,” *Studies in Conservation* 43 (1998).

the scenes, it takes a certain amount of effort to pick out the scenes in question, the eye having to move between the outer arch and that next to it, and the angle of viewing has to be continually adjusted to compensate for the curve of the arch.<sup>7</sup> (fig. 86) Porches were the most popular site for external sculptures of the fall, whether on the arches, trumeaux, capitals or, most popular of all, on the lintels or tympana. Despite the central position of a portal and its usage, there is no guarantee that a scene was highly visible. The very small capital on the left of the door of St. Georges-de-Boscherville, even in its heyday and in polychrome, would scarcely have caught the eye. The tympana at Neuilly-en-Donjon and Anzy-le-Duc are clearly and immediately visible. Although the tympanum at Anzy-le-Duc is over the portal of the priory and not the church itself, it was probably frequently seen. Records indicate that the tomb of Hugues de Poitiers, a tenth century prior of Anzy-le-Duc, was a popular pilgrimage site, and any pilgrim who sought shelter at the priory must have looked up as he or she climbed the steep slope and looked at the now sadly damaged tympanum where the fall takes half of the space. (fig. 87) The fall at Neuilly-en-Donjon is less prominent, being relegated to the corner of the lower lintel, but nevertheless highly visible.

Friezes seemed to have been, generally speaking, less obvious than portals. In some cases the frieze is reasonably clearly visible from the ground, and would have been more so in polychrome, the frieze on the façade on Notre Dame la Grande, Poitiers, being a case in point. This is positioned so that it would be well above passers-by and market stalls, but not so high as to be unnoticed, even if details were unclear. Set above the central portal and the curving side arches the frieze has less demarcation than the sculptures in the niches above. Perhaps the far greater dynamics of the frieze, and the fact that details are relatively easily visible, make it more eye-catching than the more static figures above. (fig. 88) Far more difficult to discern is the frieze of Nîmes Cathedral. While the façade of the Poitiers church is filled with sculpture, the present-day façade at Nîmes is a single band high on an extremely plain wall, but even the plainness of the façade that throws the frieze into relief does not help the visitor viewing with the naked eye. The

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<sup>7</sup> In the following photographs, arrows point to the reliefs of scenes of the fall. These photographs were taken without flash or telephoto lens, in order to simulate the original effect as far as possible. This does not apply to photographs in later sections.

height of the frieze makes it very difficult to identify the scenes, and as at the Poitiers church, the corner of the building hampers the view of Adam and Eve. (fig. 89) Other placing of sculpture or reliefs on the exterior of a church or other building can vary enormously in accessibility. The sculptures on the exterior of the apse at Schönggraben are highly visible to anyone passing that side of the church, while the tiny plaques on the tower of the church at St. Restitut must leave the viewer, who notices them at all, puzzled as to their subjects.

The capitals found in cloisters form a group of works difficult to assess in regard to public accessibility. They were obviously not as visible to a large public as those on the façades of churches, but their lower height meant that they were more clearly discernable to those who were privileged to walk in a cloister. Two types can be distinguished, capitals that had separate scenes that could be linked thematically or typologically and the capital where the scenes flow into each other. A typical example of this last type is to be seen at Moissac where the Eve of the expulsion is also the Eve of the labours. This last type presents a peculiar problem, since it is clear that a viewer must look at all sides of the capital to gain a true idea of what was expressed there. That in itself seems a little odd, as, while three sides could be viewed from the cloister arcading, the viewer has to go out into the central garden to see the fourth side. Not all sides of a cloister capital are equally visible, due not only to one side facing outward, but also to the amount of light received, dependent on which side of the cloister the capital is to be found, the orientation of the faces of the capital and the time of day. A degree of hierarchy can be planned into this with the most important scenes being accorded the position with the most light, and perhaps the least important scene on the outward facing side. This is harder to arrange if the reliefs are to be regarded as a continuous narrative. In the case of Moissac, the fall itself is shown on the south face, *ubi es?* on the inward-facing east side, the expulsion on the north face and the labours facing outward. This means that *ubi es?* and the labours are less visible than the other two scenes. While the narrative order is maintained, the flowing of one scene into the next has its consequences for how the viewer sees and interprets each scene. The Moissac capital conflates the Eve of the expulsion and the Eve of the labours, so that the emphasis is laid on the expulsion of Adam: Eve is, in fact, already outside paradise, and outside the sheltering arcade. While it is clearly very appropriate that the scene of the labours is on the outside face, the conflation of the scenes in regard to Eve suggests



her affinity with the worldly. Once the capital is removed from its original setting such nuances are lost. If we consider the capital from Corbie now in la Musée de Picardie, we have, perhaps, an even more interesting conflation. The Adam of the fall is the same as the Adam in the expulsion, the other scenes being the creations of Adam and Eve and the prohibition on eating the fruit of the tree of knowledge. This latter scene, too, is conflated, stretching into the scene of Eve picking the fruit. Since we can no longer see how the hierarchy of visibility was arranged, it is no longer clear on which scenes the sculptor and designer wished to lay emphasis.

Capitals in the interior of a church present other problems of accessibility. The most popular place for capitals bearing scenes of the fall was the choir, and that immediately raises the problem of whether they were visible to the congregation, or if only the officiating priests, or monks in an abbey church, could see them. It could be argued that anyone approaching the altar would have a chance to see them, but this is a debatable point. Certainly anyone approaching the altar from the left in the church of Notre Dame in Chauvigny, if he raised his eyes and the time of day and weather were favourable, could see the first capital on the right with its fall scene. On a bright morning and approaching from the central aisle, the viewer would be dazzled by the light from the choir window, and even if the day was sufficiently bright, without dazzle, little of the capital can be seen unless directly approached from the left. The visibility of the fall capital at Cluny, based on Conant's reconstruction, would prohibit any clear view from the nave, due to both height and angle. Nor would it be really visible from the ambulatory. In many cases the choir is relatively well lit by natural light from the surrounding windows, although it must be remembered that patterns of light from stained glass could alter the degree of visibility; and that the light source, coming chiefly from behind, is very dependent on the time of day, as well as weather conditions. In churches that are generally dim, such as Notre Dame du Port in Clermond-Ferrand, the choir capitals are difficult to see clearly, even from the altar steps, except in the best of conditions.

It may be considered that capitals in the nave would be visible to a wider audience, however this is not always the case. Vézelay, interestingly, has two capitals depicting the fall,<sup>8</sup> one at the end of the left

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<sup>8</sup> The differences between the two capitals will be discussed later.

aisle closest to the choir, the other in the centre of the left hand side of the centre aisle. The lighting in Vézelay is low, but on a clear day it is relatively easy to distinguish the capital in the left aisle. This capital is one of the oldest in Vézelay, dating from the late tenth century,<sup>9</sup> and reused when the church was rebuilt in the first half of the twelfth century.<sup>10</sup> Its height is such that it is possible for the viewer to note the main tenor of the scene, if not all the details. These would probably have been clearer in polychrome. The second capital is probably thirty to fifty years younger and is to be found just below the ceiling vaulting. Its height together with the dim light makes identification without aid almost impossible and only fairly powerful lenses can register the details. The general difficulty in viewing this capital is increased by the fact that the scene of the fall is on the side facing the choir, not facing outward into the central aisle of the nave. (fig. 90) Capitals in ambulatories are generally more easily visible, being lower and often better lit by natural light. Ambulatories were accessible to the laity and thus they had potentially a relatively large audience, especially in pilgrimage churches. Ste. Radegonde in Poitiers can serve as a good example, and, leaving aside the quality of the work, the polychrome gives a better idea of how visible it would have been in the twelfth century. The capital is fairly low, but not very well lit. The position of the fall capital is made dim by the projection of the crypt into the ambulatory, nevertheless, details can be clearly seen. The church of Ste. Radegonde demonstrates some of the problems of assessing how wide the audience would have been. It could be assumed, since Poitiers, the place where the saint lived and was buried, was a popular pilgrimage site, that the number of pilgrims to her grave would have been large. Carrasco, when investigating Poitiers, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 250, an illustrated life of Radegonde in its context, found that certainly in the period following the saint's death her cell in the convent of Ste Croix was the centre of her cult, and pilgrims such as Gregory of Tours went there to see the objects that were sanctified by their association with the saint. The church itself was burned in 955 and again in 1083 and a new church was consecrated in 1099 when the fall capital was made. I think it can be assumed that, after the initial period following

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<sup>9</sup> Marcel Angehen and Kristin M. Sazama, "Iconographie des chapiteaux romanes," in *Le patrimoine de la basilique de Vézelay* (Charentau-le-Pont, 1999) p. 37.

<sup>10</sup> J.-B. Auberger and J. Gréal, *Vézelay, guide de la basilique* (Vézelay, 2005) p. 19.

her death until the early eleventh century, few pilgrims would have visited Radegonde's church, since it seems that the location of her tomb was unknown; but in 1012 it was rediscovered by Abbess Beliardis. It seems likely then that her tomb would be an object of pilgrimage at the new church, but the records of miracles taking place at the tomb date only from the thirteenth century onwards. Since there tended to be strained relations between the nuns of Ste. Croix and the canons serving the church it is possible that some pilgrims visited either one site or the other. Nevertheless, I think it would be fairly safe to assume that numerous pilgrims visited the church, and, while their immediate object would be the crypt, they would also pass round the ambulatory and note its decoration.

When we take into account the effects of polychrome it might seem that there was little difference in visibility between reliefs and frescos. However, the majority of the frescos of the period that remain, and northern conditions are less suitable for their preservation than the drier south, most of these seem to have been unambiguously visible. On the whole they are larger, and even if in the choir, more easily discernable than capitals. A point to note is that in churches, such as St. Peter's in Moissac or Paray-le-Monial where the polychrome has been restored to walls and ceilings, the effect of light is much greater than other buildings where the grey stone predominates. From photographs it is clear that painting round the interior doors, arches and the nave generally are clear and forceful. Crypt painting, due to the dim lighting, even when now augmented with low-wattage electric lighting, is much less visible, but this may have been compensated by the attention pilgrims would give to such works. Ceiling paintings are obviously very dependent on the height of the ceiling, the depth of colour and size of the figures. Any visitor to St. Savin cannot fail to be almost overwhelmed by the paintings of the nave ceiling, much larger and closer than is evident from photographs.<sup>11</sup> A point of particular interest is the fact that coming from the crypt the ceiling is central to the view, and no one climbing those steps could be unaware of the scenes painted above. It could be regarded as a drawback to comprehension that the scenes follow a somewhat meandering order. The viewer who wishes to consider each scene in its biblical order must begin with the first group

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<sup>11</sup> During my visit to St. Savin, restoration work, including on the nave ceiling, was in progress. My thanks to the staff who allowed me access to the interior of the church.

on the left of the upper part of the ceiling, double back to view the group on the left lower part. Moving on, the viewer goes deeper into the church and follows the scenes on the upper ceiling left and turns at the end of the nave and looks at those on the right, turns again at the porch end to view first the scenes on the right hand lower part of the ceiling, crosses to the left and retraces his steps as far the creation scenes and finally turns to follow the history of Moses almost to the crypt entrance. This somewhat involved method of viewing has been related to the orientation of the church and to an ancient method of writing going from left to right and then back again.<sup>12</sup> Vergnolle has pointed out that it is impossible to judge to what extent the extensive fresco cycles of such places as St. Savin and Château-Gontier continue an older tradition, since there are so few examples remaining between the Carolingian period and the late eleventh century.<sup>13</sup> However, in view of the general scarcity of images of the fall in north western Europe, even in manuscript illumination, before the twelfth century, it seems fairly safe to say that it was not a subject that was frequently used in frescos.

Stained glass is very dependent on weather conditions and the time of day for visibility. It is never so obvious as frescos, certainly the glass of the late twelfth and thirteenth century, in high windows, and the scenes are often small with the dents and unevenness of the glass occasionally causing distortions.<sup>14</sup> Of course, in the right conditions a stained glass panel is a blaze of glowing colour against a dark background that immediately catches the eye. However, it must be noted that a single panel, or a series of panels in a larger window, and that window part of a row, is not immediately obvious or even identifiable. Viewing the scenes of the fall in the stained glass of Chartres, unless one had already been informed of the precise location of the window—the third from the west porch on the south side of the nave—must have been a lengthy business assuming that the thirteenth century pilgrim was able to make his way through the crowds and had the time to examine each window carefully, and there are one hundred and sixty-seven of them all together. Since it must be assumed that he had no special reason for seeking out

<sup>12</sup> Emanuelle Jeannin, *Abbaye de Saint-Savin-sur-Gartemps* (Moisenay).

<sup>13</sup> Eliane Vergnolle, *L'art Roman en France* (Paris, 2005 (1994)) p. 178.

<sup>14</sup> My thanks to the staff of la Galerie du Vitraillle in Amiens who not only explained the art of making medieval stained glass but allowed me to feel the effects of the methods on pieces of thirteenth century glass.

that window it would be, even more than capitals, one of very many scenes. We must also consider how intelligible the window would have been to the average man or woman. The window has twenty-four figurative scenes set in a background of patterned glass. Perhaps the three lowest panels would be more intelligible to the original audience than to today's visitor since they depict the activities of the donor of the window, the shoemakers' guild. The main panels with a theological juxtaposition would have been more difficult for many. These refer to Bede's commentary on the parable of the good Samaritan, found also in windows in such places as Bourges and Sens. Such a juxtaposition relied on the understanding of the viewer that the traveller who was attacked by thieves is a metaphor for fallen man, and the Samaritan for Christ. This would have been no problem for the educated, especially since Bede was held in high regard at Chartres, but it could well have been puzzling for a simple lay person to understand the connection between two widely differing episodes, one from the Old Testament and one from the New. The scenes are read from bottom to top and from left to right, with the first three devoted to the donor, one to Christ recounting the parable, the following eight deal with the parable and the remaining scenes depict the events of Genesis 1–4. This means that the final episode of the parable is grouped with the Genesis scenes. While this strengthens the idea of a link, it could be thought that this could decrease the comprehension for many.

It is apparent that it would be a mistake to assume that 'public art' meant that such works were immediately visible to the majority of church-goers and pilgrims. Some certainly were, but others seem to have been reserved for a more specialised audience, or even no audience whatsoever. It could be said that the more specialised or restricted audience for the sculptures, glass and frescos is the same as those that read manuscripts and examined miniatures. Bernard of Clairvaux in his well-known diatribe against ornamentation in churches, accuses those who decorate churches of doing so to obtain more money and popularity from pilgrims, but says that such things are not harmful to the simple and devote layman. How much of the detail of such works would be seen by the simple and devout souls? In the case of monastic churches we can assume that they could gain little more than an impression of the capitals and glass. When the abbot of Farfa asked for the advice of Cluny in reforming and rebuilding his abbey, the instructions he received, based on Cluny itself, that there was to be ample provision

for the reception and housing of lay travellers and pilgrims, but they were to be housed separately from the main buildings, and even in the church they were to be confined to an atrium, so as not to hinder processions.<sup>15</sup> There are accounts of buildings and churches, but these say little of the iconography. Suger of St. Denis is scrupulous in giving the inscriptions in his account, along with the costs and the amount of gold, silver and jewels, but says little of what was actually depicted, giving only a sketchy account of the subjects of the windows. Gervase of Canterbury relates the positions of altars and tombs and gives a lively account of the architecture of Canterbury, but says virtually nothing of the decoration. Even a twelfth century guidebook to Santiago di Compostela deals in a fairly summary fashion with carvings and paintings, sometimes giving the subject, but no actual descriptions.<sup>16</sup> Obviously, the use of painting, sculpture, glass and other forms of decoration was regarded as important, yet the lack of detailed descriptions suggests that in many cases the effect of the whole was more important than individual scenes or groups of scenes. Some works, such as the porch of St. Trophime in Arles, can indeed be regarded as, if not a book for the unlearned, then a sermon in stone. Others, with a more restricted audience, or demanding more time and effort to see, could perhaps serve the same function as miniatures in a manuscript. The group of almost invisible works must have drawn their force from the fact that their presence was known, the subject was depicted, a sort of psychological reminder, an almost magical knowledge that it was there, and an expression of the ideals and beliefs of the community that lived and worshipped there.

## 2. *The Basic Types for a Broad Public, a Restricted Public and the 'Indiscernible' Works*

It is not easy to construct one or more basic types since many works are too worn and decayed to be able to perceive details, and for some of the more inaccessible works only old photographs or drawings are available, and again details are lost. I have constructed three basic types, one for

<sup>15</sup> Caecilia Davis-Weyer, ed., *Early medieval art 300–1150: sources and documents*, Medieval Academy reprints for teaching (Toronto, 1986) pp. 128–132.

<sup>16</sup> Annie Shaver-Crandell, ed., *The pilgrim's guide to Santiago de Compostela* (London, 1995).

each group of those that were easily and widely visible, those that were restricted by either access, position or other factors, and those that are virtually indistinguishable with the naked eye. In each case I have only taken those works that can be seen in situ, or in reasonable facsimile of their original position and for which photographs or drawings, either my own or others, are available and give sufficient detail to be able to analyse the work.<sup>17</sup> I have limited the analysis to the scenes of the fall itself in an effort to focus on how the guilt was depicted.

There are various factors that are common to most basic types, Adam receiving the fruit, the close visual connection between Eve and the serpent, some reference to sexuality and a tempter with a snake's head,<sup>18</sup> although this must be qualified in the case of those works that would have enjoyed a wide public. The basic type for the more popular works would show Adam and Eve on each side of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, Adam on the left, Eve on the right. Adam would receive a fruit from Eve. The serpent would be at Eve's face level and there would be a strong visual connection between these two. The serpent would be just as likely to have a dragon's head as snake's head. While Eve would not be seductive there would be references to sexuality in the covering of the genitals. The basic type that would be seen by a more limited audience, or would require a great deal of time and concentration to decipher, would be similar, but Eve would pick the fruit, or more likely take it from the serpent's mouth. The serpent would not be dragon-headed. The basic type that would scarcely be visible would resemble the restricted type, but the close visual connection between Eve and the serpent would be missing. These types are based on elements that are found in fifty percent or more of the works in that group. However, there are other factors that come to light and indicate that there was an adaptation to the audience. This does not seem to apply to the geographical spread, but only to the accessibility. Notable is the fact that among the works for a large audience the serpent in fifty percent of the cases is shown as a dragon or dragon-headed, whereas among those intended for a restricted audience this is only twenty-two percent, and there were none at all in works that could scarcely be seen. Four works had a dracontopede, or female-headed serpent, the easily visible

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<sup>17</sup> For a list of the locations of these works see appendix D.

<sup>18</sup> In all forty-six depictions were analysed in general, but only forty had the serpent's head intact.

trumeau and corbel at Amiens and the less easily deciphered windows at Lyons and Sens. In this case I think the later dating of these works shows a future trend. The miniatures showed a tendency to show the devil as a dragon, referring to Revelation; and it would seem that this identification was popular in works intended for the general public, a reminder of the wiles of the devil, while the less accessible works tended to use the less loaded and textually accurate serpent.

There is little difference in the incidence of Adam eating a fruit in easily accessible works and more restricted works, but a considerable difference in the incidence of Eve eating.<sup>19</sup> This implies different messages directed at the different audience. The dangers of temptation are shown for both men and women in the more general works, while those works whose audience would be restricted to monks and priests, or the 'reading' of which would demand time, concentration and possibly scholarship, lay the emphasis on the temptation for the man. The incidence of Eve either picking a fruit or taking from the serpent's mouth is less than Adam taking the fruit from Eve in the works for a wide public, but the situation is reversed in works intended for a more limited public. Particularly noticeable is the fact that there is a far higher percentage of restricted works in which Eve takes the fruit, while the incidence of both Adam and Eve taking the fruit in the indiscernible works is seventy-five percent. There is a far greater emphasis on the actions of Adam and Eve in the works that had a small or non-existent audience than in the more widely accessible works. This combined with the lower incidence of the dragon-headed serpent indicates an emphasis on the personal responsibility of the individual to control their actions. It would seem that this more restricted audience was deemed capable of reflecting on the active roles played by Adam and Eve in the fall and of the first steps towards their sin. While this element is also present in the more public works, it receives much less emphasis, and the warning there lies in the dangers of temptation, rather than on man's ability to restrain and control his actions.

In very few works of any type is Eve openly and consciously seductive, perhaps the best preserved of these being in Notre Dame du Port in Clermont-Ferrand where the plump and round-breasted Eve not only

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<sup>19</sup> The percentages for Adam eating are 41% in easily accessible works and 50% in more restricted works: for Eve eating the percentages are 36% in more public works and 16% in restricted works.



takes a branch holding three bunches of grapes from the wide open mouth of the serpent but holds the stalk of another bunch between thumb and first finger inviting Adam to eat. The new capital at Vézelay shows a languorous and sensuous Eve taking a fruit from the hidden serpent and offering another to Adam. These are works that would have had a limited or non-existent public, but other more easily accessible works, such as the tympana of Neuilly-en-Donjon and Anzy-le-Duc also show Eve as a seductress, and in many more she is clearly more confident and dynamic than Adam, who is frequently shown holding his chin or arm in hesitation or even grasping his throat,<sup>20</sup> but without the overt sexuality of the minority of works. Eve's role is emphasised in all categories, not only by her greater dynamism but by the visual coherence between her and the serpent. In many cases they are held in a visual loop from which Adam is excluded. In a number of cases Eve is alone with the serpent, notably in the small scene on the corbel of the Virgin porch at Amiens, or, less drastically, on the north porch at Chartres where Adam inhabits the outer arch and Eve, tree and serpent are shown on the next arch inward. In a number of cases of restricted works<sup>21</sup> the scene is asymmetrical, with Eve between the tree and Adam. This also occurs in the works made for a wide audience, but very rarely indeed. This lack of symmetry can be interpreted as giving an element of deception in the fall: Eve is aware of the source of the fruit, but keeps Adam in ignorance. It could be argued that this would be an accurate depiction of the Genesis text, but this is to ignore the conventions of iconography as established in the earlier miniatures, and the fact that it does not often appear in the works intended for the general public. While overt sexuality is not common, the majority of works do make some reference to the sexual aspects of the fall and not always by conflating the fall itself with the *ubi es?*<sup>2</sup> covering of nudity with leaves. In several works Adam or Eve, or both cover their genitalia, either as a seemingly deliberate or as a casual gesture. Other works cover genitalia by either 'accidental' means such as the Clermont-Ferrand capital where leaves growing from the tree cover the groins of both Adam and Eve, or by deliberate means, such as in

<sup>20</sup> Stoddard in his essay on the fall capital of Airvault claims this is a 'notable gesture,' seemingly unaware that it is a relatively common feature in this type of capital. He goes on to say that it is 'as if the forbidden fruit had indeed become stuck.' Brooks W. Stoddard, "A Romanesque Master Carver at Airvault (Deux-Sevres)," *Gesta* 20 (1981).

<sup>21</sup> 32%.

that in the cathedral cloister in Verdun where both wear loin-cloths.<sup>22</sup> As has been said, overt sexuality is not common, but once again there is a considerable difference between works for a wide audience and those for a restricted public. The dangers of sexuality as expressed by Eve's seductiveness in gesture or stance is considerably less frequently expressed in works seen by many<sup>23</sup> than in those seen by a restricted audience.<sup>24</sup>

Considering the various differences in the basic types and the frequency of other iconological factors, it can be said that adjustments were made to suit the audience. Those works that were intended for monks or priests, not unnaturally, are more orientated to the masculine, but with a strong bias that warned of female deviousness and sexuality. Perhaps it is too strong to say that the works in which Adam is unaware of the origin of the fruit point to female deception and deviousness. It is more likely that this is a warning of hidden dangers, of trusting a fellow human too much, rather than abiding by God's word. Sexuality can be a metaphor for all forms of sensuality, but when we take into consideration both the written sources and the miniatures it would seem that sex is emphasised as a particular danger. This argument is reinforced by the fact that overt sexuality is rarer in the more public works intended for a lay audience that was permitted a degree of sexual expression, while monks and most priests would be expected to abstain from all sexual acts. Again the difference in the frequency of the use of the dragon-headed serpent and the increased frequency of Adam's actions in both taking the fruit and eating in the restricted works points to a difference in the moral lessons given. For the general public there is a warning of external danger, an encouragement to be on guard against temptation, while for the monk or priest the emphasis lies on the control of his own behaviour. It is in this light that we must look at the works that are scarcely visible.<sup>25</sup> They cannot be said to

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<sup>22</sup> This last sculpture has not been included in those analysed for the construction of the basic type since it is uncertain where it originally stood. See Vergnolle, *L'art Roman en France* p. 340.

<sup>23</sup> 14%.

<sup>24</sup> 32%.

<sup>25</sup> The Ste. Radegonde capital is remarkable amongst those works that would be seen by a large audience because it lays the emphasis on the actions of the Adam and Eve, with no serpent visible, at least in the present restored state. The figures instead are wrapped around with vine-like branches bearing acanthus leaves, and reminiscent of miniatures in which figures are entangled in rinceaux.

be a lesson or something to jog the memory. They must be regarded as having a psychological, almost magical effect: in essence they are a statement by the community of their position and beliefs that, quite literally, is set in stone. Such scenes must have worked through the knowledge that such statements existed and, if invisible to the human eye, were visible to God.

## 2.1 *Iconographic Contexts*

The iconographic contexts in which the scenes of the fall are placed vary, although many are difficult or impossible to determine. Generally speaking they fall into three groups: those works that are part of a depiction of Old Testament scenes, those that are part of an exposition of Heilsgeschichte and those that are either part of an extremely complex and erudite iconographic programme or seem to be random in their placement. In this study the first two categories are of primary importance, since we are dealing with how such works appeared to a wider public than the learned and erudite who read the manuscripts. The first category can be subdivided into those that are part of a depiction of scenes up to and including the history of Moses, and those that are part of scenes of Genesis 1–3.<sup>26</sup> The second category can again be subdivided into shorter or longer versions of Heilsgeschichte.<sup>27</sup> There are notably more depictions of scenes of Genesis 1–3 than of the longer Old Testament cycles, though there is little difference in frequency between the more popular and restricted works. There is a considerable difference in the incidence of the fall being part of a cycle of Heilsgeschichte between the accessible and restricted groups. These cycles, particularly the short one, are very prevalent in the widely accessible group of works,<sup>28</sup> while there is only one short version and three long in the eighteen works in the restricted group. This indicates a particular usage of the Heilsgeschichte theme in respect of the works for a wide public. A didactic intent is obvious in these works, some of which will be analysed later to see what message is given and how that is done. Not surprisingly, works for a restricted audience are more

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<sup>26</sup> This obviously does not preclude them being part of a larger iconographic programme.

<sup>27</sup> I include the tree of Jesse in this category.

<sup>28</sup> Three long versions and eight short versions in this group of twenty-three works.

frequently part of a complex or difficult iconographic programme, or seemingly random. The works that are virtually indistinguishable show no particular tendencies.

The prevalence of versions of Heilsgeschichte in the group of works that would be seen by a wide and varied public seems to indicate that a relatively simple message was intended, especially so in the short versions. In this the sinful nature of mankind was expressed in the fall scenes, and God's care and love in his provision for the redemption of his erring creatures. The last judgement is the ultimate scene with the rewards for the faithful and the horrors of hell for the unrighteous. It must be noted that in some cases there seems to have been far more emphasis on the fate of the unrighteous than on that of the blessed. Such depictions can indeed be seen as 'books for the unlearned', at least in the sense they made concrete stories with which the laity was familiar. Without a general knowledge of both the Old and New Testaments the series of scenes would make little sense. In those that show the salvation of mankind in its most basic form, such as the tympana of Anzy-le-Duc and Neuilly-en-Donjon, this knowledge was brought back to its absolute essentials, the fall of man, the incarnation—epitomized by such things as the last supper and the adoration of the magi—and the defeat of death and the devil, either as a last judgement or a *super aspidem* variant. Such a message was surely easily understood by all with an elementary knowledge of the Christian doctrine. At that level it makes no demands on erudition or subtlety. How much more the viewer read into or distilled out of these works must have been very dependent on the amount of learning and personal inclination of that viewer. Nevertheless, there are certain factors that could, at a subconscious as well as a conscious level, work on the perceptions of the viewer in regard to sin and hell. In these scenes they are closely linked, with the incarnation intervening, forming a break in causality. The visual reinforcement of the message is enhanced by proximity. Proximity also plays a large part in establishing a connection between the female and sin. In the majority of works there is a strong visual connection between Eve and the serpent that can range from showing only the temptation of Eve to a subtle leading of the eye from one to the other in a visual circle that excludes Adam. It may be argued that in manuscripts intended for an erudite public the connection between the female and sin or the senses was an abstract, a metaphor for that part of man that was subject to the senses and thereby more susceptible to temptation. In the case of these more public works such an

argument cannot be made. The average pilgrim or citizen could not be expected to make the distinction between metaphorical and literal interpretation. The proximity, the visual connection makes a mental and emotional connection between not simply a female element in mankind, but woman, and sin. Making this connection visible gave it concreteness and validity in the eyes of those who viewed it. Many of those viewing it would be women and this would serve to propagate the idea that they were especially vulnerable to sin and temptation. Perhaps the lack of overt sexuality and seductiveness was also intended to appeal to women, who while they could view themselves as, and perhaps know themselves to be, chaste could still be convinced of their own predisposition to sin. It could also serve to put across the message made explicit in such works as the early thirteenth century *Ancrene Riwe* that the female body was a source of danger to the souls of men and women themselves, even if they were free from any intention to arouse sexual desire in men.<sup>29</sup>

For this reason it was commanded in God's name in the Old Law that a pit should always be covered; and if an animal fell into an uncovered pit, the man who had uncovered the pit had to pay the penalty. These are very terrible words for a woman who shows herself to men's sight. It is she who is represented by the man who uncovers the pit. . . . He commands that this pit should always be covered with a lid lest any animal should fall into it and perish in sin. 'Animal' here means the animal man who gives no thought to God and does not use his reason as man ought, but goes on falling into the pit. . . . But the judgement on the woman who uncovers the pit is very stern. . . . She is guilty before our Lord of the animal's death and must answer for his soul on the Day of Judgement. . . . You uncover the pit, you who do anything by which a man is bodily tempted by you, even though you may be unaware of it.

In her study of the *Ancrene Riwe* Marsh considers this work to be an<sup>30</sup>

. . . antifeminist discourse, but does not necessarily reflect blatant hatred, fear, or distrust of women. . . . Antifeminist and authoritarian discourse are not necessarily synonymous in medieval culture but become so in the *Riwe* author's rhetoric. Such rhetoric continually reinforces the power of the medieval church and the weakness of laity regardless of whether the lay audience is secular religious, male, female or a combination of these. . . . the

<sup>29</sup> Cited Alcuin Blamires, Karen Pratt, William Marx, ed., *Woman defended and woman defamed: an anthology of medieval texts* (Oxford, 1992) p. 52.

<sup>30</sup> L.K. Marsh, "The female body, animal imagery, and authoritarian discourse in the *Ancrene Riwe*" (Texas Tech University, 2000) pp. 2–3.

author's stylistic use of human and bestial body imagery... establishes and reinforces authority over a lay audience but does not ignore the gender issues which are suggested by the text.

Marsh's comment could equally apply to the visual rhetoric used in these expositions of Heilsgeschichte intended for a wide audience, especially since many are in close proximity to depictions of monsters, beasts and *semihomines*. This is reinforced by the pose of Adam in many works. He is frequently not only excluded from the visual circle of Eve and serpent and generally less dynamic than Eve, he can also show signs of hesitation or doubt such as clutching his throat,<sup>31</sup> holding a hand to his breast<sup>32</sup> or, as on the old capital at Vézelay, covering his face. Such works express the idea that the male, aware of the wrong, is still unable to deny the temptation. Adam is not the initiator; he does not command authority, or even show negative strength in resisting. Frequently he is not even a willing victim, but reluctant and uncertain. In the works for a wider audience there is less notion of Eve as a medium by which Adam succumbs to sin, as an oppositional situation between the strong, confident and dynamic partnering of Eve and serpent and the vacillating and uncertain Adam. In works intended for a schooled public this could be interpreted as the general weakness of the intellect and spirit in the face of the imperatives of the senses. For a broad public it can be seen as a warning to both men and women of the dangers that the female could pose, a warning that was given the weight of the authority of the building on which it is displayed, and by being given a visible form it acquired a reality and immediacy that words and abstract terms lacked.

The other side of the feminine was not lacking in the works intended for a wide audience. These frequently made a contrast between Eve and the Virgin. Their roles in *Heilsgeschichte* were emphasised by the juxtaposition of the elements of salvation and damnation. This could be done with great emphasis on the role of Mary, such as in the Virgin portal at Amiens where the statue of the Virgin holding the Christ Child is supported by the scenes of the fall. Here the Virgin tramples a dracontopede, taking over the role of Christ in the earlier miniatures. This same theme is found in Neuilly-en-Donjon where the seated Virgin

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<sup>31</sup> Amongst other places this can be seen very clearly at St. Antonin, Amiens and Neuilly-en-Donjon.

<sup>32</sup> Good examples of this are to be found at St. Gabriel and Airvault.

with the Child on her knee receives the Magi: her feet rest on the forms of a dragon and lion. While in all cases it is obviously the incarnation that is the means of redemption, the attention is drawn to Mary as the medium by which salvation is possible. Not Christ's death on the cross but his birth is the bridge between sin and salvation. In some works, such as the Amiens portal, the role of the Virgin is far more evident than that of Eve, but this optimistic vision must be offset against the scenes of the last judgement and the damned being led to hell. These elements of sin, salvation and damnation linked by an interrupted causality were particularly appropriate to pilgrimage churches. The pilgrim finding himself in a state of sin, the consequence of which is damnation, chose to try to purge himself of that sin and avail himself of salvation by undertaking the pilgrimage.

The immense influence of Cluny on pilgrim churches has been disputed,<sup>33</sup> but it is undeniable that very many of the churches where depictions of the fall are to be found are on pilgrim routes and were part of the Cluniac network or otherwise influenced by Cluny. It is not to be marvelled that Cluny would want to influence the pilgrim routes since about 1100 there was a formal recognition and canonizing of a goodly number of saints.<sup>34</sup> The intercessory powers of saints and the indulgences acquired by a pilgrimage were an incentive for those in search of salvation to undertake a greater or lesser pilgrimage, or for such to be an acceptable form of dealing with not only sinners, but those found guilty of criminal acts. In Cluny itself, at least Cluny III, the fall capital would only be visible to the privileged in the choir. Cluny is one of the sites where the tree is offset, Eve being between it and Adam: it is also one of the very few works for a restricted audience that shows Eve eating. While Conant did not first consider the fall capital when writing on the choir capitals,<sup>35</sup> he later placed this and the sacrifice of Abraham firmly in the choir grouping.<sup>36</sup> However, little attention has been paid to its significance, most consideration being given to Conant's

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<sup>33</sup> Thomas W. Lyman, "The Politics of Selective Eclecticism: Monastic Architecture, Pilgrimage Churches, and 'Resistance to Cluny'", *Gesta* 27 (1988). For an account of Cluny's efforts to extend its influence and the relationship with the need for income see also O.K. Werckmeister, "Cluny III and the Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela," *Gesta* 27 (1988).

<sup>34</sup> Eleanor Vernon, "Romanesque Churches of the Pilgrimage Roads," *Gesta* 1 (1963).

<sup>35</sup> Kenneth John Conant, "The Iconography and the Sequence of the Ambulatory Capitals of Cluny," *Speculum* 5 (1930).

<sup>36</sup> Kenneth John Conant, "The Apse at Cluny," *Speculum* 7 (1932) pp. 27–28.

original eight.<sup>37</sup> Among the works considered in this chapter, there are more depictions of the fall in the choir than any other part of the interior of a church. As Scillia has pointed out, the choir was the heart of the monastery where ‘the monks performed their essential duty... The liturgy allowed them to participate, as a contemporary observed, in the highest realities and in the heavenly mysteries.’<sup>38</sup> Perhaps an explanation for the prevalence of depictions of the fall in the choir could be found in this. While Scillia, somewhat guardedly, agrees with Mâle that capitals one to eight in Cluny ‘represent the world system in music,’<sup>39</sup> no explanation is offered for the fall. Surely the fall can be regarded as one of those highest realities, the intrinsic weakness of man in the face of temptation. The fall capital could function as a constant reminder to the monks and priests of their (sinful) humanity and of temptations that lay in wait for the unwary. As we have seen, the depictions of the fall intended for a restricted public varied from those intended for a wider audience. More emphasis is given to the actions of the humans in actually taking the fruit; Eve’s eating of it is relatively rare compared to the more easily accessible works, but the incidence of Adam both taking and eating the fruit is somewhat increased in the restricted works. This combined with the incidence of the tree being offset, so that Eve stands between it and Adam, gives rise to the idea that these works, indeed were adapted to a male public and, in some cases, not only the dangers of temptation were expressed but a warning given of hidden temptation, of accepting things at face value and not seeking the truth behind that which is presented as fair and good. The somewhat more austere attitude that could be expected in works intended for the (regular) clergy can be seen in the fact that Eve is seductive in twice as many depictions for a restricted public than for a wider audience, although it is still only found in a minority of works. Furthermore, the iconographic context of works for a restricted public is more complex. While the depictions aimed at the laity concentrate on the basic elements of sin, salvation and judgement, other factors play a role in the reading of works for the clergy. The reference to Bede’s interpretation of the parable of the good Samaritan has already been mentioned, and

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<sup>37</sup> See for example Charles E. Scillia, “Meaning and the Cluny Capitals: Music as Metaphor,” *Gesta* 27 (1988). Also Whitney S. Stoddard and Franklin Kelley, “The Eight Capitals of the Cluny Hemicycle,” *Gesta* 20 (1981).

<sup>38</sup> Scillia, “Meaning and the Cluny Capitals: Music as Metaphor” p. 133.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 144.



while the 'world system' of Cluny stresses harmony, virtue and divine order, capitals nine and ten face each other across the end of the choir, the one showing utter obedience, the other the flouting of God's word. The capitals of Notre Dame du Port in Clermont-Ferrand depict not only such scenes as the annunciation, visitation and resurrection, but also a short *Psychomachia*. In St. Benoît-sur-Loire the emphasis in the choir capitals is on the life and miracles of St. Benedict, which in themselves may be regarded as a contrast to the fall, but this contrast is heightened by the capital of St. Benedict's temptation, where the devil offers him a woman. The message given to the clergy is look to those who follow the way of God and beware of temptation, because it is omnipresent. Even in the church of Notre Dame in Chauvigny, eclipsed now and in the twelfth century by the church St. Pierre, makes this warning. The only historiated capital, at least surviving, is in the choir and is a scene of the fall.

The capitals in a cloister were surely intended as a source of contemplation and meditation. Iconographic programmes of cloister capitals are difficult to determine and are frequently interrupted by what can seem inconsequent scenes or simply decorative elements. However, it is usually possible to detect major themes. In Moissac for instance, as well as the life and miracles of Christ, though not the passion, we find the theme of martyrdom, Old Testament scenes dealing with overcoming difficulties with God's help, and an apocalyptic theme.<sup>40</sup> The scenes do not represent *Heilsgeschichte*, or at least not in a straightforward sense. Furthermore the arrangement of the scenes seems to lack a coherent pattern, although there seems to be some significance in the way in which certain capitals are paired with their opposite, north/south or east/west. The annunciation and visitation are directly opposite Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac, the baptism of Christ faces Michael defeating the dragon, Habbakuk bringing food to Daniel is opposite the Heavenly Jerusalem, while the fall's counterpart is Cain and Abel. One major theme is Daniel: he is twice shown in the lions' den and there are depictions of the three Hebrews in the furnace, Nebuchadnezzar in his madness and Babylon. This last links with the Heavenly Jerusalem and the apocalyptic theme with Michael and the

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<sup>40</sup> I base the identification of the frequently worn, damaged or restored capitals on my own observation and on the identifications made by Schapiro. Meyer Schapiro, "The Romanesque Sculpture of Moissac," *Art Bulletin* 13 (1931).

dragon, the chaining of the dragon, Gog and Magog, and, it might even be thought, the Alexander capital as well as John's vision and the Evangelists' symbols and the Tetramorphs. Daniel in the lions' den is frequently to be found in combination with, or near to depictions of the fall, and since this was seen as a metaphor for a hostile and dangerous environment it could be regarded as a reference to the post-lapsarian condition of mankind. The fall has also been brought into connection with Nebuchadnezzar and his dream and this may imply the theme of pride.<sup>41</sup> There is a possible argument in favour of this in the ascent of Alexander. This was sometimes regarded as a metaphor for triumph, but it was also seen as an expression of pride.<sup>42</sup> Pride and humility are also themes of the capitals of the washing of the disciples' feet and Dives and Lazarus, but even if we take the fall capital to be part of this network dealing with *hubris* it would be simplistic to see it in isolation from the other themes present. What the Moissac capitals demonstrate is a complex interweaving of themes, the one leading to the next and inviting those who viewed a capital to not only meditate on its meaning but to place it in a wider theological context. A call is made on the viewer's time and concentration as well as his knowledge and experience of exegesis.

In the selection there are only two schemes that deal with the first books of the Old Testament up to and including the life and deeds of Moses, and these are both so different in treatment and public no general conclusions can be drawn from them. The frieze of Nîmes cathedral, like most of the building, has been altered and changed, but the left hand side of the frieze can be securely dated to the late eleventh or early twelfth century. It is this part that depicts Genesis 1–4 and starts with the temptation of Eve and goes through to the murder of Abel. The right hand side, probably of a later date since it lacks the cleaner lines and simplicity of the left hand section, deals with Old Testament episodes from the fall of Sodom to Moses receiving the tablets of law. The paintings on the roof of the nave at St. Savin are part of an extended iconographic programme that wraps the visitor in a visual theological exegesis, starting with Revelation in the porch, Genesis and

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<sup>41</sup> Anat Tcherikover, "The Fall of Nebuchadnezzar in Romanesque Sculpture (Airvault, Moissac, Bourg-Argental, Foussais)," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 49 (1986) p. 294.

<sup>42</sup> Chiara Settis Frugoni, "An 'Ascent of Alexander'," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 33 (1970).

Exodus in the nave, the saints in the choir and the passion in the gallery, while the life of St. Savin is the subject of the crypt paintings. Despite the fact that the iconographic programme is 'plus riche',<sup>43</sup> there is a degree of simplicity in the juxtapositions of scenes, once the route of the nave paintings is clear. The visitor goes from the scenes of the last days to creation and man's fall, making an implied causal link. There is little doubt that the St. Savin frescos were intended to overwhelm and instruct the visitors to the site, while, however centrally situated the cathedral of Nîmes might be, the scenes on the frieze are hardly discernable by the naked eye.

Certain works can be seen more or less in isolation, either because they were so intended or they have been removed from their context or that context has been so altered that, within the limits of this study, it is not possible to make any attempt to reconstruct the iconographic programme of which they may originally have been a part. However, in the selection there are works that belong to a wider iconographic context, but also have a narrower context, for example the faces of a capital. The fall is depicted on an ambulatory capital in Ste. Radegonde, Poitiers, but the other three faces show the story on Daniel in the lions den. Interestingly enough, the scene of the fall, the lions devouring a prisoner and Daniel amidst the lions would be visible to pilgrims in the ambulatory, but they would have had little or no view of the side opposite to the fall where the angel brings Habakkuk to feed Daniel. The three more terrifying scenes were visible to a wide audience, but that which shows most clearly God's protection and divine intervention was reserved for the canons saying mass. More commonly, the other faces of a capital show such scenes as *ubi es?* and the expulsion, such as those at Cluny and Moissac. There are also a number of capitals that show only the fall such as Notre Dame, Chauvigny, and both the old and new capitals at Vézelay. These would seem to function, whether within a programme or alone, as a reminder of man's sinful nature. Those such as the Chauvigny capital that are to be found in the choir can then be firmly placed within the context of the liturgy, a constant reminder of the reason for the Eucharist and the reason that Christ's sacrifice was necessary. Thus the iconographic context can vary with the intended public, the most obvious differences being the relatively simple and basic versions of Heilsgeschichte intended for a wide and

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<sup>43</sup> Paul-Henri Michel, *La Fresque Romaine* (Paris, 1961) p. 153.

varied audience and the far more complex doctrinal and exegetical works whose public was restricted to those who could be expected to understand their subtleties.

### 3. *Individual Works and Sites*

While observations on general tendencies can give an indication of the ideas and backgrounds behind the public depictions of the fall, each individual work has its own characteristics and peculiarities, its own emphasis and mode of bringing across its message. Having determined what were the most usual forms, only analysis of individual works can give insight into how the iconography was adapted to a particular public.

#### 3.1 *Sermons in Stone—Anzy-le-Duc, Arles and Poitiers*

##### *Anzy-le-Duc*

Anzy-le-Duc is chiefly known for its splendid Romanesque church in the crypt of which the relics of Hugues de Poitiers drew pilgrims in the twelfth century. Anzy was certainly a lesser pilgrimage site, but its proximity to Cluny probably added to the number of pilgrims who sought entrance to the church and hospitality at the priory. The original church of the priory seems to have been deemed too small for the number of pilgrims, and in the eleventh century the present church was built to the north of the priory, and forms one side of the square enclosed by the priory buildings. At present wide gates, also on the north, give access to this square, now private property. A smaller door on the southern wall is the entrance to the priory buildings from that side. The final approach to this door is a short but steep path and the tympanum above is clearly visible. Its present state is poor but it is an excellent example of the short version of *Heilsgeschichte*. (fig. 91) In this case it is reduced to three simple and basic elements, each within its own zone. The tympanum itself is divided into two with on the left the adoration of the magi and on the right the fall and the hiding of nudity. On the lintel are shown the fates of the righteous and unrighteous on the last day. The crowned Virgin is seated within an arch and holds the Christ Child on her lap. Despite the damage to the relief, both the fine detail, such as the crowns and the close and touching gestures of the Child and the kneeling magus are clearly visible. The scene of the

fall on the right is a highly unusual work for a wider public, as the tree is offset and Eve's pose suggests a degree of conscious seductiveness. (fig. 92) The extensive damage to this part of the tympanum hinders deciphering much detail, but the turn and curve of her body as she leans forward with outthrust hips is unmistakable. Adam shows himself uncertain, hand at his throat and separated from both Eve and the serpent by a tree. The very close visual alignment of Eve and the serpent and their undulating poses contrast with the far more upright stance of Adam. At the far side of the tree of knowledge of good and evil Adam and Eve sit, partially hidden by a bush, their hands clasped to their faces in horror. The centre of the lintel is again badly damaged, but both ends are reasonably well preserved. Notably here the fate of the blessed is of less importance than that of the damned: the blessed are indicated by four busts set within the arched building that represents the Heavenly Jerusalem, while an angel looks over his shoulder at the damned whose fate takes up at least three quarters of the lintel. Here winged demons, one riding an immense serpent, haul off the bound figures, while a bound and chained demon, possibly Satan, on the right hand capital emphasises what lies in store for them.

In spite of the basic simplicity of the idea of encapsulating the history of salvation in three critical scenes, the fall which shows why man is in need of salvation, the incarnation which gives the means by which salvation may be obtained, and the final fate of those who accept or reject Christ, there are numerous subtleties that broadcast specific didactic and doctrinal messages of which many pilgrims were probably unaware, their effect being on the subconscious rather than the conscious mind. The first element that must be noted is that the chronological, and indeed the logical, order is not the reading order. It could be argued that many pilgrims would be illiterate so such a consideration would not apply. However, for both the literate designers of the iconographic programme and the possibly illiterate pilgrim it would still be instinctive to 'read' from left to right. We have only to consider the numerous friezes of the period whose scenes follow the reading order to realise that this arrangement is unusual. The arrangement of the scenes enhances the visual message not only of each scene, but its connection with the others. One of the most obvious relationships between the scenes is the topos that contrasts Mary and Eve. This is expressed here not only in the distinction between naked and clothed, but also in the upright and controlled pose of the Virgin as opposed to the twisting, sinuous pose of Eve. It is this pose that emphasises Eve's

connection with the serpent, and thus the difference with Mary. The tail of the serpent of the temptation almost flows over into that of the monstrous mount of the demon below, making a visible connection between sin and the results of sin. This visual link is further enhanced by the position of Adam and Eve in full realisation of their guilt, directly above the figures in the hell on the extreme right, one of which falls to its knees before the scaly and maliciously grinning demon that follows the great serpent. This figure too provides a counterpoint to the magus above who kneels before Christ, whose fate and that of his fellows is clearly that of the figures in the Heavenly Jerusalem just below them. Thus the Anzy-le-Duc tympanum gives not only an encapsulated version of Heilsgeschichte, but it also broadcasts a message that was probably subconsciously picked up by those who viewed it. The positioning of the scenes, the visual connections made, implies a causal relationship. This causal relationship was at the basis of preaching, but made concrete and visible, not simply expressed in words; it could reinforce the acceptance of the didactic purpose of the Church.

*Arles, St. Trophime*

The porch of the St. Trophime in Arles displays a far more extensive and elaborate version of Heilsgeschichte than the Anzy tympanum. The visual balance between the various elements of Heilsgeschichte is considerably less than at Anzy-le-Duc.<sup>44</sup> At first glance it would seem that salvation plays a lesser role, as the figures in the scenes from the incarnation, which are shown on the lower frieze, are much smaller than those of the saints or the processions of the blessed and damned. It is also notable that neither creation nor crucifixion is shown. The emphasis in the portal iconography is on sin and judgment, and the role of the Church in salvation. Nevertheless, in this catalogue of judgement and punishment, the choices laid out before the Christian by God's mercy and the circumstance of the incarnation are clearly seen. The whole programme becomes an exhortation to accept Christ and avoid the doom of the unbeliever. In this the north and south sides of the portal play an essential part and must be read with the frieze

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<sup>44</sup> This is considering the priory portal as an iconographically independent work since it is physically separated from the sculptures of the church, both interior and exterior.

of the blessed and the damned to give a picture of mankind and his relationship with sin from the first to the last.

The north side contains unusual elements, difficult to identify today, that make the interpretation of this part, and thus the whole, an uncertain business. The upper frieze shows the fall. (fig. 93) On the left Adam picks the fruit of the tree, shown as a fig tree. This is an unusual iconographic feature, implying a more active and conscious role than is usually attributed to him. His left hand would appear to have held a leaf to cover his nakedness; this would correspond to Eve's action. The serpent winds around the central trunk of the tree and holds a fruit in its mouth and offers it to Eve. She is on the right and reaches for the fruit with her right hand and with her left holds a leaf in front of her genitalia. The two figures balance each other, but whereas Adam reaches downward to pluck a fruit from the tree, Eve reaches up to take the fruit from the serpent's mouth. It is also noteworthy that the serpent's mouth is on a level with Eve's face, more specifically with her eyes and ear. Where the problematical dragons on the Hildesheim doors clearly link Eve's temptation to sexuality, it would seem here that Eve is attacked through her senses, sight and hearing. The low reach of Adam, then, would imply that his sexuality, or, given the shape made by his right hand and the fruit, his susceptibility to Eve's sexuality, is the cause of his downfall.

Under this scene Michael weighs two souls, lifting one by the left arm, while the other kneels, his hands held in a gesture of supplication. The soul being raised is enfolded in the left wing of the archangel, whose head is bent towards him. Both souls gaze up at Michael. Almost completely hidden behind the projecting architecture of the front is the occupant of the second pan of the scales held by Michael. This is a grinning devilish head whose weight seems to balance exactly that of the two souls. The theological implication is clear: male and female innocence balanced against demonic malice, neither weighing heavier than the other. Nevertheless, a less erudite reading is possible. Visual proximity implies that these could be the souls and Adam and Eve. The souls in Michael's scales are not so much representative of male and female, but directly those of Adam and Eve, and the demon represents their sin. This would be a more understandable message for an unlearned public, but because of the well-known identification of contemporary man with Adam and Eve as the first parents, it would be at least as equally forceful. The inclination of the spiritual to mercy is shown by the loving care demonstrated by Michael, his inclination

to favour redemption explicit in his physical attitude. Whether that is the case for these souls is unclear. Perhaps Michael's sorrowful expression is caused by the fate of even the just under the old law: through the first sin shown above man is condemned to death, both physical and spiritual.

The third scene shows a naked male figure from the rear wearing a Phrygian cap, and with genitalia visible. (fig. 94) This figure has been identified as Hercules and there are certain arguments in favour of this; in particular the fact that the figure is shown from the rear might indicate a reference to the 'Blackbottom' of the myth.<sup>45</sup> However, this seems a somewhat esoteric argument and the identification unlikely to be made by the average twelfth century citizen of Arles. Benoit's argument rests chiefly on two points, firstly that the figure on the lowest register is Hercules, which to my mind is very doubtful, and will be discussed later.<sup>46</sup> The second calls upon the similarity between the Arles sculpture and one in Selinunte of Hercules with the Cercopes dating from the mid-sixth century B.C. In fact the chief and undeniable resemblance lies in the two figures dangling upside down. Even setting aside the unlikelihood of the wide knowledge of this part of the Hercules legend, there are various objections to the theory that the Arles figure represents Hercules. The two smaller creatures in no way resemble the 'monkey men,' Passalus and Acmon, who laughed and amused him so much that Hercules released them. These two figures clearly show their horror and distress, their mouths open in grimace and their hands over their ears. Nor does Hercules have either his usual attributes or the female clothes he was wearing in the story. He is not given heroic proportions, being a squat, even slightly ridiculous figure. The main objection to the identification is there seems to be no reason why this lesser known episode of the myth should be represented. There seems to be no typological connection between the Cercopes myth and the iconographical programme of the Arles portal. While the formal resemblance between the two cannot be denied, I do not think that it goes further than that. In view of the fact that the Phrygian cap was

<sup>45</sup> F. Benoit, "La légende d'Hercule a Saint-Trophime d'Arles," *Latomus* 9 (1950).

<sup>46</sup> Later arguments that the figure on the lower register is Hercules rest largely on Benoit's identification of the nude figure. Dominique Rigaux, "Pour la gloire de Dieu et la salut des hommes: le programme iconographique du portail de Saint-Trophime," in *Le portail de Saint-Trophime d'Arles: naissance et renaissance d'un chef-d'oeuvre roman*, ed. Jean-Pierre Dufoix (Arles, 1999). The circularity of this deprives the arguments of much of their force.



often used to denote a Jew, and the scenes above, it is far more likely that he is intended to represent the fate of the unredeemed souls before the incarnation. There is a certain affinity with giants representing the eschatological death in the Utrecht Psalter and the nudity and genitalia of the demonic deaths found in the late tenth to the twelfth centuries. In this reading, the two naked souls, one on each arm, dangling helplessly, heads down, their faces contorted with fright, their hands held over their heads show their horror of their fate. The figure of the old law death echoes that of Michael, being almost a reverse image, naked where Michael is splendidly clothed, gazing up at the scene above him, his head at the reverse angle to that of the archangel. Moreover, this scene is balanced by a similar scene on the south wall, a scene that is without doubt that of souls suffering the torments of the devil and hell. There is no way in which the two figures held upside down on the south wall could be brought into connection with the Hercules legend. If we accept that the nude figure represents the old law, the three upper levels then give a picture of sinful man and his fate under the old law, but in the gentle aspect of Michael and the hopeful rising and prayerful gestures of the souls in the balance, there is the hope of redemption.

The fourth and final scene on the left side of the portal is extremely weathered and indistinct. It shows a figure, presumably male, reclining and wrapped in a cowhide. This figure, too, has been associated with Hercules. (fig. 95) However, there seems to be little ground for that assumption, even assuming Hercules as a typological pre-figuration of Christ. He shows none of the attributes generally associated with Hercules. Even though the weathering has eradicated many details the beard and impressive posture of the Greek hero are lacking, nor does this figure in any way resemble the figure in the Phrygian cap above him. Moreover, his two most common attributes, the club and lion-skin, are not present. There is no doubt that the figure is wrapped in a cow hide, rather than a lion skin. The head and hooves are very distinct, and on close examination the strange object between the man's legs can be seen to be a bovine's tail. Jean Arrouye writes that the figure is 'vêtu de la dépouille du taureau de Crête comme d'un manteau, fait de même du lion de Némée,'<sup>47</sup> but this seems to be an attempt to

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<sup>47</sup> Jean Arrouye, "Imagination de la violence (Le Porche de l'église Saint Trophime d'Arles)" (paper presented at the La Violence dans le monde médiéval, Aix-en-Provence, 1994) p. 13.

force the identification. Hercules captured the bull of Crete alive and brought it to the mainland: he neither killed nor flayed it. Even more puzzling is why the figure is shown reclining. This cannot be Hercules in the poisoned mantle, as that was supposed to be made of cloth, and if an attempt was to be made to indicate the centaur responsible for Hercules' death, why is a cowhide used rather than that of a horse? Nor does the reclining position agree with Hercules' agony and final immolation on a pyre. Obviously the shape of the level dictates, to a certain extent, the positions of the figure, but it seems unlikely that, even if the designer of the iconographic programme wanted to use Hercules as a typological figure, he would have decided on a proportionally large figure that showed none of the usual attributes or poses of Hercules. This objection is strengthened by the fact that lions play a major role in the iconographic programme of the St. Trophime porch: they tear figures that act as pediments for saints, Daniel sits among them and Samson wrestles with his lion. Since there is such a strong emphasis on lions it seems absurd that Hercules, whose best known attribute was the lion skin, was depicted wearing a cow hide.

It is worthwhile exploring another possibility, perhaps one that might have been better known to the average twelfth century public, even if it is less well-known today. The most characteristic element is the cow hide, and the rather tortuous route by which the Hercules identification came about demonstrates the difficulty in finding an obvious candidate. Nevertheless, the prominence given to the figure and its distinctive mantle implies that it would be easily identified by most contemporary viewers. The starting point for any attempt has to be a search for a biblical figure that was associated with cowhide, either in the Bible or other writings that could have been influential at the time. References to cowhide in the Bible, apocrypha and pseudographia are few, and those mostly confined to Exodus and Leviticus. Two of these may shed some light on the figure. The first of these, Ex. 29:14, refers to the skin of a bullock as a sin offering.<sup>48</sup> Leviticus tells of Moses following the Exodus rule to burn the flesh, skin and dung outside the camp and using only the bullock's blood, fat and kidneys on the altar.<sup>49</sup> Again the bullock is referred to in this passage as a sin offering. We can then see the cowhide as referring to this sin offering, a sign of contrition, a plea

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<sup>48</sup> *Carnes vero vituli et corium et finum combures foris extra castra eo quod pro peccato sit.*

<sup>49</sup> Lev. 8:14–17.

for God's forgiveness, an attempt at atonement. The second, Lev. 7:8–9, states that the priest who offers a burnt sacrifice for anyone shall have the skin of the animal.<sup>50</sup> There are two characters in the Bible, other than John the Baptist, and it is unlikely that he could be our figure, that are particularly associated with animal skins. The association is made clear by a work, rightly, or more probably, wrongly attributed to Cyprianus of Carthage, in which a marriage feast is described.<sup>51</sup> The feast is attended by numerous Biblical personages and members of the early Church, such as Paul and Thecla. Each personage is repeatedly characterised by various attributes, so that Noah is seated on the ark, while Cain has a plough for his seat and Abel a milking stool. Elijah is described as sitting on a skin or hide, possibly because he both offered sacrifice and was described in 2 Kings as wearing a leather girdle. While Elijah is obviously a symbol for the justice and power of God and retribution to backsliders, to identify him with the figure seems rather farfetched.

The second of the two personages associated with animal skin or hide is Adam. As was clear from the miniatures, the clothing of Adam and Eve was often shown as animal skins. In the work by the Pseudo Cyprianus Adam is described as being seated in the centre, which could denote his importance as the father of mankind. The passage goes on to relate how the guests are clothed in the garments that would fit their character:

*Tunc respiciens Rex invitatos suos, sic ait 'Unusquisque vestrum veniat in vestarium meum, et dabo singulis coenatorias vestes. Tunc aliqui ierunt, et acceperunt. Primus itaque omnium accepit Zacharias albam, ... Adam pelliceam....*

There are further wordplays on *pellis* in connection with Adam—*pellamidon* and *pellinum*. This would seem to indicate that animal skin, in which God clothed Adam at the expulsion, could be seen as being so closely associated with him that it was sufficient means of identification. When we consider the scenes on the upper three levels, and especially that of the fall, it would appear that there are good grounds for identifying this figure as Adam. If the figure is Adam what is his significance in the iconographic programme of the north face of the

<sup>50</sup> *Sacerdos qui offert holocausti victimam habebit pellem eius: et omne sacrificium similiae quod coquitur in clibano et quicquid in craticula vel in sartagine praeparatur eius erit sacerdotis a quo offertur.*

<sup>51</sup> PL 4: col. 0925–0932C.

porch? This affects our understanding of the whole. To begin with the most obvious level, it could be a reference to the expulsion, and for many it would be seen as such, but it is possible that the figure represents Adam as mankind, who acknowledges his sin, but as the New Adam or Christ takes upon himself the role of atoning sacrifice. This would fit the iconography of the north side of the porch showing man as a sinful being, who is judged by the law of his God and found wanting. Nevertheless, his acknowledgement of sin and his attempt at atonement lead onto the west face of the porch with its great scene of the last judgement. The recumbent posture of the figure would then be explained: both bullock and Christ as man are the sacrificial means of atonement, the one flayed, the other suffering death. This is, of course, not the only reading possible, even if we identify the figure as Adam. The recumbent position could be an indication of the death of Adam. While the *Apocalypse of Moses* says that Seth was instructed to wrap his father's body in a linen cloth, it is quite possible that the cowhide could be seen as a means of identifying the figure as Adam to the twelfth century viewer. In this case we would get a somewhat tighter reading of the north façade. Starting with the upper frieze we have the fall of man, then the judgement under the old law and the two death sentences on man—that of the spiritual death, shown by the naked figure clutching the two souls, and the physical death, appropriately at the bottom, corresponding to the grave. In other words, the polyinterpretability of the north façade could be designed to cater to various levels of education and intellect. However, given the lack of ambiguity in the rest of the iconographic programme I am inclined to the view that the north façade shows graphically the coming of sin and death, both spiritual and physical.

If we accept this reading, the north side of the porch gives a picture of the fate of man before the redemption, a fate that can be changed and corrected. This is to be seen in the way in which the figures of Adam and Eve lead into the procession of the blessed, while the figure on the lowest register seems to strive to reach round to the glories of redemption and the last judgement shown on the front and inner side of the portal. In those scenes we find once again Daniel among the lions, but here Daniel's salvation is contrasted with those figures that form the pediments of the saints. Many of these figures are shown being torn apart by lions. Despite these, and the gloomier works of Samson succumbing to Delilah and the crushed and defeated figures at the base of the trumeau, the sense of optimism generated by the

central portion of the portico is remarkable. The centre of this is the tympanum where a majestas is surrounded by the evangelist symbols. The events of the nativity are shown in relief on the lower frieze, and on the upper frieze we see a soul being carried by an angel to join those already resting safely in the bosom of the saints while the dead rise from their graves. There is an interruption to the frieze of saints that shows a soul departing and being carried to Christ by two angels. The key to this is shown on the capital to the right of the door. (fig. 96) This is a rare conflation. Representations of midwives bathing the infant Christ are to be found in several miniatures and other friezes such as that at Notre Dame la Grande in Poitiers. The link with the other nativity scenes is unmistakable. What gives it its force is the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove that descends to the head of Christ, as is seen in so many versions of the baptism of Christ. Incarnation and baptism are linked in one telling relief that may be iconographically unusual but would present no difficulties to a twelfth century audience. Its message is simple and clear, linking God's grace with the sacrament of baptism.

After the promises of salvation that dominate the west façade, the images on the south side of the portico are shocking in their violence. The eye is led to them fairly gradually. While the lower frieze on the right hand side of the inner porch wall depicts the adoration of the magi, immediately above, in similar architecture, we find an angel with a staff and sword to one side of an open gateway. This is very reminiscent of expulsion scenes, but on the far side of this gateway are a group of the damned, turned to the doorway where a hand of God bars their way. These figures are clad, but others turn to their left where, naked they are led into the flames of hell. This procession of the damned continues round to the south façade where they are awaited by a demon, the flames of hell still bearing traces of their original red. Under this frieze, the shepherds make their way to Christ's Nativity, but this is lost in the large and violent scene below. This echoes the scenes on the north façade, but increases the horror and violence. This is the fate of those who, *sub gratia*, reject Christ and for whom there is no hope. (fig. 97) Here a demonic figure, far more fearsome than the nude man, holds two souls again upside down. The souls are held in a much tighter grip and flames frame the under part of the scene, as well the procession of the damned above. Clearly the souls are not in the grip of a guardian of one of the upper hells, but in the clutches of Satan. Their fates echo and exaggerate the fate of the two souls on the

northern side. While the genitals of the nude on the north are clearly visible, on the south their place is taken by the figure of *Luxuria*, a nude female seated on a dragon. Her position between the splayed thighs of Satan makes her a sort of enormous phallus. This aspect of sin is emphasised by the intertwining of the figures. *Luxuria*'s elbows rest on the demonic thighs and Satan's cloven hooves on the mouth and tail of the dragon, the tail of which winds round his ankles. Under this scene we see a number of mythological creatures, which can be seen as a reference to the fate of pagans.

The march of souls wraps around the whole portal, starting with the fall of man, and thereby can be seen as making a reference to the apocryphal accounts of Christ's descent into hell and the leading forth of the fathers, including Adam and Eve. They blend into the procession of the blessed, which, on reaching the inner porch, reaches the safety of the bosom of Abraham.<sup>52</sup> The apostles form the next part of the upper frieze, directly under the Christ in majesty and are followed by Michael closing the gates of heaven against the damned. Turning to the outer part of the porch once more the damned chained together make their way to hell, finally ending on the south side two deep and guarded by the demon. The viewer, having followed this eschatological relief, can then view the smaller lower frieze. From the south side this starts with the annunciation to the shepherds;<sup>53</sup> the direction taken by the shepherds leads the eye of the viewer back to the front part of the porch, the saints and the last judgement. It is as if they have turned towards redemption and therefore can leave the vision of hell below and above them: their fate after the incarnation is not what it would have been, because they chose to turn towards Christ. Both sides of the portal can be seen as showing the fate of those who are not, or not yet, redeemed: they are excluded from the view of Christ in Majesty, but on the north face there is the hope of salvation for those willing to turn to Christ, while the fate of those on the southern aspect is sealed. The one side gives a view of a reversible judgement and sentence, the other the last and eternal fate of the damned. The convergence of the scenes on the centre of the west and the Christ in Majesty has the effect of drawing the viewer into the portal and into the Church, as if to say, 'This is the

<sup>52</sup> Two further figures, each holding two souls, have been identified by Rigaux as Isaac and Jacob. Rigaux, "Pour la gloire de Dieu et la salut des hommes: le programme iconographique du portail de Saint-Trophime."

<sup>53</sup> This subject receives an unusual amount of space and emphasis.

way to salvation.' The message of the St. Trophime portal is broader and more elaborate than that of Anzy-le-Duc, but it is equally easy to understand, if we abandon the identification of the figures on the north side as Hercules and accept the two figures as the old law and Adam, respectively. The tympanum and the statues of the saints act as a funnel to direct the viewer and draw him in. Salvation lies with the Church and the horrors of hell await those outside its embrace.

*Poitiers, Notre Dame la Grande*

Notre Dame la Grande in Poitiers has been described as 'plus traditionnelle',<sup>54</sup> and it broadcasts much the same message as St. Trophime and is just as clearly visible. Perhaps it can be said that its message is even more straightforward and somewhat less orientated to the role of the Church in salvation. Its message is given in the form of a pyramid with a fairly short version of Heilsgeschichte as the base, two rows of saints, the lower eight seated, the upper six standing. At the apex is a Christ in Majesty shown in a mandorla, surrounded by the evangelist symbols with *sol* and *luna* above him. The viewer begins to 'read' from the lower left with the fall, through the Old Testament prophets to the incarnation, then to rise via the saints to Christ. Like Anzy-le-Duc and St. Trophime the history begins with the fall, not the creation, and ends, in the frieze, with Christ's birth, not his death on the cross, but unlike them does not hold out the threat of hell. Interestingly, Nebuchadnezzar, identified by an inscription, is shown next to the fall. Unlike the Moissac capital on which he is shown crawling as a beast and eating grass, the king of Babylon is enthroned and in his full power. This is possibly linked to the idea of punishment for sin and the state of mankind in exile from God. The language of Jeremiah 51:34 also provides a link with the fall, *comedit me devoravit me Nabuchodonosor rex Babylonis reddidit me quasi vas inane absorbuit me sicut draco replevit ventrem suum teneritudine mea et eiecit me*.<sup>55</sup> The next stage in redemption is shown by the prophets Daniel, Jeremiah, Isaiah and Moses. The force of this message is given extra emphasis by the fact that the scenes are not grouped with the Old Testament on one side of the doorway and the New Testament on the other. The annunciation follows the prophets

<sup>54</sup> Vergnolle, *L'art Roman en France* p. 258.

<sup>55</sup> Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon has devoured us, he has thrown us into confusion, he has made us an empty jar. Like a serpent he has swallowed us and filled his stomach with our delicacies and then he has spewed us out.

and again emphasis is added by the inclusion of a small tree of Jesse that refers back to Isaiah 11:1, but in this case the flower is replaced by a dove, thus making the divine nature of Christ even clearer. The right hand half of the frieze is totally concerned with the events surrounding the nativity—the visitation, nativity and bathing the Christ Child. Unlike St. Trophime, Anzy-le-Duc and others there is no scene of the acknowledgment of Christ, such as the adoration of the Magi or the annunciation to the shepherds. The scene of the bathing of the Christ Child is less obviously a reference to baptism than that of St. Trophime, since the dove is missing, but its position at the end of the frieze and the form of the tub used would inevitably bring baptism to mind.

The viewer is presented with a simple progression from the fall to the incarnation, with the emphasis on inevitability and causality. There is the question of whether the figure of Nebuchadnezzar would be recognisable. There would be little problem with the prophets since even if their books and scrolls were illegible such figures bearing these attributes would be identified as prophets. Nebuchadnezzar's name is given clearly on the inscription by his head and would probably have been visible in polychrome, being in considerably larger lettering than that found on the scrolls of the prophets. This, of course, would only help the literate, although it is more than likely that most illiterates would be told that this figure was the king of Babylon. What the figure would represent to a wide public is an open question. Babylon was synonymous with the evil of the world, the antithesis of the Heavenly Jerusalem. Whether connections would be made with the theme of exile or pride would be dependent on the level of knowledge and learning. Nevertheless, the close proximity of Nebuchadnezzar to the fall scene would lead the viewer to infer something of the kind.

The scene of the fall itself is very typical of those intended for a wide public. (fig. 98) Eve is slightly more dynamic than Adam, but not overtly or consciously seductive. The work is badly damaged, but from what is left of the arms we can be certain that neither Adam nor Eve eats a fruit. We can also deduce that Eve does not take the fruit from the serpent, but from the position of her right arm and the way the remnants of Adam's right arm are placed forward, she reaches out to offer the fruit and he to take it. Visually Eve and the serpent are linked: her arm brushed the serpent's body and she leans forward, the angle of her head, hair and neck echoing the serpent's curves, while Adam seems to withdraw slightly. This impression is due not only to the column that juts out before him, but also to his posture. He holds



leaves in front of his genitals, and it can be seen that there is also a leaf before Eve's pudenda, presumably held in her left hand. The fall scene of Notre Dame la Grand conforms to the basic type. The overall iconographic programme of the façade is highly optimistic. In this case Heilsgeschichte ends with Christ in glory, but not as a judge. No damned go to eternal punishment, no souls are weighed and found either worthy or wanting. The message of Notre Dame la Grande is that this is the way to Christ, a way ordained from the first. After the original mistake and sin of mankind, the means of his reconciliation with God was foretold by the prophets and made fact by the incarnation. The role of Mary in this is great, the scenes of the annunciation, visitation and nativity taking up a large portion of the frieze. Her role far outweighs that of Eve. On this basis the saints rise up to Christ and take the eye of the viewer with them.

### 3.2 *The Complexity of Heilsgeschichte—the North Transept Portal at Chartres*

By the twelfth century Chartres already had a long and close connection with the Virgin. In the ninth century it had received its most important relic, the tunic of the Virgin, as a gift from Charles the Bald, and this added to its fame and attraction as a place of pilgrimage. The building itself suffered from various raids and disasters, being burned in the eighth and ninth centuries. Another fire in 1120 wreaked havoc, but rebuilding was set in motion by Fulbert, bishop of Chartres and supported by the gifts of various European monarchs. In 1134 fire ravaged the town of Chartres and damaged the west front of the church, thus a new façade and two towers were built. Another fire in 1194 destroyed all the church, except for the crypt and the newly-built portal and towers. At first it was thought that the precious relic, Mary's tunic, had been lost in the fire, but the recovery of that and the enthusiasm of the papal legate, who was in Chartres at the time, spurred townsfolk, clergy and foreign notables to the rebuilding of a church that would be even finer than Fulbert's church. The window donated by the butchers' guild shows the work of volunteers and donors.<sup>56</sup> This new building gave more emphasis to the transept portals than was found in Romanesque churches. The north portal was completed in the early thirteenth century and the central bay of this is dedicated to the Virgin, with her

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<sup>56</sup> Etienne Houvet, *Chartres, a guide to the Cathedral* (Chartres, 2005) p. 12.

dormition and ascension on the lintel and tympanum.<sup>57</sup> The trumeau shows St. Anne holding the infant Virgin, probably placed in such a prominent place due to receiving the head of St. Anne in 1204, the gift of the Count of Blois. The flanking statues give the prophets of salvation, from Melchizadek, through Abraham, Moses not only with the tablets of law, but also the brazen serpent coiled round his neck, and David with the instruments of the passion. Moving and reading from left to right, there are Isaiah, Jeremiah, Simeon with the infant Jesus, John the Baptist and finally St. Peter as a bishop, emphasising the role of the Church in salvation. On the pillars more Old Testament prophets stand, supported by scenes from the stories of Samuel and David. The archivolts are filled with angels and the ancestry of Christ, and in the outermost two arches the story of the creation and fall is given.

The carving on the archivolts is fine and again reads from left to right, but moving back and forth between the outermost arch and that next to it. The viewer has not only to go from one arch to the next, but must move backwards and then at the apex turn 180° to follow the narrative. This requires time, concentration and space, especially as the figures are not large and the details of the higher scenes not always clear. (fig. 99) The tender gesture of the Logos as he moulds the final details of Adam's head is somewhat lost by the distance and angle of the scene. The scene of Adam with the Logos denotes a special relationship. In the other creation scenes the Logos sits in the outer arch and raises his hand to that which is created in the inner arch. The creation of Eve is less tender, but still a hands-on creation: she stands before the seated Logos who holds her right hand in his left and rests his right hand on her shoulder. These details are scarcely visible, but for those who knew they were there they would provide a counterpoint to Christ's reception of his mother on the tympanum. The scene between Christ and his mother is considerably less hierarchical, perhaps less tender, but emphasises the dignity of the Virgin. This dignity is apparent in her upright pose and crown, even though she bows her head slightly to her Son. This makes a strong contrast also to the Eve of the temptation, which, being lower, is slightly more visible. (fig. 100) The damage

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<sup>57</sup> Note that the Virgin also holds a place of unprecedented honour on the west façade. For further details see: Laura Spitzer, "The Cult of the Virgin and Gothic Sculpture: Evaluating Opposition in the Chartres West Facade Capital Frieze," *Gesta* 33 (1994).

to the work cannot disguise the fact that, although Eve has no sexual characteristics and Adam does, her pose is the more dynamic. Adam seems to pull back a little, and once again he clutches his throat with his hand: from the remnants of the arms it would seem that Eve is offering a fruit, but in a casual fashion, not insisting but perhaps trying to bring Adam closer, and he is reaching out cautiously to accept it. Judging from the angle of Eve's right arm and fragments by her mouth it also seems likely that Eve was eating, but this is not certain. What is very evident is the visual alignment between Eve and the serpent. As in many of the miniatures of the period, this is a dragon with forelegs and claws. Not only is the tree offset, with Eve between Adam and the serpent, the placing of the niches effectively conveys the message that Adam is ignorant of the source of the fruit. Extremely noticeable is the similarity of expression between the serpent and Eve, both with open mouths, and if Eve was indeed eating then this similarity would be increased. She is depicted as showing pleasure in her actions, there is no sign of furtiveness or guilt and she seems to smile with pleasure and be very aware of the dragon at her shoulder. The placing of the figures and Adam's slight withdrawal create a distance between them. This distance is also to be found in the remaining scenes. While the Logos in the outer arch asks *ubi es?* the two figures cannot be said to have any real contact. Adam turns his face away from Eve and she stares ahead of her. Even more notable is the scene of confrontation, in which the Bible narrative is followed as Adam blames Eve and she blames the serpent. The closeness between God and man in the creation scenes has vanished, but it must be said no unity between the two humans is shown in Chartres archivolts; in fact, although Adam, recognisable by his short curly hair and genitalia, appears three times in the arches between the creation of Eve and the temptation, Eve does not appear at all. Houvet describes the scenes as 'Adam and Eve happy in Eden'<sup>58</sup> but there is no sign of Eve, though I would agree that two of these at least do show Adam's ideal existence; in one he regards a tree and in the other he sleeps. The scene above is possibly a prohibition scene, however, this seems unlikely since the figure of the Logos, although holding a book, turns away from Adam and totally ignores the vegetation. The expulsion is carried out by an angel and, true to the iconographic tradition, Adam looks back while Eve looks

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<sup>58</sup> Houvet, *Chartres, a guide to the Cathedral* p. 40.

forward. The earlier scenes were supported by the representations of a city, thereby making an implicit connection between paradise and the Heavenly Jerusalem as man's natural abode. The city disappears with the expulsion, equating the world with the absence of God's city. The final scene, although very badly damaged, shows Eve in a secondary role. Adam is to the fore and digging, while she stands behind him, the remains of a distaff visible in her hand. Again there seems little unity between the two, and the tilt of Eve's chin invites comparison with the gentle acknowledgement shown in the angle of Mary's head on the tympanum.

Just as in Arles, the central bay of the north transept portal in Chartres seems almost to funnel the viewer into the church, the tympanum being the focus of attention. The other figures lead towards this, even though the procession of prophets works outward on the right hand side. It can be said that the eye is led to the tympanum and lintel, and the remaining figures require the viewer to draw back and consider their relation to both the triumph of the Virgin and the role of the Church. Unlike the works previously considered in this chapter, the message of *Heilsgeschichte* at Chartres is complex, making considerable demands on the viewer and his or her knowledge. It is a portal dedicated to the Virgin, not so much to her role as intermediatrix for mankind, but as both the medium whereby salvation is possible and as a symbol for mankind redeemed. The prophets indicate the coming of a Redeemer, but the focus is on Mary herself, from her infancy to her deathbed, showing her humanity. The apex of this is not Christ in judgement on mankind, not the fate of the blessed and the damned, but Mary's reception in heaven, her triumph over death. In this she can be seen as a symbol of the Christian soul; through her mankind can regain the place God intended for him; perhaps this is why we see the scenes of Adam in paradise. Eve is not depicted as seductive, nor is there any emphasis on sexuality, but she is definitely linked with the sin of forbidden enjoyment: her satisfied smile in the scene of the temptation is witness to this. The offset, hidden tree points to the dangers of accepting things at face value, and this is linked to the female by making Eve the medium whereby such temptation can be offered. Obviously this can be seen as a straightforward warning against women, but the Chartres portal has a more erudite level for those who could see it. As is found in many of the miniatures, it makes the female the symbol of the senses, not only by showing Eve's evident enjoyment but by showing Adam, symbol of the intellect, alone in paradise and later,

by the lack of contact between Adam and Eve, points to the roles of sense and intellect. The transept Virgin portal at Chartres has various levels of reading. For the mass of pilgrims who came there was the triumph of the Virgin and the prophets, some of whom were probably instantly recognisable, such as Abraham and John the Baptist. If they looked closely at the archivolts and deciphered the story of the creation and fall it would be seen as a contrast between the roles of Mary and Eve. The more complex message was surely intended for those who had the time and learning to consider and meditate on the relationship between the different aspects presented.

The depictions of the fall on the north transept portal are not very easily accessible, but this was not the only representation of the fall in Chartres. In the south wall of the nave is the good Samaritan window, the upper levels of which depict the fall. Despite its position in the nave the glass version of the fall is not very obvious. Chartres housed many of its pilgrims in the cathedral itself, the paving of the nave being on a slope to facilitate cleaning, and many of the windows having panels that could be taken out to air the place. How many pilgrims in the extremely crowded conditions would have the time or opportunity to examine carefully each of the hundred and sixty-seven windows? The visibility of any scenes in glass is very dependent on the season, the time of day and the weather conditions, while the height of the scenes of the fall adds to the difficulty of discerning both scenes and details.

The window is a lancet to be found halfway along the south aisle, and while not as high as those in the central nave, still requires the viewer to crane his neck to study it. It was donated by the shoemakers' guild whose activities are seen in the three lowest sections. The window must be read from bottom to top and from left to right: Christ telling the parable and the events of the parable form the subjects of the lower quatrefoil and the medallions above. The final scene of the parable, the Samaritan caring for the traveller at the inn, is shown in the lower lobe of the central quatrefoil. This makes a visual link with the story of the fall; the creation of Adam, Adam in paradise, the creation of Eve and the prohibition form the other four sections of the quatrefoil.

The medallions above add a scene of Adam and Eve in paradise, presumably so that the scene of the temptation and fall can be placed centrally, while the *ubi es?* scene is on the right. The upper quatrefoil is not in full reading order with, centrally, the Logos giving judgement on the pair, with the expulsion below, the labours on the left, Cain's

murder of Abel on the right and Christ in Majesty in the uppermost lobe. (fig. 101) There are similarities to the reliefs on the archivolt of the north transept portal. Not only do we have Adam enjoying paradise, but certain details are common to both. While the extreme tenderness of the creation of Adam is lessened in the window, the Logos still moulds the head. In the fall scene, Eve's stance is similar to the carved version and Adam again holds a hand to his throat, and in the scene of the labours both are dressed in loin-cloths, as they are in the relief. Nevertheless, there are a number of differences, the chief of which are the unambiguous representation of the prohibition and the murder of Abel, perhaps included at the express request of the shoemakers' guild as essential parts of the narrative. A further link with the north transept portal is the next window moving east. This was again donated by the shoemaker guild and celebrates the dormition, assumption and coronation of the Virgin: thus the shoemakers, in their windows, echoed two of the most important themes of the portal. Another point to remember is that, however difficult to distinguish, the stained glass is really only visible from within the church. While modern electric lighting can sometimes light up lower windows so that their depictions are visible from outside, the high windows of Chartres and other churches of the period would be insufficiently lit by candles to make clear scenes, even at night. The windows then can be seen as intended for those already in the church, not only depicting events but clothing the interior of the church and those within in the colours and light filtered through their glass. It was as if those in the church, whether townspeople or pilgrims, were bathed in the stories of the Bible and the lives of the saints. In the predominantly blue light cast by the good samaritan window the scene of the fall stands out, a disk of red. However, even though having found the window and their eye being drawn to the red medallion, to distinguish the details is no easy matter. Even with powerful magnification it is difficult to distinguish the serpent coiled in the tree. (fig. 102) Eve's attention seems to be focussed on the serpent, and her stance is open and confident as she holds a fruit evidently just taken from the mouth of the winged, dragon-headed reptile. Adam leans slightly back, his head inclined towards the tree, his left hand held up, his right at his throat. The composition could be said to make a visual connection between the serpent and Eve, since the serpent's wings form a sort of barrier between the two and Adam, but the kaleidoscopic effect of the colours and the shapes made by the glass and lead cause this effect to be lost. Many details are lost

by the distance and effects of the stained glass. The murder of Abel shows the same brutal pose of Cain trampling his brother while he swings what seems to be an axe, as in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. lat. 8846, but this loses its force for the viewer due to the lack of distinctness. The good Samaritan window at Chartres is a work commissioned by a lay society that had obviously had theological advice, especially in regard to the reference to Bede, but it does not seem to be directed at the layman. Perhaps it would be best to regard it as a work the importance of which lay in knowing that it was there, and that the shoemakers thereby made a statement about their beliefs and about their relationship with their church.

### 3.3 *The Differing Accessibility of Hardham and St. Savin*

In contrast to the difficulty in determining details and the somewhat complex iconological and doctrinal works of Chartres, the majority of painting, whether on walls or ceilings, was easily visible and relatively unambiguous. This is not say that there are not puzzling elements for the present day viewer, but these works were less inclined to make calls on exegetical knowledge, or even the more obscure pictorial conventions of the time. They tended to be quite large, whereas sculptured reliefs and capitals were generally small. Perhaps the only relatively large sculptured work of the fall is at St. Antonin, a pilaster between two windows of what is now the Old Town Hall Museum, but at the time of the commission was a private house. This fact alone would make it exceptional. Other than St. Antonin, few works gave the fall much prominence; it appears on tympana and friezes, but never as the only subject, its role being to support other subjects such as the last judgement or a starting point for Heilsgeschichte. Of course, it is difficult to draw the line between the visibility of polychrome bas relief or even high relief and fresco. For the present day viewer both forms have lost much of their visual impact, since most frescos are faded and damaged, and reliefs have lost their polychrome, and again have been subject to damage. Nevertheless, from viewing other works in the choir, whether of the fall, as in Aime, or other subjects, it is obvious that even many of those would be visible to the congregation, due not only to their colour but also their size. Most of the works examined in this study, both for the general picture and individual works, are older than the majority of the reliefs, dating from the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. This gives rise to the speculation that there were perhaps many more

that have since been lost, and that these could give an indication of the public interest in the fall, or of the Church's willingness to present the subject visually to a larger audience.<sup>59</sup> Are such works to be regarded as a 'trial run', cheaper and more easily made and removed if the tide of opinion changed? In my opinion the delay in the use of sculptured images was caused by the immense project of rebuilding a façade or entire church, although it must be noted that many of the earlier sculpted works are the smaller, more easily worked capitals.

The small church of St. Botolph in Hardham contains one of the most complete cycles of twelfth century wall-paintings to survive more or less intact. They probably date from the early twelfth century although the Sussex Archaeological Society report of 1901 places them in the second half of the eleventh century. They give a series of scenes of the events of the incarnation and nativity, the baptism of Christ and various other subjects such as Dives and Lazarus and St. George, possibly referring to his appearance at the battle of Antioch.<sup>60</sup> The west wall of the nave also has scenes from hell. Unlike most frescos of the fall, those at St. Botolph are not visible to the congregation, being on the west wall of the chancel, and thus only those standing inside the chancery could see the scenes. There are basically four scenes that are difficult to place in a narrative sequence. On the upper left is the temptation and fall and, under, a scene in which Adam and Eve stand in water. On the upper right there is some form of bovine that Eve is milking, and below this the two sit naked, back-to-back. The two scenes of milking and standing in water fall outside iconographic tradition, but by making a call on the miniature tradition and pseudographia I have attempted identification.

In the *Vita Adae et Evae*, chapter four recounts how, after the expulsion, Adam and Eve roved the earth seeking food but find only that which is fit for animals. According to the *Vita* it was only later that God sent angelic advisors to teach agriculture. In the upper right hand scene I think we see this search for food. Adam is clearly examining leaves or grasses, while Eve is trying to obtain the milk with which an animal would feed its young. Chapters five to thirteen of the same

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<sup>59</sup> It is notable that a number of wall paintings of the fall are to be found in relatively small churches such as Aime and Hardham.

<sup>60</sup> If indeed the Battle of Antioch is referred to here, it rules out an early date for this scene at least.



work tell of Adam and Eve's attempt to reconcile themselves with God, by undertaking the harsh penance of standing in the waters of the Tigris and Jordan, Eve for thirty-seven days and Adam for forty. This attempt is frustrated when the devil again deceives Eve and she ends her vigil prematurely. After this failure Adam and Eve decide to separate and remain apart until the birth of Cain, something that could well be represented by them turning their backs to each other. If these identifications are correct then the scenes follow in reading order. This obviously means that these scenes depend very heavily on the *Vita*, rather than on a straightforward rendition of Genesis 3. It has already been noted that there are more interior scenes of the fall in the choir than elsewhere and, of course, the chancel in the small and simple church of Hardham served the same function as the choir: the later frescos at Aime, although smaller and easily visible from the nave, are also in the choir. Although direct stylistic influence of the nearby Cluniac house of St. Pancras at Lewes has been discounted,<sup>61</sup> the closeness of such an artistic centre may well have influenced the iconography and, as has been noted, the fall was a favoured Cluniac subject. Hardham was on a well-travelled route and its incumbent may have been better versed in pseudographia than the church's size would indicate. The iconographic context is interesting. Immediately facing the fall scenes are apocalyptic scenes, and on the adjacent walls scenes the passion and ascension are to be found. Only the apocalyptic scenes would be visible to the congregation in the nave. The scenes on the nave side of the wall are the annunciation and visitation. It would seem that the chancel frescos served as a very compressed form of Heilsgeschichte in themselves, while still forming a part of a larger version in the church as a whole.

The figures of Adam and Eve in the temptation scene are anatomically pronounced, though hardly anorexic as Perrig claims.<sup>62</sup> (fig. 103) Traces of underdrawing suggest that Eve at least was originally planned to stand more to the left. The composition as well as the style has elements in common with Junius 11. On p. 13 of that manuscript Adam and Eve each point to a different tree as if debating which tree bears

<sup>61</sup> For a brief overview of stylistic influences in the Hardham paintings see Jacqueline Wiltshire, "Medieval Fiddles at Hardham," *The Galpin Society Journal* 34 (1981).

<sup>62</sup> Alexander Perrig, "Adams und Evas authentische Masse oder: Was hat das Menschenbild des Mittelalters und der Renaissance mit Noahs Arche zu tun?," *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 22 (1989 p. 147).

the prohibited fruit. In the Hardham painting Adam stands before a leafy tree and points to a fruit in his hand, while Eve points to the fruit that she takes from the mouth of the serpent perched in a barren tree. The damage to the painting is too great to say definitely whether the two have an extra-biblical debate on which fruit to eat, or whether the pointing fingers simply indicate the origin of the fruit. In favour of the first interpretation is the fact that the green tree, with its golden fruits, is visually closely linked to Adam, the leaves and fruits virtually making a mantle for his shoulders. The contrast between the verdant tree next to Adam and the bare tree next to Eve gives rise to the idea that these must represent the tree of life and the tree of knowledge of good and evil. If that is the case, then this depiction of the fall is a constant reminder of the choices before mankind, and the facing murals a reminder of what is to come. The priest at mass would stand between the first and last days with the events of the passion between the two walls. Even though the tree is offset and Eve stands between it and Adam, it is unlikely that in this instance there is a reference to hidden or disguised temptation: Eve clearly indicates that she is taking the fruit from the mouth of the winged, dragon-headed serpent. In this there is a great difference between the Hardham painting and Junius 11, where in both text and illustration it is made clear that Eve was deceived by the devil taking the form of an angel: the Hardham work emphasises the source of the temptation by making the serpent into a dragon. This is relatively infrequent among the works intended for a restricted public, but serves to emphasise the difference between the trees. The identical poses of Adam and Eve, the way in which their knees and toes touch, indicate that they can be seen as two sides of human nature. The emphasis here is less on the dichotomy between the intellect and the senses than on the inclination between life and death.

The paintings of St. Savin-sur-Gartempe are possibly slightly older than those of Hardham<sup>63</sup> and have been described as:<sup>64</sup>

le seul en France à être encore dans quasi-totalité... L'atelier de Saint-Savin a proportionné les personnages et fonction de la perception que les fidèles pouvaient en avoir du sol et a choisi les tonalités en fonction de la

<sup>63</sup> For an overview of attempts at dating see Michel, *La Fresque Romaine* pp. 152–153.

<sup>64</sup> Jannie Meyer, "Le peinture murale romane," in *La France Romane autemps des premiers Capétiens* (987–1152), (Paris, 2005) p. 32.

lumière; ainsi, les personnages de la voûte de la nef, destinés à être vus de loin, ont plus de deux mètres en haut et se détachent alternativement sur des fonds blanc ou sombres selon les tons de leurs vêtements...

Despite the height of the nave ceiling the paintings there are clearly visible and since St. Savin was not only a pilgrimage site in its own right, but close to the major sites of Poitiers and Chauvigny, we can assume that its version of the fall was viewed by many. The iconographic programme of the abbey church as a whole is very complete, starting with the apocalypse in the porch, the events of Genesis and Exodus in the nave, the crypt dedicated to the martyrs, Savin and Cyprian, while the gallery displays the events of the passion and resurrection. Interestingly, as in Hardham, this all-important part of *Heilsgeschichte* was not as widely accessible as the other scenes, but in contrast to Hardham the fall itself was there for all to see. This time it forms part of a creation cycle and illustration of the biblical narrative *ante leges*. The nude figures are once again anatomically pronounced<sup>65</sup> with lively and emphatic gestures, perhaps little appreciated by those accustomed to more static or smooth depictions.

Movement became their [Romanesque painters] principle occupation. It often drove them into a kind of frenzy, which produced disjointed limbs and grimacing faces. However, these eccentricities and savageries (such as for instance the frescos of St. Savin in Poitou display), are of little account in budding art.<sup>66</sup>

The figures of the scenes of Genesis 2–3 must be for many present day viewers singularly unattractive, not only because of the odd awkward pose, such as that of the Adam as he lies asleep with the Logos bent over him to extract a rib, but because of the very masculine character of the faces. Looked at more closely there is a degree of warmth and tenderness shown between the figures. (fig. 104) The cross-nimbed Logos holds Adam's wrist as He withdraws the rib and His right hand almost seems to caress the bearded face of Eve as he presents her to Adam, while Adam himself reaches out to his new wife. The fact that Eve is bearded has caused considerable comment from the time that

<sup>65</sup> This seems to have been a common factor: even so far distant as the church of Todbjerg, the Genesis scenes, dating from 1125–1150 have the same anatomical definition.

<sup>66</sup> Paul Jamot, "French Painting-I," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 59 (1931/12, 1931), p. 283.

these paintings were first brought to public attention by Prosper Mérimée, Inspecteur des Monuments Historiques from 1830, and who was instrumental in preserving the church. Mérimée, puzzled by the beard, suggested that the painter had made the mistake of placing Adam on the Logos left, whereas, as the man, he should have had the place of honour on the right and that later retouching had restored the beard to the figure on the right of the Logos. This seems to be somewhat farfetched. Certainly the figure on the Logos' right is conceptually Eve, separate, but still giving the impression of coming from the body of the reclining Adam. Another suggestion by Gélis-Didot is that the beard was a sign of perfection that was lost by Eve, due to her seduction by the serpent.<sup>67</sup> This would seem more in keeping with the mentality of the time. The poor state of the scene of Adam eating the fruit makes it impossible to see if he is also bearded in this scene. However, I suggest there is a much simpler explanation, closely allied to Gélis-Didot's theory. The painter meant to depict the words of the Genesis—*et creavit Deus hominem ad imaginem suam ad imaginem Dei creavit illum masculum et feminam creavit eos*.<sup>68</sup> The figures are notably androgynous and bear a remarkable facial resemblance to the Logos. In this they resemble the Genesis frontispieces of the Tournian Bibles, though in those neither the humans nor the Logos was bearded. Stoddard has pointed out the similarities between the Genesis choir capital at Airvault and the Tournian Bibles and suggested a common lost source.<sup>69</sup> Whether it is feasible that the early twelfth century painters and carvers would take such ancient works as models, rather than the more recent innovations in manuscript art is open to doubt. However, the continuation of a tradition of depicting the facial resemblance between humans and God is more likely, and less dependent on unknowns. Clearly, if there was no mistake and if both Adam and Eve were intended to resemble the Logos, then this places a good deal of emphasis on the divine spark in mankind, and particularly since Eve loses this resemblance on the loss of that element of divinity. In the iconographic programme as a whole, this is an acceptable reading.

While the scene of Adam's fall is too damaged to examine closely, the temptation of Eve is relatively clear. (fig. 105) Eve is certainly not

<sup>67</sup> Michel, *La Fresque Romaine* pp. 63–64.

<sup>68</sup> Genesis 1:27.

<sup>69</sup> Stoddard, "A Romanesque Master Carver at Airvault (Deux-Sevres)."

depicted as very feminine and, indeed, there is a degree of narrative objectivity in the scene. The serpent, unusually, does not wind round the tree, but stands beneath it, upright. This again points to a fairly strict adherence to the Bible text, since in Genesis 3:14 the serpent is condemned to crawl on his belly. Eve does not eat the fruit, merely taking it from the serpent's mouth. The painting is too damaged and faded to be able to see if there are fruits on the tree next to Eve. The St. Savin fresco does indeed have elements in common with the Grandval Bible in particular, the close relationship between man and God, the facial resemblance and even the serpent standing upright.<sup>70</sup> On the other hand there is no prohibition shown, the disruption of the harmony between man and God is given, but not the contravention of a direct command. The part of the iconographic programme that was accessible to the general public concentrates on the incidents of mankind's estrangement from God, and God's patience and mercy.

### 3.4 *Narrative Capitals—Corbie and Moissac*

Corbie Abbey was founded between 657 and 661 by Bathilde, the widow of Clovis II, and during the Carolingian period it was a famous centre of learning. It underwent extensive rebuilding in the thirteenth century but its present day size is much reduced from its period of importance. Remnants of the abbey are preserved in such places as the Musée de Picardie. Since it has been removed from its site we can have no absolute knowledge of the position of the Corbie capital of the fall, but it is probably a cloister capital and dates from the third quarter of the twelfth century, probably made after a fire around 1152–1153. In spite of considerable damage it is in a better state of preservation than the Moissac capital. It is a rectangular shaped piece of stone with two sides longer than the others, and the narrative flows round the four sides, depicting the creations of Adam and Eve, the fall and the expulsion.

Taking the scenes in narrative order and starting with what is probably the animation of Adam, the cross-nimbed Logos blesses Adam, who is bearded and heavily moustached, and seems to hold his arm. (fig. 106)

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<sup>70</sup> In the Moutier-Grandval Bible the serpent in the temptation of Eve scene winds round the tree, but is upright at the moment Adam and Eve try to exculpate themselves.

Since the face of the Logos has been removed in each scene it is impossible to tell if there was a facial resemblance. While Adam stares before him, his head is slightly inclined, as if listening to the words of blessing. The narrative order moves clockwise to the sleeping Adam. The Logos reaches to his side, but has been hacked away and all details are lost. Adam's pose is close to that in many of the contemporary manuscripts, almost upright, rather than stretched out as in the earlier manuscripts and St. Savin. This was probably dictated by lack of space: just as many miniaturists had to fit scenes into an initial, the limits of a capital could also influence how scenes were represented. Adam's hand covers his genitals, but there is no indication that this is deliberate. Moving round we come to a scene in which the Logos is central, with Adam on his left hand and Eve peering over her husband's shoulder. (fig. 107) This scene displays many of the elements of numerous depictions of *ubi es?*, in particular the relative positions of Adam and Eve. In many miniatures Eve is shown behind Adam, on occasion, such as in the *Hortus Deliciarum*, Adam even sits on Eve's knee. However, this cannot be interpreted as an *ubi es?* scene: not only would it fall outside the narrative order, but the Logos once again holds Adam's arm. His other arm is stretched out to indicate the tree of knowledge of good and evil, even though this would be invisible to the humans, so it must be read as a prohibition scene. Of interest is the way in which this scene is linked to the temptation of Eve. (fig. 108) The hand of the Logos stretches out to indicate, not only the tree, but the fruit itself, here seemingly grapes. So tightly are the scenes connected that the Logos' hand almost touches the back of the dragon-headed serpent.<sup>71</sup> The scene of the temptation of Eve has far more movement than the previous scenes. The tree's branches and foliage wave and twine; the serpent's sinuous body and tail make great loops and Eve's body turns and twists. This Eve exudes a degree of sensuality, full lips parted, right leg crossing over the left and echoing the curves of the serpent round the tree. It is almost as if the two were taking part in some dance with Adam and the Logos at the end of the chain. The chain made by the serpent, fruit in mouth, to Eve's hand and then to her right hand giving the fruit to Adam is also undulating. The loose link here is the Logos,

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<sup>71</sup> Baron has commented on the resemblance of the serpent to dragons in Corbie illuminations of the period. Francoise Baron, "Chapiteau orné de scenes de la Genese," in *Le Moyen Age au Musee de Picardie*, ed. Francoise Lernout (Amiens, 1992) p. 15.

who does not actually make physical contact with the serpent. At the other end of the chain Adam leans over to devour the fruit, showing eagerness, his knee touching Eve's hip. There is an impression that Eve is leading Adam towards the tree and serpent. The irony of this is apparent as the viewer moves on to the last scene. This is conflated with the previous scene in a subtle manner. (fig. 109) Even as Adam eats the fruit and seems drawn forward by Eve, an angel with a sword grasps his upper arm to expel him from paradise. The traditional order of the expulsion with the angel on the left, hand on Adam's shoulder, Adam and then Eve leading the way out is maintained here, but with the angel the visual narrative reaches a *volte*. The viewer must turn back and look counter-clockwise to follow the reverse order of events: the angel and the Logos of the creation of Adam are back to back. By conflating the scenes of Adam's fall and the expulsion an impression is created that Adam is not repentant, since he is still busily and eagerly eating the forbidden fruit even while being driven from paradise. Since there is no attempt to cover nudity, part of the message of the Corbie capital is mankind's persistence in sin, his lack of shame. This is reinforced by the conflation of the prohibition and the temptation of Eve: altogether there is an emphasis on the pleasures of the flesh, including eating, that accords with the rounded, large eyed figures.

If the figures of the Corbie capital, and especially Eve, can be considered somewhat voluptuous, the same cannot be said of the figures on the Moissac Genesis capital. The abbey of St. Peter at Moissac was founded roughly the same time as Corbie and in 1047 became affiliated to Cluny and was an important halt on the pilgrim route to Compostela. The cloister with its seventy-six capitals dates from around 1100 and requires much time and thought to examine in any detail. Not only the number of capitals, but also their complexity makes it impossible to assimilate the numerous links and allusions in the space of a single visit, or even several. Part of the general iconography has been dealt with earlier in this chapter, but the fall capital itself has various points of interest. Unlike the Corbie capital, and others such as that at Airvault, it does not begin with the creation of Adam or Eve, but with the fall itself, moving on clock-wise to the scenes of *ubi es?*, the expulsion and the labours. It does nothing to emphasise man's relation with God, only his sinful nature and the trials of the world he must inhabit without God. This is very much in keeping with the general iconographic programme of the cloister that concentrates on the

problems and hostility that the righteous must overcome, even though frequently the recipient of God's mercy.

The scene of the temptation and fall is extremely badly damaged, the head of the serpent being missing, as are the outer arms of both Adam and Eve.<sup>72</sup> (fig. 110) Even in their damaged state it is clear that the pair were not portrayed as androgynous: Adam's beard is clearly marked, as is the long hair cascading down Eve's back. From a careful consideration of the figures it is probable that this was an extremely symmetrical composition. Eve's arm is bent upwards, presumably to take the fruit from the serpent's mouth, and from the remains of Adam's right arm, it would appear that this too is bent, probably to pluck a fruit, as there are signs that something has been hacked away at this point. Adam holds a large leaf before his genitals, and from the remains of the leaf and Eve's left arm it seems that she too is covering her genital area. The tree is central to the composition and has twisted and elaborate foliage that is still stylised and symmetrical. Contrary to most depictions of the *ubi es?* scene, the Moissac capital shows only the Logos and Adam, the inscription *ADA* above that figure. The two following scenes, chronologically the final scenes in the story of the fall, flow over into each other; the single figure of Eve serving for both the expulsion and the labours. On the extreme right the gates of paradise are shown, while the nimbed and winged angel points the way into the world with his sword. Adam rests his hand on Eve's shoulder, a transference of the more usual arrangement in which the angel places his hand on Adam's shoulder. The couple are dressed in skins, the hair being clearly delineated. As is usual Eve leads the way out of paradise, but holds her right arm up, and the remains of some object can still be seen in that hand. This was probably a spindle, as the last figure of the capital is Adam raising a mattock to show his labours. Perhaps it is possible to discern the formal influence of the Moissac scriptorium in the expulsion.<sup>73</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 2077, discussed earlier, not only shows Adam and Eve dressed in long hairy garments in the expulsion scene, but they are so driven that Eve almost disap-

<sup>72</sup> At first glance it is possible to mistake the large, twisted leaf on the left for the serpent's head, but on closer examination it is clear that this not only lacks the distinctive scale marking of the body, but that it is growing from a shoot on the tree.

<sup>73</sup> Fraïsse asks if miniatures influenced sculptures or vice versa. Chantal Fraïsse, *L'enluminure à Moissac aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Auch, 1992) p. 28. In this case the answer is obvious, since the manuscript is more than half a century older than the capital.



pears out of the frame. On the capital this is taken further and she is pushed into the next scene.

Perhaps one of the more remarkable things about this capital is that Eve is very secondary. In most sequences of the fall Eve is prominent and in the temptation and fall itself often even dominant, sometimes being shown without Adam, or at least being portrayed as more vigorous and dynamic. This is not the case with the Moissac Eve. Despite the extensive damage, it is clear that she does not play a greater role than Adam in the temptation scene, that face being balanced and symmetrical. If we are right in thinking that Adam takes a fruit from the tree, there are other examples, such as Notre Dame, Étampes, Arles and the font at Cowlan church, then this would place a greater part of the blame on him than is usual. Eve appears twice on the capital and Adam four times. This can be seen as indicating that this was intended for a male public, an adaptation of iconographic conventions to suit a particular audience, not just in its complexity or otherwise but directing its message to the monks of Moissac. As in many works that were intended for a clerical public, the emphasis is on the actions of the human male. He is not the passive victim of deceit, neither persuaded nor seduced. The message here is that man must control his actions.

### 3.5 *Seen and Unseen—Old and New Capitals at Vézelay*

La Madeleine at Vézelay, especially after its affiliation to Cluny in 1050 was a major pilgrimage site. So popular was Vézelay that the hordes of pilgrims caused much friction between the abbey and the town, a well-recorded feud between the two was evidently resolved around 1165 when the monks discovered a number of relics of Christ, the Virgin, John the Baptist and others in a statue of the Virgin.<sup>74</sup> A fire in the church in 1120 cost 1127 pilgrims their lives;<sup>75</sup> but reconstruction was rapid and it was at Vézelay that Bernard of Clairvaux preached the second crusade from the burgeoning walls. Other twelfth century notables made their way to Vézelay, including Thomas Becket who preached there, and Philip Augustus and Richard II who stopped by on their way to the third crusade.

<sup>74</sup> For an account of the differences between the monks and the townspeople see Barbara Abou-El-Hai, "The Audiences for the Medieval Cult of Saints," *Gesta* 30 (1991).

<sup>75</sup> Gréal, *Vézelay, guide de la basilique* p. 34.

In the reconstruction of the nave a number of older capitals were reused, including one from around 1100 showing the fall. This is now to be found on the column of the north aisle closest to the choir. It tops what is in fact a pilaster so that the capital has only three faces. The east and west faces depict the gates of Paradise while the north face shows the fall itself. Although Angheben describes this as ‘une composition parfaitement symétrique,’<sup>76</sup> it is less symmetrical than the Moissac capital, since Adam and Eve have different poses. However, it is in a much better state of preservation. Its position means that it is poorly lit, but accessible for the pilgrim and town’s people. The aisle columns are considerably lower than those of the central nave and, while the lighting is not ideal, on a clear day it is possible not only to discern the subject but also to make out essential details. (fig. 111) Eve’s attention is on the dragon-headed serpent, while Adam holds his hand to his face. It is impossible to tell if he holds a fruit in his right hand, but I am inclined to think that it supports his left elbow. Eve hides her genitals with a leaf held in her left hand and takes a fruit from the serpent with her right hand. Eve’s pronounced breasts make her clearly female, but she is not consciously seductive or sensual. Nevertheless her link with sin is evident in the visual circle made by her arm leading to the serpent, down its body and up her leg to her left arm. This leads the eye to her breasts that echo the shape of the fruit she holds. A further implication of the sexual nature of Eve’s sin is the tail of the serpent that twines between her legs. Adam stands outside this visual circle, not drawn towards it by reaching or touching either the tree, Eve or a fruit. To a learned audience this might suggest the roles of the body and the intellect and Adam’s hesitation as praiseworthy. To an unschooled public it would be an indication of Eve’s guilt in the matter.

It is somewhat ironic that the younger capital of the fall in Vézelay is better known these days than the one described above. It appears more often in photographs, possibly because it appeals more to a present day public. However, it could not be viewed easily by a twelfth century worshipper. It is one of the upper capitals half way down the northern side of the central nave, and without prosthetic, almost impossible to discern.<sup>77</sup> (fig. 112) It is clear that the older version did not serve as a

<sup>76</sup> Sazama, “Iconographie des chapiteaux romane” p. 37.

<sup>77</sup> This photograph was taken without flash but with a powerful zoom lens and then digitally enhanced.

model for this capital, made during the rebuilding of 1120–1140. The making of this seems to have been deliberate, since it was made after the earlier version was placed where it is now to be found.<sup>78</sup> Eve's pose is far more seductive, while Adam is now more eager and active. The placing of his hand on his chest may be seen as a sign of hesitation, but his raised right leg, as if to climb over the tree to Eve, and the inclination of his body speak of willingness on his part. Strangely, the most visible part of the capital is the south face on which the serpent winds round the tree; Eve's hand and arm scarcely impinge on this side as she takes the fruit. Once again the tree and serpent are off-set, so that they would be invisible to Adam, and Eve's role as medium is very clear in the symmetry of her arms and the two fruits she holds. Her pose is nonchalant and even reminiscent of the Autun Eve, once on the lintel of the cathedral there. This is a very female and human Eve, she is less closely linked to the serpent, but her sensuality seems to stem from her own nature. The question remains as to why a new fall capital was thought necessary, and why it was placed where it is scarcely visible. I would suggest that it served the function of the numerous fall capitals in the choir of churches that were invisible to all except the monks or priest officiating. It was a reminder of the sinful nature of mankind, of the reason for Christ's sacrifice and its commemoration in the Mass. It also served as a reminder of omnipresent temptation. This perhaps explains why the scene of the fall itself faces the choir, not that it would be visible from there, but as a silent and invisible reminder to those who knew of it. To look in that direction and conjure up the memory, for surely many of the clergy had seen it before its installation, or even to imagine it, was an affirmation of their function both as Christians and servants of God.

### 3.6 *The Two Faces of the Female—Notre Dame d'Amiens*

In 1218 a fire destroyed the church of Notre Dame in Amiens: almost immediately rebuilding was begun under bishops Evrard de Fouilloy and Geoffroy de Eu and by 1236 the nave and façade were complete. Amiens is one of the few places where we have some indication of how the building must have looked in the thirteenth century: laser cleaning revealed much of the polychrome and further analysis has indicated

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<sup>78</sup> Sazama, "Iconographie des chapiteaux romane" p. 117.

later additions.<sup>79</sup> The imposing façade has three portals, the left hand portal being devoted to local saints, the large central portal to Christ and the apostles with a magnificent last judgement on the tympanum. Conceptually linked to this is the one on the right, being dedicated to the Virgin. Here the flanking statues show Solomon, Sheba and Herod with the adoration of the magi and, on the right, the annunciation, visitation, and presentation at the temple. The Virgin herself, holding the Christ Child, is depicted on the trumeau, while above on the lintel the six Old Testament prophets of the incarnation support the tympanum scenes of the dormition, ascension and coronation of the Virgin. The lower part of the trumeau consists of six scenes of Genesis 1–3. The opposition between the Virgin and Eve is far more pronounced here than on the Chartres portal, since Mary and the fall scenes are brought into a very close visual relationship. The figure of the Virgin with the Child acts as link between the first sin and the sentence of death on mankind and the scenes of the Virgin's triumph over death on the tympanum.

The six scenes related to the creation and fall must be read from right to left and top to bottom, starting with the creation of Adam and ending with the labours. Once again there is a hands-on Creator of Adam: he holds the left arm of Adam in his own left hand, while holding up his right hand in blessing. Adam's right hand is thrown up in wonder. The close link between the two is shown by the identical facial features, a link that is missing in the creation of Eve. Not only are the Logos and Adam bearded, but Eve's features are also rounder and more feminine and her breasts clearly defined. Even so, the Logos takes Eve's arm as she emerges from the side of the sleeping Adam. Under the scene of Adam's creation is the prohibition where the Logos indicates not so much the tree of knowledge, but the fruit. Notable here is that Adam's gaze is not on the pointing finger, whereas Eve seems more attentive. (fig. 113) Immediately below the creation of Eve is the scene of the fall itself, making a visual connection between the two scenes. It might be said that putting the prohibition immediately under the creation of Adam implies a responsibility for the following scene; however, the iconography of the portal links Eve most firmly with sin. This is not really surprising since the Virgin and her role as the new Eve is the subject. In

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<sup>79</sup> For a fuller account see: Weeks, "The 'Portail de la Mere Dieu' of Amiens Cathedral: Its Polychromy and Conservation."

the fall scene Eve eats the fruit while Adam grips his throat even while accepting a fruit from Eve's hand. This gesture deserves some attention, for even in its damaged state it is clear that there is something odd in it. Adam's hand is held up and open to receive the fruit, his fingers only slightly curled, but Eve's hand seems turned back on itself, as if her hand was reversed with the missing thumb on the outer edge of the hand. (fig. 114) Since all other aspects of the sculptures are anatomically correct, it would seem that this reversal is deliberate. It brings to mind the odd gesture with which Eve presents the fruit to Adam in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 2077. The gesture is not identical, but could equally well have a sexual connotation, especially given the references to sexuality on the portal. The most obvious feature of the scene is the serpent, in this case a dracontopede. This must be one of the earliest examples of the use of a female-headed serpent in either public or private art of the fall. The twelfth century good Samaritan window in St. Étienne at Sens also has a dracontopede, but the details are difficult to discern. Furthermore, the Amiens dracontopede is not just female-headed, but bears Eve's features. Just as Adam bears the features of God, so Eve is likened to the devil. The reasons for the emergence of the dracontopede are complex. Scholars, certainly from the time of Bede, had debated which variety of serpent had tempted Eve. Bede, Peter Comestor and others were agreed that the serpent had the face of a young and beautiful woman and called upon various texts to support this. Particularly influential was the *Physiologus* that described the female adder as a woman to the navel, and having the lower half of a crocodile, but many early works, such as Bern, Burgerbibliothek Cod. 318 show the upper half as human female and the lower as a snake. The argument of the theologians was that the devil used a serpent with the face of a young and innocent girl to allay any suspicion Eve might have. Nevertheless, this mirroring of the features of Eve and the serpent makes a strong visual and psychological link between them, and this is increased by the way their heads are held close as if the one is whispering secrets as the other listens. The expulsion conforms to the general iconographic tradition, being executed by a sword-bearing angel, while Adam, hand on breast, looks back. Both he and Eve cover their genitals with a leaf. The scene of the labours too, had its traditional elements; perhaps the most notable aspect is the clearly marked animal skins that serve as kilts for the pair. They are shown as being in an extremely primitive state and leading an uncomfortable existence.

The Amiens Eve has none of the nonchalance of the Eve of the higher Vézelay capital or the conscious voluptuousness of the Clermont-Ferrand capital, but her sexuality is evident: her poses, while not exaggeratedly seductive, are appealing and inviting. In the temptation scene the curve of her arm emphasises her breast and her right heel resting on her left ankle pushes her hips forward. This is the more marked because Adam's pose is very similar: their arms are held at the same angle, and their hands under the head of the serpent form a symmetrical double v. However, Eve's stance shows not only movement but implies instability, as if she has just raised her right foot and will soon shift it. Adam, on the other hand, stands with both feet firmly on the ground, a little apart, and his weight is evenly distributed, hips and shoulders in alignment. Eve's unstable pose is repeated in the labours where it again contrasts with Adam's balance.

There is a second temptation of Eve in the Virgin portal. This is to be found on a corbel supporting the Virgin of the annunciation, thus echoing the relationship found on the trumeau. Its message, however, is much more extreme: this is solely a temptation of Eve. The serpent is once again a dracontopede but even more closely linked to Eve. Their poses echo each other and they seem to gaze at one another with affection and have a relationship that clearly excludes the viewer, and by implication any one else. (fig. 115) The dragon's right claw grasps a fruit, while Eve is in the act of picking one, also with her right hand. Their bodies angle toward each other, their heads inclined to regard the other's expression. Eve is depicted as openly sensual, not only in the sense of being obviously female, but her pose shows eagerness and enjoyment of physicality. Her right leg is bent, her legs apart and her left hip thrust out. While this is not for the benefit of Adam, it emphasises Eve as both a sensual and sexual being. The sexual aspect is underlined by two of the corbels in close proximity to the temptation of Eve. These show demonic figures whose sexual attributes are not only clearly depicted but also emphasised, by making their primary sexual organs not just visible, but also obtrusive. These make clear the demonic nature of sexuality and are closely linked with this smaller temptation: dragon, sexuality and femaleness are bound together in a visual chain that reinforces the message of the trumeau.

This close connection of sin, sexuality and femaleness in the form of Eve serves to emphasise the contrast between the Virgin and Eve. Not only is Mary the new Eve, the vehicle of the incarnation and redemption, the opener of the door closed by Eve's transgression, she

is the other face of the female: she is pure love, chastity, obedience. In this oppositional pair we no longer have female sensuality contrasted with male reason, but (female) sexuality, sin, physical gratification and lack of restraint shown against (female) selflessness, continence and unbounded love for God and mankind. The virgin of the Amiens trumeau is a reflection of the human made divine. Her virtues are not the cold and abstract devotion of reason, but those of the true mother who bears any suffering for her child, and her love that extends beyond to encompass all those who love her Son. The cult of the Virgin received a new impetus in the thirteenth century when depictions of her with her Son began to show a closer and more human relationship, less the might and glory of the Mother of God and more that of a new mother of an infant. That special relationship between Mother and Son gained in importance with the growth of the belief in Mary's intercessory powers. The Virgin of Amiens portal is one of the earliest public depictions of this human Virgin, and perhaps one of the loveliest. Much of the restraint and grandeur of the earlier works remains: this is no simpering doll, but a dignified woman who holds her Child both proudly and tenderly, as if presenting her Son to the faithful. Her gaze is directed outward, her right hand open. Perhaps this once contained an orb to echo that held by the Christ Child. Her clothing and crown are simple, her gestures restrained and dignified. This is a Virgin triumphant for she tramples a dragon below her feet, but does so without vigour or emphasis, as though this was natural to her. In the central portal with its last judgement tympanum, Christ on the trumeau tramples the lion and dragon, but the symbol of sin and death defeated by Mary differs from those defeated by her Son. The figures beneath Christ's feet are traditionally portrayed and he balances on the two. The Virgin's defeated enemy echoes the themes of the portal, since this is, once again, a dracontopede. (fig. 116) The female-headed dragon looks out from under Mary's foot, fulfilling the prophecy of Genesis 3 that the daughter of Eve shall crush the serpent under her heel. This is the final link in the chain that shows the need for man's redemption and the incarnation.<sup>80</sup> This is the triumph, not only of God's omniscience, not only the defeat of God's enemy, but

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<sup>80</sup> It has been suggested that this represents Mary's victory 'over slanderers and heretics'. Marcia R. Rickard, "The Iconography of the Virgin Portal at Amiens," *Gesta* 22 (1983) p. 148. However, in my opinion this does not cover both the reference to Genesis nor the repetition of the dracontopede in both temptations of Eve.

the triumph of the Christian. Mary rises above her sinning ancestors, defeating the evil to which they succumbed, and bears the means of mankind's salvation.

#### 4. *'Public' Works and Miniatures of the Fall*

In the analysis of the sculptures, frescos and stained glass, certain similarities with particular miniatures have been mentioned, such as the expulsion scenes on the Moissac capital with the manuscript from Moissac, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 2077, or the Hardham painting with Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11. Stoddard is inclined to believe that certain elements in the Airvault capital, which he calls 'almost a Romanesque version of the Grandval Bible,'<sup>81</sup> can be traced to the Cotton Genesis recension. He argues that there must be a common source for the Tournon Bibles and the Airvault capital. Perhaps one of the advantages of considering every available work and distilling common factors from them is that when confronted with a particular iconographic feature it is possible to tell how common this is in a certain period. While it is more than likely that certain features, if very unusual, point to a specific source, I am inclined to think that in many cases there is a reliance on the literal text of the Bible or other works, and general iconographic tradition. Miniaturists were not usually also stonemasons and sculptors, nor would a precious manuscript be taken to a noisy, dirty, dangerous site or workshop to be copied. It is certain that the designers of iconographic programmes would be familiar with both recent and older miniatures and may have described or sketched what they envisioned based on that knowledge, perhaps even copied specific miniatures or parts of them. The travelling artisan, the travelling monk and scholar disseminated ideas and images, and except in cases of consistent and close similarity, and where it is likely that the makers of one work were familiar with the other, I suggest that it is safer to assume a general pool of images, recognisable by the public for which they were intended, and adapted to suit the time and situation. Obviously, much depends on the reading and interpretation put on a work, but an awareness of more general trends can guard against an all too individual interpretation. In the case of the Adam clutching

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<sup>81</sup> Stoddard, "A Romanesque Master Carver at Airvault (Deux-Sevres)" p. 69.



his throat, this seems to have been relatively common in sculpture, but extremely rare in miniatures. There could be only so many ways of depicting the fall in the period under discussion, ways that lay within the limits of what was understandable and acceptable. Occasionally we find works that seem to be startlingly innovative, in some way or another, such as Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11, but looking to a wider context we find that the angelic tempter was not unique, and indeed seems especially appropriate to the context of the work. The context of the more public works differs from that of the miniatures, but in the larger context of the world in which people lived, it was the same. Which iconographic elements can be considered common to both, and which were specific to certain social groups? While considering this it must be borne in mind that the makers and users of manuscripts were a relatively homogeneous group, in other words the message of the miniatures was one that circulated among a particular class. The public works, especially those that were clearly intended for a large, heterogeneous audience, broadcast a message from one group to others. Are there differences in the message, was it altered, strengthened, simplified or otherwise adapted when it was intended for this broader public?

The first and most basic common factor in the representations of the fall of man in miniatures and in public works is the time factor. There is no real evidence for any depiction of the fall in works that could or would be seen by a relatively large number of people, except for the Hildesheim doors, until the late eleventh century.<sup>82</sup> As we have seen, miniatures of the fall are to be found sporadically in the previous three centuries, coming mostly in clusters in regard to both period and region. It is only around 1100 that we find that the fall was a subject that was more or less continuously depicted in manuscripts. There is equally a lack of figures that can be regarded as death in public places, but again the same date seems to have been the signal for a wealth of works showing the last judgement wherein the doomed, those condemned to the second, eschatological death of the soul play a prominent part. The doomed are beset by various demons and devils that bear a striking resemblance to the creatures in miniatures that seem to have taken over the functions of death. Death, once fully

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<sup>82</sup> This within the confines of time and region of this study.

demonised and equated with the devil, became a subject for public depictions. This coming together of death and the fall in both public and private works will be explored in the context of what had gone before in the following chapter. At this point it is sufficient to say that it would appear that the subject of the fall seems to have been taken out of the privileged domain at the same time that the ordinary man and woman were confronted with frequently overwhelming depictions of the fate of the unrighteous. Nevertheless, the use of fall imagery in sculpture, fresco and glass must be seen as part of the enormous surge of building in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. More particularly it must be regarded as part of the tendency to a more figurative and narrative means of decorating buildings.<sup>83</sup>

The phase that followed soon after 1200 is exemplified by the great narrative cycles that decorated the new cathedrals; it involved a preference for straightforwardness and rapidity in order to create a narrative mode, at the expense of naturalistic detail... The first mode of seeing, looked down upon by earlier theologians, came to the fore in the thirteenth century, but it did not entirely replace the symbolic modes... Its validity was established first by the insistence on historical exegesis... and later by the emphasis placed on observation.

The use of narrative techniques in the 'public' works can indeed be seen as a tendency to simplify the frequently complex exegesis found in the iconographic programmes of many manuscripts, but, as we have seen, this is not always the case. Works for an audience consisting of monks and priests could be part of a complex programme. We have only to compare the complex interaction of the Moissac capitals, the scheme of the Cluny choir capitals or even the north transept portal in Chartres with the friezes of Notre Dame la Grande and St. Trophime or the tympana of Anzy-le-Duc and Neuilly-en-Donjon to see that considerations of the extent of the knowledge of the public for whom such works were made were taken into account. This is not to say that the works intended for the laity did not display exegetical traits for those with the necessary knowledge, but these exegetical elements were not necessary to understand the basic message of Heilsgeschichte, expressed as a relatively straightforward narrative. The question is not whether such works were exegetical or narrative, but whether their

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<sup>83</sup> Madeline Harrison Caviness, "'The Simple Perception of Matter' and the Representation of Narrative, ca. 1180–1280," *Gesta* 30 (1991).

messages differed and if so how? Even the most straightforward narrative representation, of this period at least, is still highly symbolic. The depiction of the birth of Jesus, within the framework of a narrative, means nothing if the viewer is unaware of all that it symbolises. Equally, unless we understand the symbolic significance of a naked man and woman picking and eating fruit, then such a scene could be read in dozens of different ways. Given that the laity would recognise such scenes and know immediately their place in the history of man and his salvation, what other messages were broadcast?

Historiated capitals were not unknown before the Romanesque period, nor did they disappear in the thirteenth century, but are 'néanmoins l'une des expressions artistiques les plus caractéristiques et les plus remarquables pour la période qui s'étend du début du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle à la fin du XII<sup>e</sup>'.<sup>84</sup> In many ways they can be seen as an extension of miniatures, frequently part of a complex iconographic programme that must lead, at least the theologically schooled viewer, to contemplation. This holds good for the visible capitals, particularly those in cloisters. However, the historiated capital, and this is especially true of those of the fall, had functions that fell outside the province of miniatures. Those found in churches must be seen in the light of the liturgy, as reminders and explanations. They made visible and therefore 'real' Biblical events to the lay illiterate who could then 'see with their own eyes'. The visual narration of hagiography and of the Bible stories, and in particular those that clearly pertained to the history of man's salvation, not only gave a degree of validity to these, but also enabled the viewer to more fully participate emotionally. The interior capitals depicting the fall are chiefly to be found in the choir, frequently not visible to the lay congregation, certainly not in detail. These must have been intended for the officiating clergy or the monks of the choir. It is notable that in some cases, such as Notre Dame in Chauvigny, the fall is the only historiated capital in the choir. This can only be seen as a reminder to those there of the function of the liturgy and the meaning of the Eucharist. This symbolic repetition and commemoration of Christ's sacrifice is the heart and foundation of the liturgy, and the clergy were reminded of the reasons for that sacrifice, while their own sinful nature, inherited from their first parents, was in this manner

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<sup>84</sup> Jean-René Gaborit, "Le chapiteau historié," in *La France Romane au temps des premiers Capétiens (987–1152)* (Paris, 2005).

brought home to them. I have already suggested that the works that are scarcely discernable can be seen as a statement and acknowledgement by the community of this sinful nature. They can be regarded as having a penitentiary character, a perpetual confession not by the individual, or even just by that particular congregation, but on behalf of mankind as a whole. They can be seen as an acknowledgement that that particular community was aware of its relationship to God, both as the author and the saviour of mankind. It took the form of an almost magical manner to express the community's repentance: placed in the church in the sight of God, if not man, it could be said to be made for God's view and man's comfort. Indeed, this may account for the height of many such works. This can also apply to works set high on the exterior of churches, but it is worth considering whether these had an apotropaic function. While the numerous *Sheela-na-gigs* tend to be found on smaller country churches, the exterior fall depiction that is too high to be seen clearly can also be found on such important buildings as Nîmes cathedral. The question is whether this falls into a possible apotropaic category with the various monsters and demons that are found on such buildings. Clearly such works cannot be said to be for the instruction of the laity or even as reminders to either clergy or laity, but is it true to say that its function was a magical protection of the worshippers in the church against sin and temptation?

While the extensive alterations to Notre Dame, Nîmes make the consideration of the whole frieze on the west façade dubious, the left hand portion can be securely dated to the period under discussion. If, as seems likely, the later right hand portion reflects the original then an apotropaic function seems unlikely. Even if we take the earlier left hand part in isolation there are arguments against it being seen as a defence against sin. It is unusually extensive in the number of scenes, showing the temptation and fall as separate scenes. Unfortunately the fall itself is so badly damaged and defaced that the only detail of which we can be certain is that a bearded Adam eats the fruit. However, if we examine the first scene there is a degree of consciousness that does not accord with an apotropaic function. (fig. 117) In particular Adam's gesture in not only covering his genitals, but also clutching his left wrist with his right hand seems to indicate a degree of restraint. Interestingly the serpent's head has almost human features, a factor that can only be seen with a high degree of magnification. While this is still a long way from the true dracontopede it may possibly be a stage on the way. Perhaps the most telling argument against an apotropaic function is the

inclusion in the expulsion scene of the Logos evidently clothing Adam and Eve. This is relatively rare, although it does occur in a few other works of the period, although I cannot call to mind any that conflate it with the expulsion. Generally speaking the pair is shown clothed at the expulsion with only an angel, or less frequently the Logos, driving them out. Even the expulsion itself seems inexplicable as a marker against sin, as do the sacrifices of Cain and Abel. Taken as whole, the left hand side of the frieze at Nîmes would seem to be a statement of the first chapters of Genesis with the emphasis on man's first sin and first crime, but also showing God's continuing care. It is also possible that the original right hand side of the frieze showed the events of the nativity, as in Poitiers or Arles, in which case its function would again be a statement and confession of both man's sin and his debt to God.

Thus far we can say that choir capitals and works that can scarcely be discerned serve functions that are other than those of miniatures. The choir capitals functioned as a continuing reminder to the clergy of the meaning of the liturgy and in particular the true meaning of the Eucharist, contrasting the absorption into the human self of sin and death with that of taking into oneself the body and blood of Christ, and with that, eternal life. The juxtaposition of the Eucharist and a depiction of the fall implied other contrasts, some of which are to be found in the iconographic programmes of manuscripts, but especially poignant when in the context of the essential ritual of the Christian faith. The perfect obedience of Christ in his acceptance of his passion compares with the wilful disobedience of the first man and woman, their selfishness and greed with God's perfect love and charity, and the weakness of the flesh is only highlighted by divine forgiveness. The great difference between the works that are virtually impossible to discern and all other works is that the message is not from God via the Church to his people, or from the Church to the faithful, but from the Christian community to God. Perhaps this accounts for the lack of a relatively fixed format for such works. Since God knows and sees all, there was no message to formulate other than the acknowledgment of man's sinful nature, the confession of his faults and his debt to God.

The third category of 'public' works, those that were truly intended for a broad public, requires close examination, since these were the first visions the general laity had of the ultimate ancestor's great sin. For the first time they were 'seeing' what happened, how Eve behaved, how Adam reacted. For many it would also be seeing what the first

parents looked like, perhaps seeing traces of a friend or neighbour, or even themselves, in their features. The visual expression made it much easier to relate to the temptation and fall: it made it real and immediate, and the consciousness of their own weakness and sensual nature could only increase their affinity to it in a way in which manifestations of God's might and even his suffering could not. This essential affinity, this knowledge of everyday temptation, this experience of longing for forbidden delight shared with the first man and woman, was a powerful base for propaganda. The miniatures of the twelfth century showed the importance of recognising and acknowledging sin and temptation, since only then could one fight and resist. The miniatures were directed, in general, to those who had dedicated their lives to God and had knowledge not only of the Bible but also of many other works. The general laity could not be expected to have this knowledge, but they would know that they were descendants of Adam and Eve and carried in themselves the proclivity to sin that they had inherited. It was on this basis that messages were broadcast to those entering or even passing a church.

The fall scenes intended for a greater public tended to be placed within the context of *Heilsgeschichte*. This usually took two forms that were sometimes complementary. The great Romanesque tympana play a great role in this, and in particular the last judgement tympana. These can be said to represent the 'stick' since there is usually more emphasis on the fate of the doomed than on the joy of the blessed. The 'carrot' part of these schemes is the role of Mary: the cult of the Virgin was gaining in popularity and the devotion to her reached great heights. The Marian devotion possibly had something to do with the fact that she was, technically at least, human: we see in the twelfth century also an increase in devotion to saints. These, the Virgin above all, had risen above sin, defeated all temptation and evil, but more than this, Mary was a mother, and the sinner could appeal to her deep encompassing love. As an intercessor she was without peer, for how could God refuse his own mother? Mary was the new Eve who opened the doors closed by Eve's sin, but she was also received and crowned in heaven: a mortal had defeated sin and death. If the lay man or woman could identify with Adam and Eve as weak and sinful, he or she could also recognise the humanity of the Virgin and aspire to emulate her, even if in an imperfect way, and could feel secure in the knowledge of her love and compassion. The fall, and particularly Eve's role, was contrasted with the triumph of the Virgin. The proportion of churches

that have a representation of the fall that are dedicated to the Virgin is extremely high;<sup>85</sup> by contrasting Mary with her ancestor her glory was more profound. The Virgin portal at Amiens is probably the best example of this: its message is clear and distinct and its visibility could not be bettered, but other works have the same message. The tympani of Anzy-le-Duc and Neuilly-en-Donjon contrast the roles played by Mary and Eve in the history of salvation, the one condemning mankind to death, the other being the means to eternal life. This is further emphasised by the lack of any juxtaposition of the fall and the crucifixion, not Christ's death but his birth is the counterpoint to the coming of death to mankind. Within larger iconographic programmes the events of the passion are to be found, such as at St. Savin, Bourges, Chartres<sup>86</sup> and countless miniatures, but within the immediate context of frieze, window or portal the fall and the crucifixion, in spite of their crucial roles in Heilsgeschichte, are not found together.<sup>87</sup> The message of these works was one of both caution and encouragement. By inviting the laity to contrast the Virgin and Eve, their attitudes and deeds, these works, in effect, laid forth alternate examples. This reached its peak in the use of the dracontopede as the serpent, allying Eve with the devil. This makes a deeply shocking impact, particularly in the context of these most public of works. Of the works examined in this period that could be considered to be intended for the laity only the Virgin portal at Amiens has a dracontopede as the serpent, and this is the youngest of the works. The Sens window is the oldest, older even than the earliest miniature that I know of, in which the dracontopede plays the role of tempter.<sup>88</sup> The uneducated could not be expected to see this as a metaphor for the weakness of the flesh and the imperatives of the body or as a reference to the learned debates on the type of serpent, but as a condemnation of the woman and a statement as to her essentially sinful nature. Such a statement drew authority from its position on the façade of a church. Its late appearance in miniatures, despite earlier hints, suggests that it was designed for a public of unschooled laity. Its frequent use from the mid-thirteenth century points

<sup>85</sup> See appendix D.

<sup>86</sup> While the long capital frieze at Chartres does indeed show scenes of the passion, it has no crucifixion.

<sup>87</sup> To my knowledge the Neuilly-en-Donjon tympanum comes closest to this, showing the Last Supper.

<sup>88</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms lat. 10434.

to a form of propaganda that went beyond distrust of the female to downright antagonism. Balanced against this is the Marian cult, and the two could be seen as the two faces of the female. Mary was not exalted as a woman who had overcome her female nature and become a man in her soul, but as the true perfection of womanhood whose love and compassion were the reverse of the physical desires represented by Eve. It may even be that this contrast was especially directed at women, and lay women at that. In 1181 marriage became a sacrament and the idea of a spouse took on worth: the role of the mother was also exalted, if not equal to that of virginity. For men too, there was a contrast offered between the chaste and the sensual. Marriage within its limits was accepted and was now an affair of the Church, not just a social contract.<sup>89</sup> If the Church was going to control marriage and set its limitations in rules of consanguinity, periods of abstinence, durability, forms of intercourse and consent, then it had to present a positive version of a union of the flesh while still showing abhorrence of all that could be regarded as purely sensual pleasure. In the oppositional character of the Mary and Eve juxtapositions the Church had found a potent means of propaganda to achieve this.

The other side of the coin was the last judgement. Sauerländer says the main problem is what elements of the tympana can be seen as more than symbolic and metaphorical,<sup>90</sup> but for the unschooled the metaphorical would have played very little role: these would give a glimpse of things that were actually to come. If man had been prodigal with his chance to fill the ranks of heaven and had been condemned to death, both physical and spiritual, the incarnation gave him the chance to remedy this, but only on the last day would the damned and the blessed be finally known. The triumph of the Virgin gave hope to all those who turned to God, but this is counterweighted by the depictions of the fate of those who reject salvation. In the last judgement representations this fate is often given in a more forceful and vigorous fashion than that of those judged worthy of heaven. These, too, contrast with the depictions of the Virgin shown as a loving mother: Christ sits in majesty, the mighty judge who holds the fate of each individual soul

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<sup>89</sup> For the relationship between money and sexuality see Guillaume Erner, "Christian economic morality: the medieval turning point," *International Social Science Journal* 57 (2005).

<sup>90</sup> Willibald Sauerländer, "Über die Komposition des Weltgerichts-Tympanons in Autun," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 29 (1966) p. 263.



in his hands. The last judgement tympana are usually the principle entrance to the church that no one entering or even passing could fail to see. The great mandorlae that are central to these works draw the eye and the clear division between the blessed and the damned make the message clear. It is notable that one of the oldest of the 'public' works, St. Savin, uses not only the last judgement as its 'entrance', but other scenes from Revelation. This may be regarded as an older type. There were miniatures of the last judgement before the twelfth century, but then, judging by the number of extant manuscripts, the number grew by roughly 150%.<sup>91</sup> The great last judgement tympana chiefly confine themselves to Revelation 20:11–15,<sup>92</sup> but at St. Savin the Christ in Majesty with the instruments of the passion is part of a larger scheme depicting Revelation, including the dragon and the Woman clothed in the Sun. Her pose is very like that of the Virgin in various adoration of the magi scenes: she is shown frontally with the Child on her knee, only the turn of the Child's body and the reaching angel, and of course the seven-headed dragon, distinguish this from a straightforward Virgin and Child. There can be little doubt that the viewer would identify the Woman Clothed in the Sun with the Virgin, and if sufficiently schooled, as a metaphor for the Church.

The visitor to St. Savin would enter through the porch and its scenes of the last days and then go on to the first days depicted on the ceiling of the nave. The later sculpted tympana of the last judgement frequently had a looser physical, though not conceptual, relationship with representations of the fall. The Autun Eve, much larger than is apparent from many photographs, was once on a lintel of the north transept portal of the cathedral of St. Lazar, while the famous last judgement is on the principal western façade, an arrangement found in other sites such as Chartres. Sadly the other half of the lintel showing Adam has been lost and Eve is no longer in her original position, but in the Musée Rolin. The Autun Eve is widely known, both for the

<sup>91</sup> It is also interesting to note that the incidence of miniatures of the fall increases in the twelfth century by almost 300% over that of the eleventh century.

<sup>92</sup> 11 *et vidi thronum magnum candidum et sedentem super eum a cuius aspectu fugit terra et caelum et locus non est inventus ab eis* 12 *et vidi mortuos magnos et pusillos stantes in conspectu throni et libri aperti sunt et alius liber apertus est qui est vitae et iudicati sunt mortui ex his quae scripta erant in libris secundum opera ipsorum* 13 *et dedit mare mortuos qui in eo erant et mors et inferus dederunt mortuos qui in ipsis erant et iudicatum est de singulis secundum opera ipsorum* 14 *et inferus et mors missi sunt in stagnum ignis haec mors secunda est stagnum ignis* 15 *et qui non est inventus in libro vitae scriptus missus est in stagnum ignis.*

fact that her maker's name, Gislebertus, is known and for what is seen as both her naturalness and sensuousness. Much has been made of her recumbent position, but this is dictated by the form of the lintel; however, it must be acknowledged that in deciding to put the scene of the fall on a lintel the confines of this ground must have been evident. In addition, the form of the lintel did not preclude other compositions, primarily a series of scenes, so restricting the depiction of the subject to the two large recumbent figures must have been a conscious choice. The two large figures on the lintel must have been almost overwhelming for the contemporary visitor to Autun's north portal, a potent reminder of their own humanity and sinfulness. The effect would have been enhanced by viewing those figures from a lower angle, an effect that is missing in most photographs that strive to give the best possible view of the work's details. The positioning in the Musée Rolin is also arranged at eye height for ease of viewing. Seen from a lower angle the work acquires more depth, greater naturalness and Eve's sensuality is even more apparent, the twisting of the body giving the impression that she is about to roll onto her back. (fig. 118) Her hair trails over her shoulders and winds around her right arm and her face is serene, even closed, as if her thoughts had turned inwards. Apart from the unusual pose, there are other points of interest in the work. Eve does not receive the fruit from the serpent, but plucks it almost casually from the tree. In the damaged state of the relief it is impossible to tell the form the serpent originally took. At first glance it could seem that spotted and sinuous ribbon on the extreme right must be the serpent's body. However, on closer examination this can be seen to be the trunk of the tree: the trunks of the other trees are also sinuous and patterned. Above this is a broken fragment that is all that now remains of the serpent. This remnant is a clawed hand, and it is frequently assumed that a devil was shown here.<sup>93</sup> This causes some difficulty since a devil reclining in a position 'analogous to that of Eve'<sup>94</sup> would destroy the assumed symmetry with the half of the lintel on which Adam was depicted, and would lengthen the Eve part considerably. I suggest that the tempter was, as in so many of the works intended for a wide audience, a dragon, the body of which could take a more flexible posi-

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<sup>93</sup> O.K. Werckmeister, "The Lintel Fragment Representing Eve from Saint-Lazare, Autun," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 35 (1972) p. 2.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*

tion. Whether the tempter was a devil or a dragon, while it seems to be lowering the branch to make the fruit more easily accessible, it is clearly not whispering to Eve.<sup>95</sup> Instead it seems as if she is whispering to the missing Adam, her hand cupped round her mouth. It would be interesting to know if Adam was eating the fruit, if his pose echoed that of Eve—from the form of the lintel his pose would have to be at least similar. Perhaps the designers of the portal chose this unusual form so that the recumbent positions would symbolise the fallen nature of the pair. The lost tympanum of the north porch held the resurrection of Lazarus, an episode brought into connection with the fall in Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob*,<sup>96</sup> and not only appropriate to the dedication of the cathedral, but forming a link with the tympanum on the western façade.

Eve is unusually sensuous for a work that was intended for a broad public, and this sensuality contrasts with the angularity of the figures on the western tympanum. Centrally the symmetrical, almost schematic Christ sits in a mandorla held by four angels, while on either side and below on the lintel elongated, semi-abstract figures of the risen dead, angels and demons act out the final hours. Above, the Virgin enthroned and two saints, presumably John with a book and possibly Lazarus, intercede for humanity. The second nimbed figure has also been identified as James the brother of John whose mother begged that they would sit beside Christ, or they have been seen as Enoch and Elijah.<sup>97</sup> On the right of Christ the Judge a group stand and wait to hear their fate, while beyond them others reach for the Heavenly Jerusalem; on his left an angel and a demon weigh the deeds of a soul and the damned are seized by demons. Four angels, one at each lower corner and two high in the curve of the tympanum sound the last trumpet. While the composition is highly symmetrical the figures on the right are larger and clearer and this, combined with the greater degree of movement and vigour there, draws the eye. Small details add to this direction of the viewer's gaze. Immediately under Christ's feet and the inscription *GISLEBERTUS HOC FECIT* an angel drives the risen towards their

<sup>95</sup> This would be an accurate rendering of the *Apocalypsis Mosii*, ch. 19. 320–22. See chapter 1.

<sup>96</sup> Part 4, book vi, ch. 15. P.L. lxxvi; 231.

<sup>97</sup> Denis Grivot, *La sculpture du XII<sup>e</sup> Siècle de la Cathédrale d'Autun* (Colmar-Ingersheim, 2000). Also see Don Denny, "The Last Judgment Tympanum at Autun: Its Sources and Meaning," *Speculum* 57 (1982). Denny has doubts about the intercessory function of these figures.

fate. Not only the direction of the angel and the doomed direct the eye to the right, but the figures on the left hand side of the lintel also face that way. This movement is only broken by a figure that faces outward and is seized by a demonic hand from the hell above. Only the last six figures turn to the left, but this has the effect of bringing the eye back to the figure being dragged up to hell. The pilgrim or worshipper entering St. Lazar was confronted on the west side with this scene of what was to come, and on the north by what had happened to lead to this. Only inside the church could he or she find the way to escape the horrors of hell so graphically depicted on the exterior.

Physically closer are the Virgin and the Beau Dieu portals in Amiens. The three portals of the west façade show a scale of identification possibilities, from God in his majesty on the central tympanum, to the Virgin who rises above human weakness and sin to the portal that celebrates St. Firmin and the local saints: with the latter, at least, the population of Amiens and its environs could and would feel an affinity, particularly with Ste. Ulphe who would provide a link, both legendary and physical with Mary. Murray points out that 'In her stance and attributes, Ulphe is very similar to the Virgin of the Annunciation in the south portal.'<sup>98</sup> While the St. Firmin portal is basically optimistic in character, the central portal echoes the themes of sin and redemption found on the Virgin portal, but in a final and more definite form. (fig. 117) Christ is shown in three aspects, as teacher on the trumeau, as sacrifice centrally on the tympanum and at the apex of the tympanum as judge. Murray describes this latter aspect as 'awesome', which indeed it is, considered in isolation. However, even when it was 'ablaze with color'<sup>99</sup> it must have been considerably less imposing than the large figure below. Through the triple aspect of Christ a particular message is broadcast. The judging God of Revelation speaks his pronouncements with the swords of his mouth: the Christ displaying his wounds states his right to pronounce on mankind through his love and sacrifice, while the teaching Christ of the trumeau points the way to salvation. The angels holding the instruments of the passion emphasises Christ's sacrifice and thereby his right to judge, while the Christ with swords issuing

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<sup>98</sup> Stephen Murray, *Notre Dame Cathedral of Amiens: the power of change in Gothic* (Cambridge, 1996) p. 109.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 103–4.

from his mouth displays the omnipotence of God. The kneeling figures of John and Mary, the intercessors for mankind, add optimism. This composition is more symmetrical than that of Autun: above the blessed, seven angels offer crowns, while above the damned seven angels with fiery swords drive them towards the hell mouth. This can be seen as a direct reference to the expulsion from paradise shown only a few metres away. Even though there is a great deal of symmetry the eye is drawn on this level to the right and the procession of the damned: there are a few more damned than blessed and their more agitated movements also attract the eye. The simply clad blessed, waiting by St. Peter as he holds open the unlocked door of the Heavenly Jerusalem, seem to move in serene progression, while the naked limbs of the damned show their reluctance and fear. The hell mouth, too, is more prominent than the gateway to heaven. Nevertheless, these figures of the damned are not driven or dragged there by demons; only one demon, back to back with angel of the blessed, steers them towards their fate. This creature, in its hairiness and huge mouth resembles the devouring demons in London, British Library, Arundel 157 and Royal D.X, but its role is very different: it does not torture, punish or devour, but lays claim to sinners, and, if reluctant, they go to hell under their own power, as if acknowledging that this is the ultimate result of the choices they made in life. On the lowest register of the tympanum, above the plain lintel, the dead rise from their graves, the four angels sound their trumpets and souls are weighed. Demons try to pull down the scales on the side of sin, but the crowned figure on the left is content to let the work of the soul, written on the scroll it holds, speak for itself. The weighing of souls is depicted far more graphically in the sculptured works than in the miniatures, with demons 'cheating' by trying to weight the scales. This once again emphasises the connection between sin and ugliness, between the calm goodness of the one figure seated under the scales and the frantic attempts of the demons. In its own way it is a reflection of the contrast between the Virgin and Eve made on the right hand portal.

There are two iconographic features that appear regularly, if not frequently, in the 'public' works, but are rarely seen in miniatures. The first of these is the offset tree of knowledge. In the 'public' works this appears fifteen times, if we include the second small temptation of Eve at Amiens. This would appear to belong to an older tradition and is to

be found in three of the Tournian Bibles,<sup>100</sup> the Old English Hexateuch,<sup>101</sup> Bibliothèque Nationale 2077 and three twelfth century manuscripts Amiens 19, Auch 1 and Munich, Clm 935. When we consider the relative numbers of manuscripts surviving from those centuries and the relative popularity of the fall, it is clear that this convention was declining. Of the 'public' works the majority fall into the category of being intended for a restricted audience,<sup>102</sup> only Tavant, Anzy-le-Duc and Neuilly-en-Donjon catering for a wider audience, while the later Vézelay capital and the tower frieze at St. Restitut are virtually invisible. Certainly the tympana of Anzy and Neuilly were clearly visible, but they would not draw such crowds of either local people or pilgrims as many of the other places considered here. The temptation of Eve on the Amiens corbel is accessible, but it is one of many often fanciful and demonic figures supporting the images of prophets and saints. This spread seems to imply that, just as manuscripts were most often made for a male clerical audience, the off-set tree and serpent had a particular message for the clergy. This could be the deceptive habits of the female, but in the circumstances I am inclined to believe that it had a more metaphorical meaning, that of the dangers of hidden sin and temptation that come through the body and the senses, but in a trusted guise. It is possible that its decline in miniatures to the prevalence of the 'hidden danger' theme expressed in the entwined rinceaux of the twelfth century initials.<sup>103</sup> It may seem strange that two of the twelfth century manuscripts were most probably intended for women. Munich Clm 935 is often known as St. Hildegard's Prayerbook, and, while it is unlikely that this, as once thought was an autograph, it was possibly presented to Hildegard von Bingen: its prayers certainly use the feminine form.<sup>104</sup> The ownership of Amiens 19 has already been

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<sup>100</sup> The Bamberg, Moutier-Grandval and the Vivian Bibles.

<sup>101</sup> Junius 11 is so complex in both text and illustration it can scarcely fall into the category of a simple offset position of the tree.

<sup>102</sup> St. Georges-de-Boscherville, Cluny, Clermont-Ferrand, Sens, Malmesbury, Lyons, Aulnay-de-Saintonge, the Chartres portal and Hardham.

<sup>103</sup> It could be considered a further anomaly that, while in the miniatures the dragon is increasingly identified with sin, the use of the dragon-headed serpent in the 'public' works is found chiefly in works for a broad public. However, the identification of the dragon with Satan and sin in the miniatures appears far less frequently as the tempter in scenes of the fall, and more often is associated with Christ's or Michael's defeat of sin/Satan.

<sup>104</sup> Jeffrey F. Hamburger, "A Liber Precum in Selestat and the Development of the Illustrated Prayer Book in Germany," *Art Bulletin* 73 (1991) p. 218.

discussed. However, the emphasis placed on omnipresent and hidden temptation and the idea that women were more vulnerable to the weakness of the flesh, makes this less surprising: even Hildegard was accused of allowing her nuns to celebrate Church festivals in silken gowns and with their hair loose.

The second iconographic feature is one that was mentioned earlier, Adam grasping his throat. This is very rare indeed in miniatures, the only one known to me being, although Bibliothèque Nationale Ms lat. 8846 shows Adam holding his hand to his face in a similar gesture. In contrast to the offset tree the majority of works with this element are intended for a broad public, although this is a slight majority.<sup>105</sup> In addition the later capital at Vézelay shows both this element and the offset tree.<sup>106</sup> Of the other four places that display both elements, two are also in Burgundy, Anzy-le-Duc and Neuilly-en-Donjon; the others being Aulnay-de-Saintonge and the Chartres portal. In addition to Anzy and Neuilly the gesture is to be found in widely accessible works at Vézelay, the earlier capital, the trumeau at Amiens and between the windows of a secular building in St. Antonin. In his article on the Airvault capital Stoddard has suggested that the throat clutching gesture is 'as if the forbidden fruit had indeed become stuck.'<sup>107</sup> However, a careful examination of works with this gesture suggests that this is only part of the story. It has already been pointed out that in the 'public' works Eve is often portrayed as more dynamic and self-assured than Adam and it is in this light that we must look at the throat grasping gesture. While the idea of the forbidden fruit sticking in Adam's throat is a fine metaphor, in six of the works Adam is reaching out to receive the fruit and thus cannot yet have consumed it.<sup>108</sup> In three other works, St. Gaudens, Airvault and the earlier capital at Vézelay Eve is in the act of plucking or accepting the fruit from the serpent, so once again the idea of choking on it cannot hold. Only in the Chartres window, where Eve is eating, is this a possibility, and in the St. Antonin sculpture where both Adam and Eve cover their genitals and clutch their throats, this would seem not only possible but extremely plausible. In the other cases I would

<sup>105</sup> Chartres, both sculpture and window, St. Gaudens and Aulnay-de Saintonge

<sup>106</sup> Adam in fact clutches his breast, but the gesture is so similar as to be counted with this group.

<sup>107</sup> Stoddard, "A Romanesque Master Carver at Airvault (Deux-Sevres)" p. 68.

<sup>108</sup> The Chartres portal, Anzy-le-Duc, Aulnay-de-Saintonge, Neuilly-en-Donjon, Amiens and the more recent capital at Vézelay.

suggest the gesture shows a degree of horror or reluctance, analogous to the up-thrown hand that is sometimes Adam's gesture in miniatures of the fall. If we consider the Chartres sculpture the impression is that Adam is fearful and reluctant, and that is precisely the same message given by the newer Vézelay capital, although there Adam seems more eager, and perhaps horrified by his own daring. The Amiens Adam seems dubious as do many of the others. The implication of this is that Adam was well aware that he was doing wrong, and the message of these works is that man is weak, and succumbs to that which he knows is wrong. How does this combine with the offset tree in a number of works? If the offset tree is a warning against hidden temptation how can Adam be aware of his wrong-doing? Perhaps the answer is that the righteous Christian should beware of disguising from himself that he is doing wrong, blinding himself to sin and the nature of sin. On a simpler level, it could simply be a warning to hesitate before accepting that which one desires. The throat grasping gesture is immediate in its appeal and sufficiently startling to make a lay person think about the significance of it. Like other aspects of the iconography of 'public' works, it could have various levels of meaning depending on the context and the viewer.

In general it can be said that many of the works intended for a restricted public of monks and priests can rival the iconographic programmes of manuscripts in their subtlety and complexity. This is hardly surprising as they served the same public. If the lay man or woman took a great deal of notice of the more complex works that were in publicly accessible places there was usually a simpler message to be distilled from them, certainly one that would not contradict the one broadcast by works intended for a broad public. These latter had a relatively simple message, often that of an abbreviated history of salvation. They were also perhaps more friendly to females and less hostile to marriage, especially in the contrast between Eve and the Virgin. This comes to the fore more than in manuscript illumination. Of course, there were manuscripts of the period that gave a great deal of attention to Mary; 's-Gravenhage, Koninklijke Bibliotheek 76 E.5, is a case in point, as is the Getty manuscript, although the latter would scarcely be decipherable for the lay man or woman. There is little of the close juxtaposition of Eve and the Virgin in manuscript illumination, the emphasis on the incarnation and the Mary's role in salvation. This was to come later, as more and more of the laity owned books, especially women



who could identify with Mary as woman and mother. Such books were relatively rare in the twelfth century and it is notable that Amiens 19, examined in the previous chapter, and belonging to a woman, probably a lay woman, has a simplicity in its iconographic programme that is reminiscent of Anzy-le-Duc and Neuilly-en-Donjon. While the 'public' works seem to have drawn on a pool of images chiefly springing from miniatures, these were clearly adapted to suit both position and public and to deliver a message deemed suitable for that public. Moreover there are signs these adaptations would be later incorporated into miniatures that now began to serve a less limited and homogeneous public.



## CHAPTER SIX

### CONCLUSIONS

In a period of four hundred years the visual expressions of death and the fall of man underwent very considerable change. It may be said that, roughly speaking, the view of sin changed from a social and political position to a highly personal search for salvation: death shifted from a generic and eschatological concept to the physical death of an individual. In fact, the personification of death gradually merged into a new personification of sin.

#### 1. *Miniatures as Statement and Propaganda*

The sporadic character and geographically restricted areas of the manuscripts with miniatures of the fall and personifications of death in the period from c. 800 to c. 1100 have two major consequences. The first of these is that any conclusions about these periods can only refer to the context in which the manuscripts were made and used: for example, ninth century manuscripts can only tell us what the circle round Charles the Bald considered to be the first and great sin leading to the death sentence on mankind, and what that sentence entailed. The second is that at times societies seemed to feel the need to re-examine the fundamental question of what constitutes sin, and with it man's relationship to God. While it is more than possible that many works have been lost, the groupings in both time and place of both types of miniatures suggest that, at those times, and in those places questions of sin and its consequences were a preoccupation of the book-producing population and its patrons. There was a need to consider sin and how it related to their own situation. In this it can be assumed that the concept of what was the ultimate sin was uncertain or under pressure, and either a reassessment or a confirmation of the position was necessary. The miniatures provided a means for both these aims. The combined working of the authority of the written word, especially the word of God, and concreteness of visual representation could be regarded as an exceptionally effective method of bringing ideas to the attention

of the educated reader, and stimulating him or her to reflect on those ideas. By exploring not just verbally, but visually, the source of sin and its consequence, a statement was made of how that society, or part of society, viewed not only the abstract idea, but how it applied to their own situation. Such a statement could work as exhortation, reminder and stimulus for meditation: it could also put across a message that could confirm a viewpoint or bring others round to that viewpoint. Miniatures were the medium for a message and this could be within a closed circle, in which maker and user were the same or from the same group, reinforcing and stimulating the ideas expressed. It could also be from one group to another, the most obvious examples being the highly public works in churches: there the Church gave the message to a lay congregation, its authority lending force to its statement and giving it extra validity. Finally, it could be a message from man to God: a statement of man's unworthiness and a plea for help and forgiveness. This last is also intrinsic in the first two forms of message.

The Carolingian miniatures broadcast a very contemporary message, and one that was socially and politically weighted. Both types of miniature, the fall and death, give a picture of a particular social and economic relationship, one that gave an ideal of a mutual but still hierarchical relationship. The lord-man relationship was personal, loyalty the highest ideal and the love and care of the ideal lord was a reflection of God's care for his people. While this relationship was personal it was also the basis of the social order: to disturb this was to disturb society. God ordained the relationship, and the disloyalty of man disturbed the order to the extent that the relationship changed. As Christians, the Franks could be expected to take the opportunity of salvation and restore both the relationship and the order. Death was not for them. It was the generic fate of the unrighteous, the heathen. Within the unstable social and political situation of the Frankish kingdoms the necessity of reinforcing the view that the monarch, in this case Charles the Bald, ruled by God's grace, that he was the champion of the divine order and represented the ordained relationship, was great. Charles's lands held the greatest and most productive scriptoria of the time in Francia and he himself was a patron of learning. His use, and that of his most trusted advisors, of this patronage to bring across this message found expression not only in the numerous ruler images, but also in a more subtle manner in the Genesis frontispieces and such works as the Utrecht Psalter. While the ruler images propagated his

personal fitness to rule, the Genesis frontispieces enforced the idea of the relationship between lord and man, making it a reflection of that between mankind and God as it was intended.

Far less overtly political are the images of late Anglo-Saxon England, but nevertheless they propagate a particular view of sin and its results. These works were the products of monastic reform and their asceticism is obvious. To a great extent they are a confession of human weakness and sinfulness, but also an exhortation to examine the self, and to ban weakness, human emotion and the inherent tendency to sin. Man was made responsible for his own salvation. The message was that God had laid the way to redemption for his erring people, but it was up to each individual not only to choose to follow God, but to do so to his utmost ability. The miniatures propagate the ideals of strict monastic asceticism, greatly influenced by the Cluniac reform movement. Unlike the Carolingian miniatures, these were not directed at *potentes*, both lay and ecclesiastical: they are not concerned with a social and political order, but in a time when that order was confused, and right and wrong not always clear they advocated setting right the more fundamental relationship with God. In the disordered world, they retreated from the uncertainty and chaos to lay the emphasis on the unworthiness of man, his responsibility for his own soul and orientation on God. Personal responsibility received even more emphasis from the miniatures of death, whether they were optimistic or horrifying: the individual's fate lay in his own hands.

The miniatures of the twelfth century are far more diffuse in both form and geographical spread. It could be said that the fall became a means whereby attitudes and theories were broadcast on a European scale. Generally speaking, a balance was found between the confidence and external character of the ninth century miniatures and the extreme internalisation of the eleventh century works. Both sin and salvation were still personal and individual, but sin was categorised and marked not only by penitence but also by purification and punishment. The price of sin was no longer eternal death, but a fearful, but generally limited, period of extreme pain and horror. In this way the Church laid its definitions of sin on the Christian community and at the same time defined itself and the Christian. God had forgiven mankind its sin, but it was the Church that must forgive the individual, at least until the last day. The miniatures show both the striving for perfection and the failure to do so: they broadcast the message that it is the striving that is important; failure to do so was forgivable, or at least reparable, if

one is truly penitent. From the twelfth century the fall was viewed by a much wider and more diverse audience, and it is a measure of the importance of the message that they put across that the iconography was adapted to suit the audience, not only in respect to learning, but also in respect of sex and marital status.

## 2. *The Context Dependency of the Concepts of Sin and Death*

The propaganda aspects bring to the fore the question of what was seen as the 'great sin' that caused the death sentence to be delivered on mankind. Behaviour and attitudes were propagated or discouraged, and thus dependent on what the makers and their environment found to be the root cause of sin. Traditionally, didactic texts claimed pride, *superbia*, as the great sin from which all others sprang. However, visual representations often modify or even change this view, as could be seen from the sexually implicit opening miniature to the Moissac manuscript discussed in chapter two, or the British Library Arundel manuscript dealt with in chapter four. This is not to say that the makers would deny that pride was the root of sin, but possibly subconsciously they modified their views, and it is this modification that is apparent in the visual expressions. While they were not likely to deviate from the theological and doctrinal opinion, a more contemporary view of sin and its manifestations is reflected in the miniatures. While each society could argue that pride did indeed lie at the root of the sin considered to be the most serious, the miniatures do not deal with pride, but with other forms of behaviour and attitudes, and it is these forms that are closest to the context. The contrast between the Anglo-Saxon and the Ottonian miniatures of death highlight the importance of the immediate context in the contrast between the horror and pessimism of the one and the confidence and optimism of the other.

### 2.1 *From the External to the Internal, from God's Plan to the Fate of the Individual Soul*

The Carolingian miniatures showed the relationship between man and God as a metaphor for the relationship between vassal and lord. The emphasis lay on the loyalty of both and on their mutual responsibilities. The intrusion of a party outside this relationship acts as a catalyst, but in no way predetermines the outcome. The forsaking and betrayal

of one's lord disturbs not only the relationship, but the God-given order. Sin in the Tournon Bibles is a social and political concept. It propagates the idea of the immutable goodness of the relationship and the ordained structure of society. The miniatures that deal with death show the eschatological death that is the fate of outsiders to that relationship and the Christian community. Sin was external behaviour that might reflect an internal disposition, but it was the sinful act that counted, and the eschatological death the fate of those who manifested truly sinful behaviour.

The Anglo-Saxon fall miniatures display an austere and pessimistic view of sin and death. No longer was behaviour the touchstone, but internal weakness and susceptibility. No longer was it necessary to commit a great sin, to abandon and betray, to be condemned to eternal death. Human weakness, emotions, lack of discernment threatened even the best intentioned. Sin had become internalised, no longer a social or political action, but rooted in the deepest soul of the individual. While the Carolingian who had been baptised and had led a normal life, by the standards of the times, could be confident that he was counted as one of God's people, the Anglo-Saxon monk was confronted with his own unworthiness and the consciousness of his weak, fallible and sinful nature. The emphasis shifted from a generic idea of sin, something that was the work of the unrighteous, and the generic idea of the eternal death suffered by those who were not on God's side, to the state of the soul of the individual and his fate, whether salvation or damnation, eternal life or eternal death. The way to salvation was open to all, but it was the individual's responsibility to be worthy of it. God's plan for the world and mankind was no longer central: Christ had redeemed mankind, but it was now up to each individual to see to his or her own personal salvation. There was a new orientation on the fate of the individual, and this was shown in both the Ottonian exhortations to good works and following Christ, and the threat posed by the Anglo-Saxon death images. It was shown too in the new sensual and sexual aspect to sin, now a far more personal temptation in the gratification of the senses that only the self could experience.

The twelfth century saw a certain balance achieved between the various concepts, and even a general, if implicit, acknowledgement that sin was sensual gratification and the things of the world, with sexuality being the most dangerous temptation. At the same time it laid an external aspect on the idea of both sin and repentance. Failure to achieve virtue was not the cause of damnation, but failure to constantly

strive for virtue. True repentance was needed and God's justice demanded that sin be paid for. Christ had paid for mankind's sin, but the individual must make amends for the sins he had committed and his failures to follow God's word. Eve, as the female part of man, had become if not fully equated with sin, at least very closely associated with it. The female, as susceptibility, sensuality and weakness could be removed. That which was internal could be cast out, something also seen in the treatment of Cain in many miniatures: the 'other' was held outside the Christian community. Nevertheless, the individual was still central. God and his plan became remote, and in spite of the horrors of purgatory, both sin and death had not only become individual but human. The preoccupation was not with God, but with the individual and his fate.

The new emphasis on the internal and personal aspects of sin and the fate of the individual fitted with various trends in the social and political context of the time. As more and more things, including laws, were indexed and categorised, so was sin. It is a measure of the distance felt between God and man that no longer was sin seen as a betrayal, but a transgression of divine law. That transgression was not necessarily manifest to the outside world, and it was the duty of the Christian to examine himself for hidden sins, small longings and desires, hints of pride, weakness and complacency. As sin became differentiated and individualised, so too did the fate of the sinner. No longer was the price of sin eternal death, banishment from the presence of God, but was adjusted to fit the circumstances. While the individual circumstances were the ideal in determining the way to an individual's salvation, in fact a sort of balance sheet of sin and punishment was drawn. It might even be said that in the society that would make up the Heavenly Jerusalem, the Church issued the residence permits. The Church had defined sin, and with the spread of lay confession it had also taken to itself the power to forgive sin.

Personal purity remained largely bodily purity and the control of the senses. While it was acknowledged that marriage was right and good and a life of abstinence was not for everyone, virginity remained the ideal. Theoretically there was talk of the spiritual virginity of those whose minds remained pure or even achieved purity, but bodily integrity was seen as an outward sign of those truly pure in their souls. Everyone could strive for humility, charity and knowledge of God, but the ladder



of virtue was slippery and the virgins' feet were felt to be more secure. The lure of the senses was not denied, but recognised and fought. There was a general sense of optimism, and scenes of the fall were brought ever closer into relation with Heilsgeschichte, but the dangers of the world, even for those who fought them, were shown in the entangling vines and monsters that threatened from every side.

## 2.2 *From the Eschatological to the Physical Death and the Conflation of Sin and Death*

No miniatures of purgatory from this period are known, but the effects of purification after physical death can be seen in various ways, chiefly in the new importance given to physical death. The Carolingian miniatures had given all the attention to the eschatological death, and this accorded with the generally accepted idea that most people slept in their grave until the last day. By the late tenth century we find the first hint of a new importance given to physical death: the illustration of the *Sphaera Apulei* by a Christ figure and a devil brought to the fore the notion that while one lived, one could work on one's salvation, but one would be judged by the state of one's soul at the moment of death, even if that judgement was deferred to the end of time. Thus the moment of physical death was of crucial importance in deciding the fate of the individual soul. Despite the differences in attitude, the Uta Codex again laid the emphasis on the moment of physical death, this time making it the gateway to eternal life. From this point on the eschatological death began to lose his importance. Slowly the number of figures that can be unambiguously identified as death decreases: with the advent of a first provisional judgement and the importance attached to that and the process of purification the eschatological death lost much of his power to terrify. For most Christians eternal life was assured, but only after a long and dreadful process of purgation. While there was a great interest in apocalyptic thought, the question of individual salvation was brought forward. Just as apocalyptic thought concentrated on what would happen before the last day, the individual considered what would happen to his soul before the last judgement. No ordinary Christian, lay or ecclesiastic, could consider himself free of sin, and he must be purged of that before being worthy of heaven. It is little wonder therefore, that the emphasis lay on what lay in store immediately after death: physical death might have been the way to

eternal life, but the way was long, hard and painful. This is reflected in the miniatures in which eternal death becomes submerged and transformed into other images.

As the makers of miniatures paid less and less attention to eschatological death, so the personifications changed. From a symbol of estrangement from God, of banishment from his presence, death became ever more closely allied with the devil and sin. No longer a gaoler keeping the unrighteous from God, death became a torturer inflicting pain and punishment on the sinner. Death was demonised. Death was lost in the metaphors for hell and damnation, in whatever form, serpentine or anthropomorphic, he ceased to be the absence of God and became the punishment of the damned. The visual metaphors, too, drew closer together. The dragon, once a death symbol, hunted and devoured the Christian soul entangled in the snares of the world, less a just fate of the unrighteous than an enemy out to seize the unwary or weak. The dragon appeared as the serpent in the tree to tempt Eve, embodying sin and temptation, and the final link could be seen with the transformation of the fall of Lucifer into the fall of the dragon. Death, the devil and the tempter had become one. Death, as personification, had lost his function and become elided with the symbols of evil and sin. The symbols used earlier for eternal death had not lost their power to terrify, but now they were metaphors not for a just judgement, but the reason such a judgement was given.

### 3. *The Role of Physical Death in Salvation*

As the moment of physical death loomed larger in the mind it was regarded as the most critical point. The first and provisional judgement not only heralded a painful period of purgation, but also raised the question whether the soul could be saved and what processes of purgation it must undergo. Perhaps as a reaction to the extreme pessimism and gloom found in several of the eleventh century works, the idea that salvation was possible, not just for the few, but for the ordinary Christian who truly tried, developed. For such a person sin could be forgiven, but not without paying a price: it might not be the ultimate price of eternal damnation, but it must still be high.

Theologically, the painful processes and experiences that take place after death were not punishment, but the necessary purification to

make the soul worthy of heaven. However, the numerous accounts of visions of purgatory make clear that there was a strong element of punishment involved; this may have been seen as necessary for the purgation process, but there was certainly an idea that even if this was the purpose, the manner of effecting this should be appropriate to the sin. This attitude is also found in the miniatures that show the damned in hell being tortured in a way that reflected their evil deeds. The element of punishment also reflects ideas on justice: while God had paid for mankind's sin, redeemed him from the claims of the devil, a sense of justice demanded, and the practicality of social and civil order demanded, that the individual pay for the deeds for which he was personally responsible. While civil and ecclesiastical authorities could impose penalties for visible crimes and sins, only God could know the sins of the heart and mind, covetous or lustful thoughts for example. The Church might forgive sins, after penance, but at physical death the soul had to face the divine assessment of its condition. Again, while theologians would say that the purgation process was spiritual, it was expressed in physical terms; just as the giants of the Utrecht Psalter held the unrighteous away from the presence of God, so their descendents tore and devoured those in their power. The concreteness of visual metaphors tends to obscure the fact that they are metaphors, and certainly the images of sinners in hell took on an actuality and validity that implied a physical reality. While the images from this period are still those of hell they closely resemble the descriptions of purgatory. This is not really surprising since the visions made little differentiation between the sufferings inflicted in both places. It may be said that, whatever distinctions made by theological works as to damnation and purgation, the average reader of illustrated manuscripts was presented with pictures of hell that differed only from his conception of purgatory in the duration of time to be spent there. There is also little doubt that the visual expressions of hell gave him a picture of the physical torments that awaited him in purgatory.

The vision of hell and suffering, of monsters and demons, the despair of the damned are usually far more graphically given than the soul's peacefully awaiting heaven after their purgation. If Bernard of Clairvaux described such souls as drowsing on couches, full of contentment, miniatures tended to picture them in a stole held by Abraham, neither image, verbal or visual, as exciting or graphic as the horrors of hell. Rather more graphic are the images of deathbeds in which the soul of the deceased is weighed, More often than not these are the judgements

of saints and the holy man's soul is received by an angel while a devil retreats baffled. These scenes of the weighing of deeds emphasise the importance of physical death. It is at this moment a decision was made: the ways to heaven and hell were open, that to hell taken with the last breath, but that to heaven was long and painful. Physical death was the door to the after-life, not sleep and waiting, but immediate punishment and preparation.

#### 4. *The Female as Sin and Death*

The miniatures show an ever closer connection between Eve and sin. The visual links with the serpent, the displays of sensuousness and sexuality, created a feeling of her essential and inherent seductiveness and susceptibility to sin and temptation. This was reinforced by the way her creation was depicted. She became a part of Adam, removed at God's command, and if this was in essence a metaphor for the weak and sensuous part of mankind, its orientation on the world, emotions and the senses, it was easily elided into a view of women as beings. The male reason was held in opposition to the female sensuousness. Much of this was seen as sexually orientated: a woman could arouse lustful thoughts in a man, without being aware of his existence, but she was still at fault. Adam succumbed to temptation through Eve, and his descendents saw women as the same sort of temptation for themselves. While the debates on the type of serpent at the fall certainly contributed to the development of the dracontopede as the tempter, it can be seen as a culmination of this trend to equate Eve with sin and temptation. Perhaps it is a measure of the propaganda aspects of visual exegesis that the earliest known works showing the serpent with Eve's face were not in miniatures, but in glass. The Amiens fall and its dracontopede have been discussed already, but about the same time the tempter was shown with Eve's face in miniatures. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale Ms. lat. 10434, f. 10r (fig. 119) is an early version. In this it is clear that even at the moment of the fall Adam is brought into relation with the Logos, sharing not only the beard but the fine, straight nose, while the dracontopede and Eve have softer features and turned-up noses. The contrast and alignments are made all the more telling by giving Adam and Eve identical poses and not only placing the dracontopede in the tree, but showing the Logos in the *ubi es?* scene also appearing in a tree, the green leaves and fruit round the head of

the serpent forming a counterpoint to Christ's blue cross-nimbus. Here the reader is confronted with Adam bearing the face of God and Eve with the face of the tempter.

The eschatological death had faded out of the visual vocabulary, his function swallowed up in that of the devil. There was not only room for a new death personification, but the need for one. This personification would be that of the physical death, the ending of an individual's life on earth and the start of the life of the soul, unencumbered by the body with its demands and worldly concerns. Unlike the eschatological death, the physical death was inevitable, a part of the natural life-cycle of man. The eschatological death did not take physical lives, and the first miniature known to me in which death actively ends a life is in Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève Ms. 2200. This manuscript dates from 1277 and is of a vernacular poem written eleven years earlier, *Miroir de la vie et de la mort*. This is a didactic work warning the laity to have a care and resist the pleasures and temptations of the world, since death comes for all.<sup>1</sup> The work may be based on an older and possibly shorter Latin version and, since there is a worn and faded inscription in Latin on the miniature, that too might have had an earlier exemplar; if so it has been lost. The inscriptions refer to *Carnea Mors* and *Carnea Vita*, thus making quite clear that this has nothing to do with eternal life or eternal death, with salvation or damnation the ultimate result of an individual's life. The miniature shows life in the vice-fed tree, surrounded by musicians and birds. At the foot of the tree a devil holds a ladder for death to climb to claim life. Death is a young woman, although the poem describes her as old, in a light robe and carrying a coffin. There is no hint of death doing anything other than ending a life: the devil and the vices are there as warnings to the worldly, but death herself is neutral. She is also inescapable: in the poem life pleads with her, but in vain. A female death was very appropriate: she represented nature, the world and the body. With her action to separate soul from body, to claim the earthly stuff for herself, she symbolised the end of the world's hold. From then on the soul was free to follow its fate, unhindered by its physical form.

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<sup>1</sup> For the text see A. Långfors, "Le miroir de la vie et de la mort, par Robert L'Homme (1266), modèle d'une moralité wallonne du xve siècle, premier et deuxième article," *Romania, recueil trimestriel consacré à l'étude des langues et des littératures Romanes* 47, 50 (1921, 1924).

For more than two hundred years death was given female form, chiefly due to the popularity of the Guillaume de Deguileville's *Pèlerinage du vie humaine* and its illustrated copies.<sup>2</sup> Death, femaleness and nature were brought into relationship, but as death became to be seen more and more as an enemy the female death gave way to the hunting skeleton or transi. The face of Eve remained close to that of sin and temptation and was measured against that of the Virgin, perhaps epitomised by a miniature from the fifteenth century in the Salzburg Missal.<sup>3</sup> This shows the Virgin and Eve by a tree: on one side hangs a crucifix, on the other a death's-head. Mary plucks the fruits close to her Son and hands them to those kneeling at her feet. Eve, close to the grinning skull, takes fruits from the mouth of the serpent twined round the trunk of the tree, and distributes these to her followers presented by a gleeful death.

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<sup>2</sup> Jill Bradley, "De doot onse mesteresse," in *Moordmeiden en schone slaapsters: Belevingen en verbeeldingen van vrouwen en de dood*, ed. Marga Altena et alia (Amsterdam, 2004).

<sup>3</sup> Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm 15708–15712, f. 60v.

## ILLUSTRATIONS







Fig. 1. Paris, BNF, Ms. lat. 266, f.1v.



Fig. 2. Paris, BNF, Ms. lat. 1, f.423r.



Fig. 3. Paris, BNF, Ms. lat. 1, f.10v.



Fig. 4. Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, Ms. 1, f.7v.



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Fig. 6. Reconstruction and position of the 'secret' scene in the Moutier-Grandval Bible.



Fig. 7. Rome, San Paolo Fuori le Mura, San Paolo Bible, f.8v.



Fig. 8. Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. 32, f.67r (detail).



Fig. 9. Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek,  
Ms. 32, f.53v.



Fig. 10. Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek,  
Ms. 32, f.8r (detail).



Fig. 11. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Ms. 23, f.16v.



Fig. 12. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Ms. 23, f.28v.



Fig. 13. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Ms. 23, f.107r.



Fig. 14. Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. 32, f.1v.



Fig. 15. Trier, Stadtsbibliothek, Ms. 31,  
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Fig. 16. Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 99, ff.12v&13r.



Fig. 17. Paris, BNF, Ms. lat. 9428, f.43v.



Fig. 18. Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 20, f.50v.

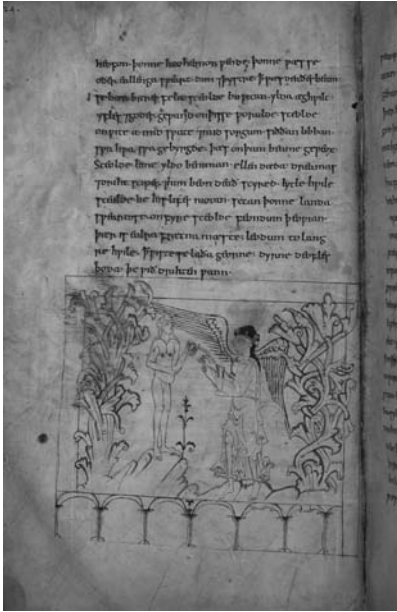


Fig. 19. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Junius, p. 24.



Fig. 20. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Junius, p. 20.



Fig. 21. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Junius, p. 31.



Fig. 22. London, BL, Ms. Cotton Claudius B.IV, f.6v.



Fig. 23. London, BL, Ms. Cotton Claudius B.IV, f.7v.





Fig. 24. Hildesheim, St. Michael's Cathedral, bronze doors.

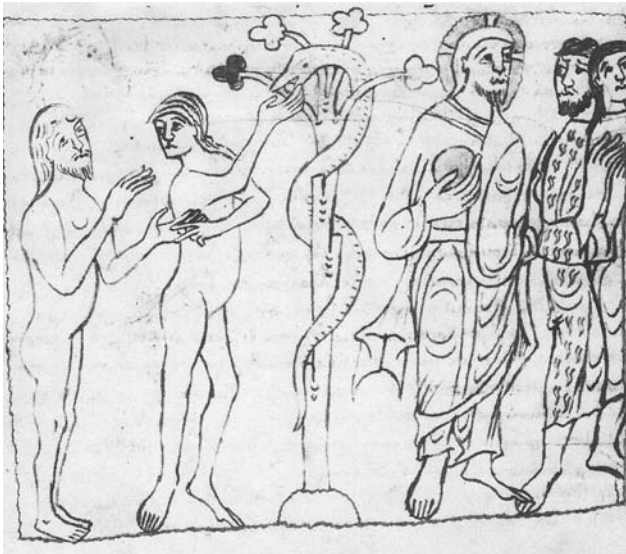


Fig. 25. Paris, BNF, Ms. lat. 2077, f.162v.



Fig. 26. London, BL, Ms. Cotton  
Tiberius, C.VI, f.14r.



Fig. 27. London, BL, Ms. Egerton 608,  
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Fig. 28. Angers, Bibliothèque  
Municipale, Ms. 24, f.7v.



Fig. 29. London, BL, Ms. Harley 603, f.1v.



Fig. 30. London, BL, Ms. Stowe 944, ff.6v&7r.



Fig. 31. Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm 13601, f.3v.



Fig. 32. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. 140, f.15v.



Fig. 33. Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. 140, f.53r.



Fig. 34. Reconstruction, Oxford Bodleian Library, Ms. Bodley 579, f.50r.



Fig. 35. Hildesheim, Dombibliothek, St. Godehard Ms. 1, p. 17.



Fig. 36. Hildesheim, Dombibliothek, St. Godehard Ms. 1, p. 173.



Fig. 37. Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale,  
Ms. 2, f.246r.

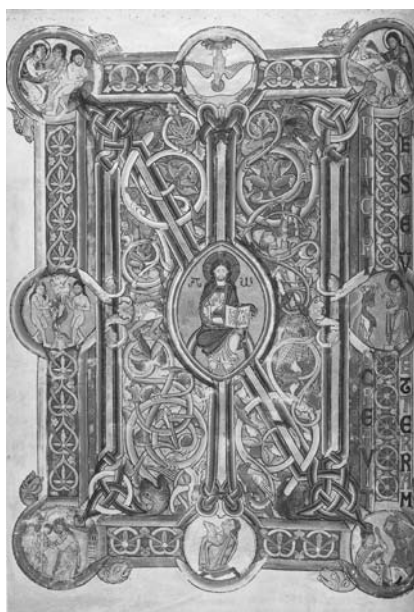


Fig. 38. London, BL, Ms. Add. 4788,  
f.6v.



Fig. 39. London, BL, Ms. Add. 4788,  
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Fig. 40. Vienna, Österreichische  
Nationalbibliothek, Ms. Ser. N 2701,  
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Fig. 41. Tournai, Bibliothèque du Séminaire, Ms. 1, f.6r.



Fig. 42. Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts 12 (single leaf).



Fig. 43. Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 321, f.29v.



Fig. 44. Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 15, f.125r.



Fig. 45. London, BL, Ms. Landsdowne 383, f.108r.



Fig. 46. Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 428, f.24v.





Fig. 47. Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 173, f.111v.



Fig. 48. Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 173, f.88v.

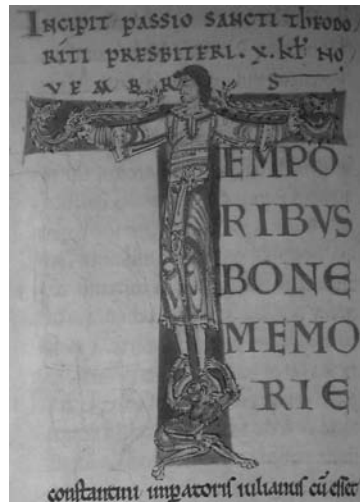


Fig. 49. London, BL, Ms. Arundel 91, f.156v.



Fig. 50. Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf 1 Gud lat, f.11v.

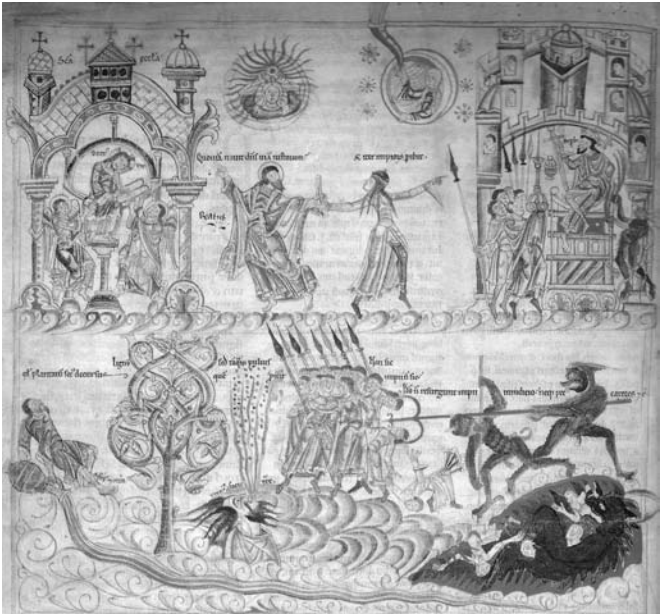


Fig. 51. Cambridge, Trinity College Library, Ms. R.17.1, f.5v.



Fig. 52. Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale,  
Ms. 321, f.222r.

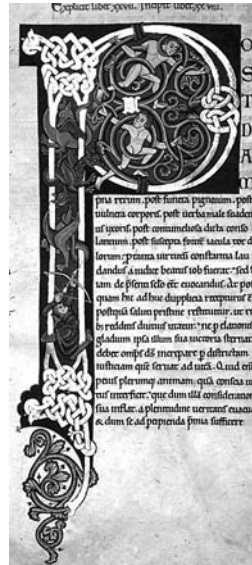


Fig. 53. Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale,  
Ms. 321, f.259r.

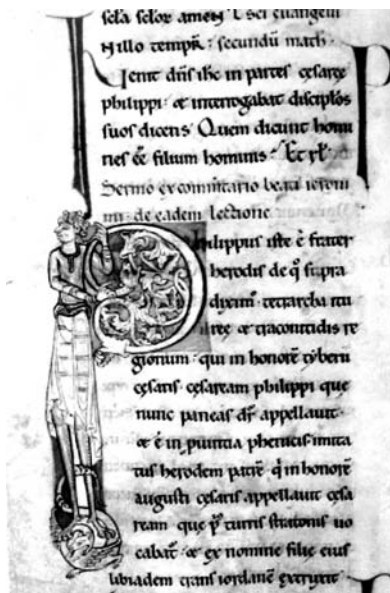


Fig. 54. Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 112, f.79v.





Fig. 57. Paris, Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève, Ms. 8, f.7v (detail).



Fig. 58. Paris, Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève, Ms. 8, f.7v (detail).



Fig. 59. Paris, Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève, Ms. 8, f.7v (detail).



Fig. 60. Paris, Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève, Ms. 8, f.7v (detail).



Fig. 61. Paris, BNF, Ms. lat. 8846, f.1r.



Fig. 62. Paris, BNF, Ms. lat. 8846, f.1v (detail).



Fig. 63. Los Angeles, Paul Getty Collection, Ms. 64, f.10v.

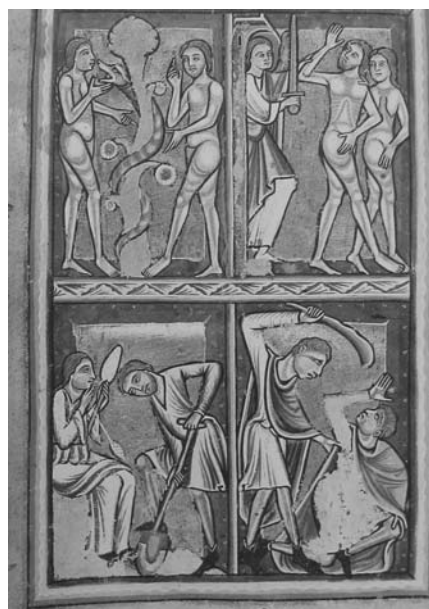


Fig. 64. 's-Gravenhage, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. 76.F5, f.2v.



Fig. 65. Amiens, Bibliothèque  
Municipale Ms. 19, f.7r.



Fig. 66. Auch, Bibliothèque  
Municipale, Ms. 1, f.5r.

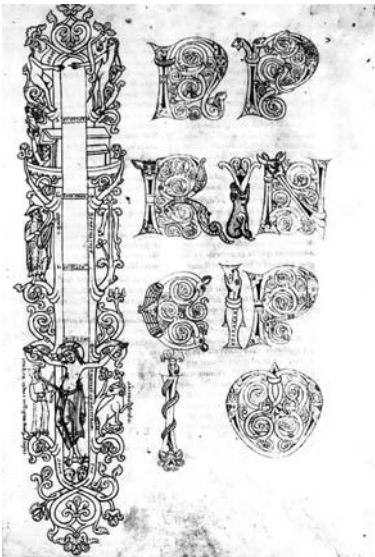


Fig. 67. Stuttgart, Württembergische  
Landesbibliothek, Ms. HiSt. fol. 418, f.3r.

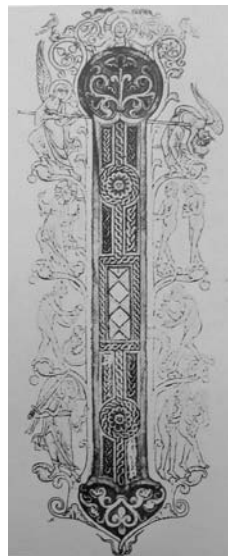


Fig. 68. Salzburg, Stiftsbibliothek Sankt  
Peter, Ms. XII 18, f.6r.



Fig. 69. Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. hiSt. 2º 415, f.17r.



Fig. 70. Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Sal. X 16, f.2r.



Fig. 71. Salzberg, Stiftsbibliothek Sankt Peter, Cod. A.X.6, f.222v.



Fig. 72. Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 193, f.70r.



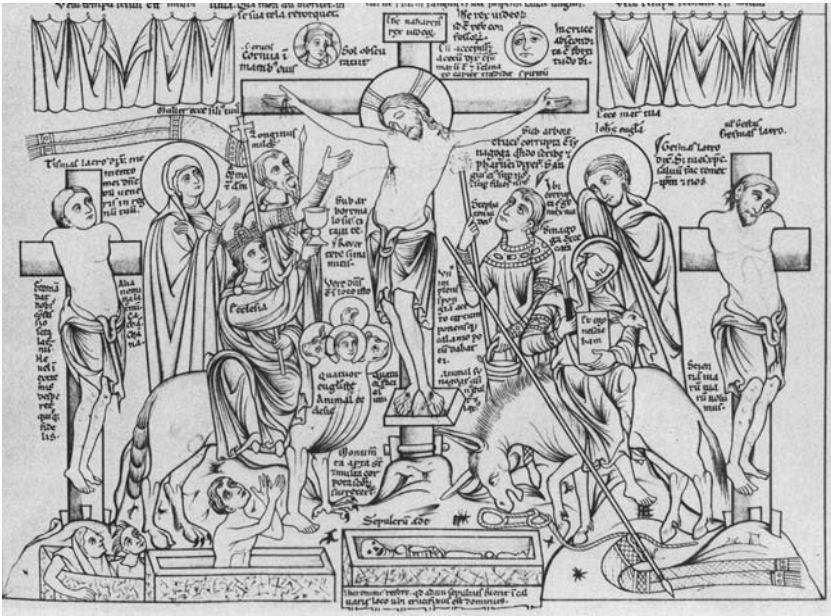


Fig. 73. Hortus Deliciarum, f.150r (copy).



Fig. 74. London, BL, Ms. Arundel 157, f.11r.



Fig. 75. London, BL, Ms. Royal D.X, f.7r.

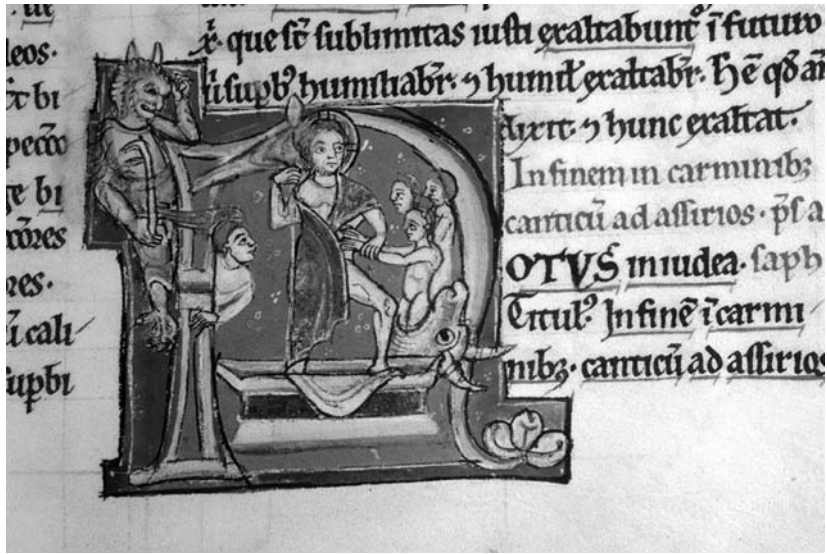


Fig. 76. Paris, Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève, Ms. 56, f.131r.



Fig. 77. Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm 13601, f.3v (as 31).

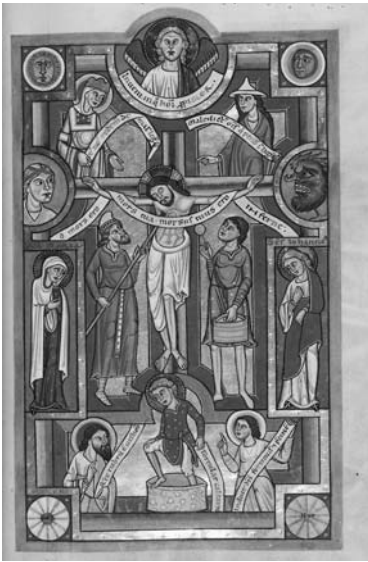


Fig. 78. Los Angeles, Paul Getty Collection, Ms. 64, f.86r.



Fig. 79. Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. 32, f.1v (as 14).



Fig. 80. Paris, BNF, Ms. lat. 8846, f.5v.



Fig. 81. Vendôme, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 23, f.113v.



Fig. 82. Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 372, f.100r.

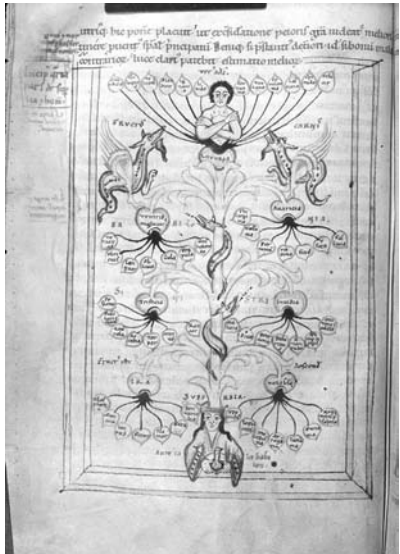


Fig. 83. London, BL, Ms. Arundel 44, f.28v.



Fig. 84. London, BL, Ms. Arundel 44, f.70r.



Fig. 85. Paris, BNF, Ms. lat. 10433, f.9r.

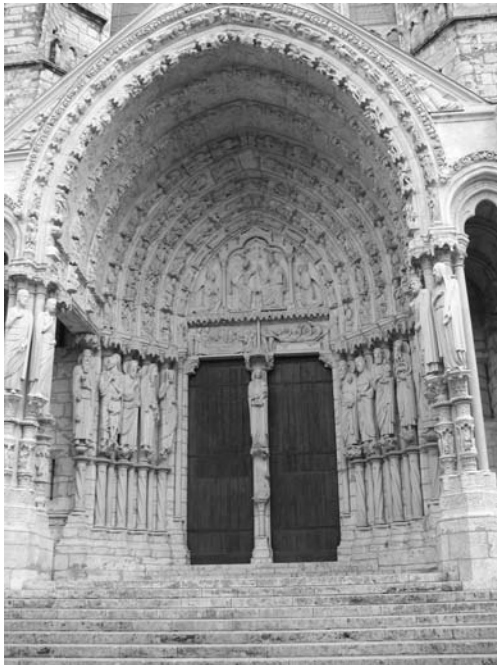


Fig. 86. Chartres, Cathedral of Notre Dame, north transept portal.



Fig. 87. Anzy-le-Duc, Priory entrance.

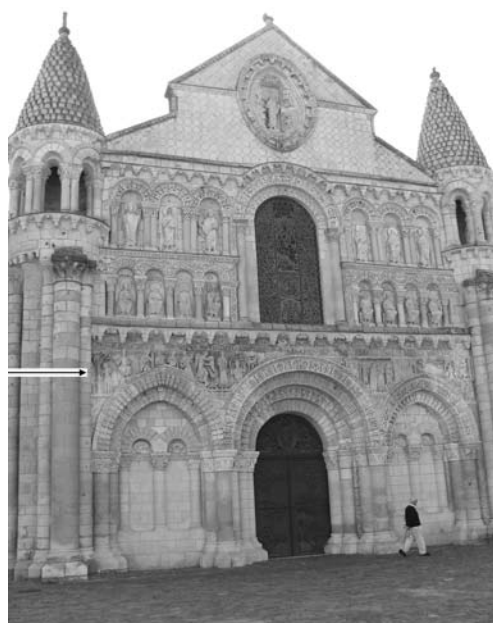


Fig. 88. Poitiers, Notre Dame le Grande.



Fig. 89. Nîmes, Cathedral of Notre Dame et St. Castor.



Fig. 90. Vézelay, Basilica of Ste. Madeleine central aisle, north side.



Fig. 91. Anzy-le-Duc, Priory.



Fig. 92. Anzy-le-Duc, Priory (detail).





Fig. 93. Arles, porch of St. Trophime, north side (detail).



Fig. 94. Arles, porch of St. Trophime, north side (detail).



Fig. 95. Arles, porch of St. Trophime, north side (detail).



Fig. 96. Arles, porch of St. Trophime, centre (detail).



Fig. 97. Arles, porch of St. Trophime, south side (detail).



Fig. 98. Poitiers, Notre Dame le Grande (detail).



Fig. 99. Chartres, Cathedral of Notre Dame, north transept portal (detail).

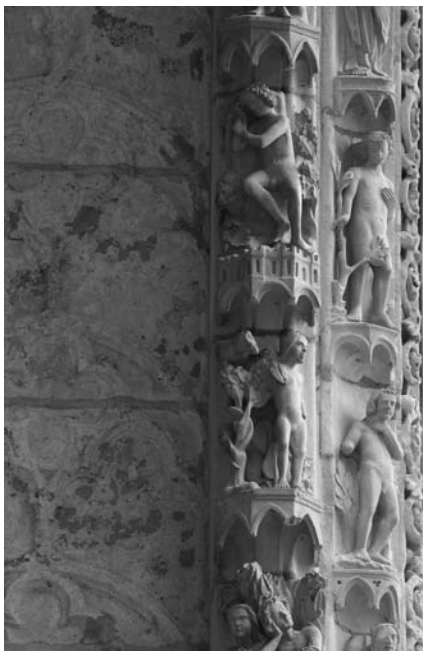


Fig. 100. Chartres, Cathedral of Notre Dame, north transept portal (detail).



Fig. 101. Chartres, Cathedral of Notre Dame, window, south aisle.



Fig. 102. Chartres, Cathedral of Notre Dame, window, south aisle (detail).

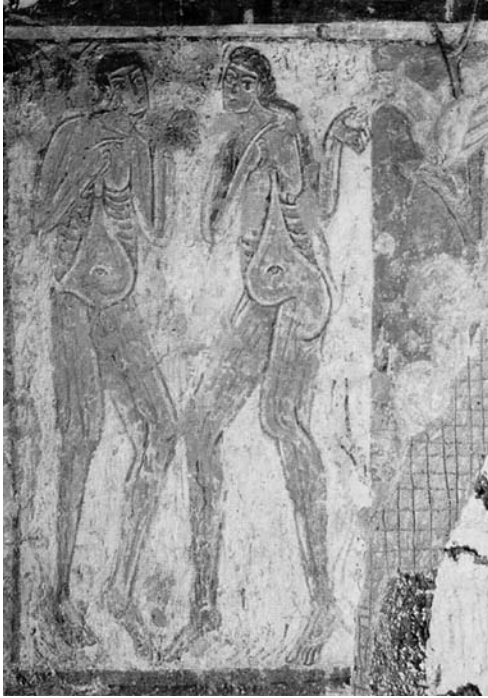


Fig. 103. Hardham, St. Botolph, chancel.



Fig. 104. St. Savin, Abbey Church, ceiling, nave (detail).



Fig. 105. St. Savin, Abbey Church, ceiling, nave (detail).



Fig. 106. Amiens, Musée de Picardie, M.P. Cat. 75.109, capital from Corbie.



Fig. 107. Amiens, Musée de Picardie, M.P. Cat. 75.109, capital from Corbie.



Fig. 108. Amiens, Musée de Picardie, M.P. Cat. 75.109, capital from Corbie.



Fig. 109. Amiens, Musée de Picardie, M.P. Cat. 75.109, capital from Corbie.



Fig. 110. Moissac, Abbey of St. Peter, cloister, capital.





Fig. 111. Vézelay, Basilica of Ste. Madeleine, capital, north aisle.



Fig. 112. Vézelay, Basilica of Ste. Madeleine, capital, nave.



Fig. 113. Amiens, Cathedral of Notre Dame, porch of the Virgin, trumeau (detail).



Fig. 114. Amiens, Cathedral of Notre Dame, porch of the Virgin, trumeau (detail).



Fig. 115. Amiens, Cathedral of Notre Dame, porch of the Virgin, corbel.



Fig. 116. Amiens, Cathedral of Notre Dame, porch of the Virgin, trumeau.



Fig. 117. Nîmes, Cathedral of Notre Dame et St. Castor (detail).



Fig. 118. Eve, Musée Rolin, Autun.

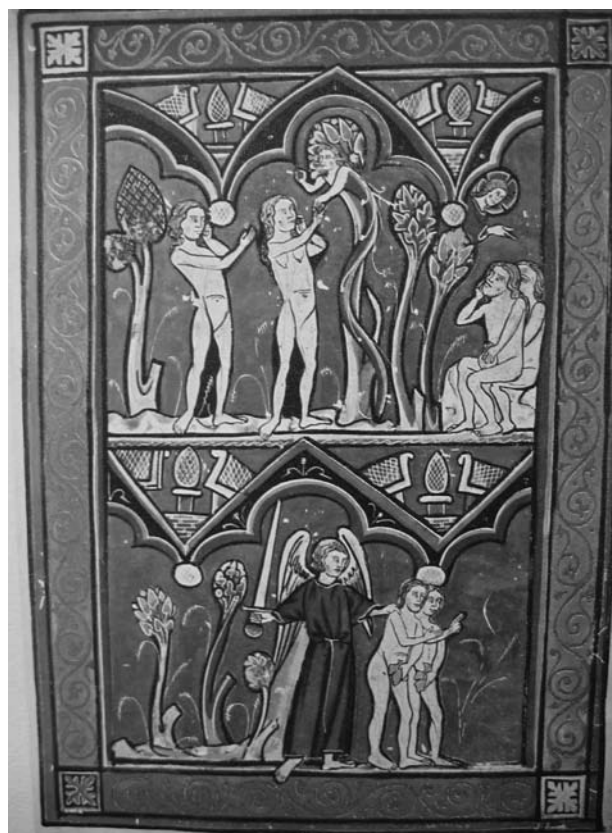


Fig. 119. Paris, BNF, Ms. lat. 10434, f.10r.

APPENDIX A

FREQUENCY OF SUBJECTS PER CENTURY  
IN PERCENTAGES

	Fall	Crucifixion	Last Judgement	Noah's Ark	Lamb of God	Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac
9th	11.1	41.7	5.6		25	16.6
10th	5.7	54.2	2.9	2.9	20	14.3
11th	3.1	67.7	5.5	2.4	13.4	7.9
12th	14.7	44.2	10	4.2	13.2	13.7

## APPENDIX B

### MANUSCRIPTS MENTIONED IN THE TEXT

\* Denotes used in constructing basic type Fall of Man

\*\* Denotes used in constructing basic type Death

#### *Chapter One*

Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek 1\*

London, British Library, Add. 10546\*

Munich, Residenz, Schatzkammer\*\*

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale:

lat. 1\*

lat. 257\*\*

lat. 266

lat. 1141\*\*

lat. 9428\*\*

lat. 12048

Rome, San Paola Fuori le Mura, Bible\*

St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 342

Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek, Biblia Folio 23\*\*

Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 31\*\*

Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 32\*\*

Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 99\*\*

#### *Chapter Two*

Angers, Bibliothèque Municipale, 24\*\*

Bamberg, Staatliche Bibliothek, Bibl. 140\*\*

Boulogne, Bibliothèque Municipale, 20\*

Durham, Cathedral Library, BII 30

Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Cod. Voss. Lat.q 79

London, British Library:

Cotton Claudius B IV\*

Cotton Tiberius B.V (pt1)

Cotton Tiberius C.vi\*\*

Cotton Vespasian A. viii  
 Egerton 608\*\*  
 Harley 603\*\*  
 Stowe 944\*\*  
 Munich, Staatsbibliothek:  
   Clm 13601\*\*  
   Clm 4456  
 Oxford, Bodleian Library:  
   MS Bodley 579\*\*  
   Douce 296  
   Junius 11\*  
 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 2077\*

### *Chapter Three*

Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, 18  
 Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 14,\*\*  
 Beaune, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1\*  
 Berlin, Staatliche Kupferstichkabinet 78.A.1\*\*  
 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Lat.qu.198\*\*  
 Cambridge, Trinity College Library, O.2.51  
 Cambridge, Trinity College, R.17.1\*\*  
 Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, NKS 218 4°  
 Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 2\*, 12–15\*\*  
 Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 168, 169, 170, 173\*\*  
 Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1\*, 250 t. II  
 Heiligenkreuzen Stiftbibliothek, cod. 256  
 Hildesheim, St. Godehard Treasury, 1\*  
 Lincoln, Cathedral Library, A.1.2  
 London, British Library:  
   Add. 14788\*  
   Arundel 91\*\*  
   Cotton Caligula A VIII  
   Cotton Domitian II  
   Cotton Nero C.iv  
   Cotton Nero CIV\*\*  
   Cotton Titus D xxvi–xxvii\*\*  
   Harley 2803\*  
   Harley 3667\*\*  
   Harley 4772\*

Lansdowne MS 382\*\*  
 Lansdowne MS 383\*\*  
 Royal 6 C vi  
 Royal 6 B.vii  
 Maidstone Museum and Art Gallery, Lambeth Bible\*\*  
 Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14061\*  
 New York, Pierpont Morgan, 641\*\*  
 Orleans, Bibliothèque Municipale, 13\*\*  
 Oxford, Bodleian Library:  
     Bodley 352\*\*  
     Douce 180  
 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale:  
     lat. 10\*  
     lat. 15675  
 Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux Arts, 12  
 Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, 295\*\*  
 Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, 428\*\*, 498\*\*, 513\*\*, 537\*\*, 539\*\*  
 Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek, Cod. Bibl. Fol. 57  
 Tournai, Bibliothèque du Séminaire, 1  
 Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, 321\*\*  
 Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 5\*\*, 9\*, 112\*\*, 169\*\*  
 Vatican, Bibliotheca Apostolica Regina, latino 12\*\*  
 Vendôme, Bibliothèque Municipale, 20, 26  
 Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Ser. No. 2701\*  
 Wölfenbittel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf, 1 Gud. Lat\*\*

#### *Chapter Four*

Aschaffenberg, 21  
 Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, 19\*  
 Auch, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1\*  
 Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale, 136  
 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, lat. Fol. 226\*  
 Boulogne, Bibliothèque Municipale, 46, 53  
 Bourges, Bibliothèque Municipale, 37  
 Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, 59  
 Cambridge, Trinity College Library, R 14.9  
 Chantilly, Musée de Condé, 744\*  
 Copenhagen, Arnamagnæanske Institute, AM 673a 4°  
 Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Gl. kgl. S. 1633 4°



- Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, 2  
 Douai, Bibliothèque Municipale, 372  
 Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, 22\*  
 Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, 3–5\*  
 Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Lorenziana, Plut. XII 17  
 Glasgow, University Library, Hunter 229\*  
 's-Gravenhage, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 76.F.5\*  
 's-Gravenhage, Meermanno-Westrianum 10 B 25  
 Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, IX, Sal.X, 16\*  
 London, British Library:  
     Add. 37472  
     Arundel 44  
     Arundel 157\*  
     Cotton Nero, C.IV  
     Lansdowne 381  
     Lansdowne 383  
     Royal 12 C xix  
     Royal D. x  
 London, Lambeth Palace, Lambeth Bible\*  
 Los Angeles, Paul Getty Collection, 64\* \*\*  
 Lyons, Bibliothèque Municipale 410\*  
 Moulins, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1\*  
 München-Gladbach, Münster 1,  
 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek:  
     Clm 935\*  
     Clm 13031  
     Clm 14159  
     Clm 14399\*  
 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 469  
 Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 36\*  
 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale:  
     fr. 52  
     lat. 770  
     lat. 5047\*  
     lat. 8846\* \*\*  
     lat. 8959  
     lat. 10433\*  
     lat. 11534\*  
     lat. 11535\*  
 Paris, Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève, 8\*, 10, 56

Salzburg Sankt Peter Stiftbibliothek:

A.X.6\*\*

A.XII, 7

A.XII.18–20\*

St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Lat. Q v. V, I.

[Strasbourg] Hortus Deliciarum\* \*\*

Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek:

Cod.Hist 2<sup>o</sup> 415\*

Hist. fol. 418\*

Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, 193\*

Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 501

Verdun, Bibliothèque Municipale, 70

Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, cod 1244, 2739\*\*

Warsaw, National Library, lat. F.v.132

Winchester Cathedral, Winchester Bible\*

## APPENDIX C

### ANALYSIS OF THE USAGE OF RED AND BROWN INK IN OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, MS. JUNIUS 11, PP. 3–46

p. 3. There is a great deal of red outline, often duplicating brown outline. Lucifer's 'throne in the west' is about 50% red. Lucifer's crown, wings, rod, toga left sleeve and hand are red and he stands on a raised podium, also outlined in red. Many of his followers have red wings, robes or togas and three offer red crowns. In the second register the central figure, often identified as Michael, hands a single red palm and his toga is red. In the third register the Logos is outlined in red except for his head. The spears held in his (red) right hand are brown, but the book held in his left is predominantly red.

p. 6. All brown except for *supedaneum* and a few touches of red on the toga and left sleeve.

p. 7. All brown except for part of the toga and left sleeve and hand in the upper register.

p. 9. Heaven is outlined in red, as is the door to Heaven. The ladder has red rungs and rests on red earth. The creation of Eve—the toga of the Logos is outlined in red. Withdrawing the rib—the toga and the right sleeve in red outline, with some red outline on the ground. The cross-nimbi in both registers are solid red.

p. 10. In general brown outline with the toga of the Logos in red. The cross in the nimbus is also red, but a darker red than that of the toga.

p. 11. This contains the only full-colour figure in the manuscript. The general outline including the robes, left hand and facial features of the Logos, are in brown while his right hand and head are outlined in red.

p. 13. All outlines are in brown, but red is used for heavenly emissions and to decorate, leaves, fruits and half the mandorla.

p. 16. In general brown outlines, including the cross-nimbus. The Logos' left hand and toga are outlined in red. It is worthy of note that part of the toga was originally outlined in brown, but the main outline over the shoulder, the bottom and the inner drape over the shoulder have all acquired a red outline. The folds on the shoulder and main drape, the outer edges of the main drape and the left hand are all in red without any under-drawing. Similarly the heavens seem to have been first outlined in brown then redrawn in red—although the second tier from the right shows no sign of brown. Much of the hell Mouth has also received secondary outlining in red. The flames of Hell are red as is the stonework of Hell.

p. 17. In this series of miniatures the only figures completely outlined in red are the two cherubim on this page that together with the mandorla show no trace of brown. The Logos is again mainly outlined in brown, but the left hand, toga and the spine of his book are red. His solid red hair is outlined in brown. Once again parts of Hell are highlighted in red.

p. 20. All the upper register, including the serpent, but excluding a small area of earth under Eve, is outlined in red. The lower register is all in brown outline.

p. 28. Generally brown outlines, but the toga and part of the robe of the Tempter are in red. The toga has three folds in brown, one of these is over-drawn in red. The left sleeve of the robe is in red outline. The tempter has solid black hair and a solid red crown; this latter seems to have had an original brown outline that extends beyond the solid red at the back.

p. 31. All brown outlines except for the toga and left sleeve and hand of the Tempter in the upper register.

p. 34. Basically brown outline, but the frames and part of the ground are in red.

p. 36. All brown—the walls of hell solid black.

p. 39. All brown.

p. 41. Primarily brown outline, but both the book and the serpent, in both positions are decorated with red. The book roll is banded with red.

p. 44. All brown except for the toga, left sleeve and hand of the Logos on the left.

p. 45. All brown.

p. 46. All brown.

## APPENDIX D

### SCULPTURE, PAINTING AND GLASS

#### *Location of works analysed for basic types*

Aime, St. Martin  
Airvault, St. Pierre  
Amiens, Cathedral of Notre Dame (2)  
Andlau, Abbey  
Anzy-le-Duc, Priory  
Arles, St. Trophime  
Aulnay-de-Saintonge, St. Pierre  
Bourges, Cathedral of St. Étienne  
Chartres, Cathedral of Notre Dame (2)  
Chauvigny, Notre Dame  
Clermont-Ferrand, Notre Dame du Port  
Cluny, Museum Ochier  
Cottam, Church, font  
Cowlan, Church, font  
Étampes, Notre Dame  
Gurk, Church of Maria Himmelfahrt  
Hardham, St. Botolph  
Hildesheim, St. Michael  
Legden, Church  
Lyon, Cathedral of St. Jean (2)  
Malmesbury, Abbey  
Marckolsheim, St. Gregoire  
Moissac, Cloister  
Neuilly-en Donjon, St. Roch  
Nîmes, Cathedral of Notre Dame and St. Castor  
Poitiers, Notre Dame la Grande  
Poitiers, Ste. Radegonde  
Riems, Cathedral of Notre Dame  
Schöngraben, Church  
Sens, Cathedral of St. Étienne  
St. Antonin, Old Town Hall  
St. Benoît-sur-Loire, Abbey

St. Gabriel, Chapel  
St. Georges-de-Boscherville, Abbey church  
St. Plancard, St. Jean-le-Vigne  
St. Restitut, Church  
St. Savin, Abbey Church  
Tavant, St. Nicholas  
Thurleigh, St. Peter  
Tours, St. Martin  
Vézelay, Basilica of Ste. Madeleine (2)  
Windisch-Matrei, St. Nicholas





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